# Cloudberry Connections:
# Wilderness and Development on the Lower North Shore of Québec

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## ABSTRACT

**Cloudberry Connections: Wilderness and Development on the Lower North Shore of Québec**

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The region known as the Lower North Shore (LNS) consists of sixteen small communities spread along 400 km of coastline in northeastern Québec, Canada. Prompted by the collapse of its cod-fishing industry in the 1990s, the region has turned to place-branding strategies to encourage wilderness tourism as a form of economic renewal. This research-creation thesis examines *rubus chamaemorus*, or the cloudberry, a local wild berry, as a contested cultural symbol in this process.

The research question guiding this thesis asks: what are the effects of representations that are being used in efforts to stimulate economic development on the Lower North Shore of Québec? In particular, I analyze how the cloudberry is being used as a symbol of *wilderness* and purity in current place-branding projects in the region. This image perpetuates a frontier myth that the land is empty and available for privatization. The persistence of this narrative is shown across a history of similar settler colonial projects that use *wilderness* as a trope to justify so-called "development" of Indigenous land. This thesis argues furthermore that a relational approach to the cloudberry challenges its representation as a fixed "object", understanding it instead as a nexus of lived relations that include a range of practices such as walking, cooking and camping, and a host of competing interests such as Concordia University, Université du Québec, local development centres on the LNS, as well as Anglophone, Francophone and Innu communities there. Through storytelling, the significance of cloudberries in everyday life on the coast is foregrounded, thus indicating social and environmental forms of well-being that should be respected and encouraged in various partnerships that are currently being negotiated there.

This research has involved building an immersive, interactive installation using projection mapping and voice recognition software. *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams* is a portable 16' dome that serves both to archive and share video-recorded stories about harvesting and culinary practices using cloudberries on the LNS. These stories are vital counterpoints to dominant representations of the region as depressed, undeveloped, and dying.

**Acknowledgements**

While I understand this publication to be merely a partial reflection of a moment within a process that continues to unfold, there is nevertheless satisfaction in making some thing out of it along the way. Of course I can take full responsibility only for mistakes, inaccuracies and omissions. What is good in these pages is the result of the kindness, generosity and insight of the many people who have supported me. I am grateful to the guides and interlocutors that I encountered in my fieldwork, for trusting and sharing with me, in most cases a perfect stranger: Ida Jones, Priscilla Griffin, Garland Nadeau, Johnny Burke, Sandra Organ, Ashley Morency, Eddy Jones, Kristine Naess, Agnes Mestenapue, Mary Lou Nuna, Marie-Julie Mark, Christine Lalo, Charles Mark, Madeline Poker, Andrew Poker, Christiane Lalo, Jean-Baptiste Lalo, Danielle Collard, Brian Mestokosho, Soeur Armande Dumas, Alexis Lalo, Lionel Hervieux, Rachel Mark, Théo Mark, Etien Munen, Marie-Agathe Munen, Annick Latreille, Anna Lalo, Harry Jones, Jocelyne Roy, Hugh Maynard, Maxim Tardif, Line Lapointe and the others who wished to remain anonymous. I hope that I have done justice to your stories. Thank you to Margaret Butler, Aude Maltais, Ioana Radu and Melissa Mollen Dupuis for advice on approaching Innu communities and research protocol and to Virginie Magnat for bibliographic references. Randy Bellefleur generously arranged interviews for me in Unamen Shipu and Jean-François Martin introduced me to Théo Mark, leading to my first outing on family islands for cloudberry picking. Thank you to Satoshi Ikeda for turning me onto the topic of development on the Lower North Shore in the first place, and for supporting my other food-related work.

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## "A Jewel In a Lot of Rough": Manifesting the Invisible

### Introduction and Research Question

*Figure 1. View from Relais Nordik ferry. Video still by the author, 2014.*

*"The land should not be called New Land, being composed of stones and horrible rugged rocks.... I did not see one cartload of earth and yet I landed in many places... there is nothing but moss and short, stunted shrub. I am rather inclined to believe that this is the land God gave to Cain."*
*(Cartier 21-22)*

These are the words of French explorer and colonist Jacques Cartier describing his first impression of what is now called the Lower North Shore of Québec. They refer to God's curse on Cain for killing his brother — exiling him to a place of barren soil. In this biblical passage, God says to Cain: "Now you are under a curse and driven from the ground, which

opened its mouth to receive your brother's blood from your hand. When you work the ground, it will no longer yield its crops for you. You will be a restless wanderer on the earth" (Genesis 4:11-12). Nearly five hundred years later, this land is still referred to as "forsaken," "undeveloped," "empty," and "barren". In 1534, Cartier was on a mission for King Francois I to find a western passage to the wealthy markets of Asia and in the words of the commission, to "discover certain islands and lands where it is said that a great quantity of gold and other precious things are to be found"[1]. This quote suggests that because his sensorium was attuned to specific commodities, Cartier was blind to the treasure that lay before him. Indeed, this moment of so-called "discovery" set the tone for centuries of settler colonialism that would justify theft, genocide, child abduction, displacement, incarceration, and sexual abuse, under the pretext of "civilization", which depended on cultivation of land and people in tandem. In these ongoing practices, fertile lands are described as barren and backwards in order to justify their possession and transformation into "productive" private and "public" territories.

*Figure 2. Berry picking on islands near Unamen Shipu, off the coast of the Lower North Shore with the Mark family. 1 August 2014. Photo by the author.*

[1] See Chapter 1, footnote 3, qtd in:
Marsan, Jean-Claude. *Montreal in Evolution*. McGill-Queen's Universtiy Press, Montreal & Kingston, London, Buffalo. 1990. 3.
From Trudel, Marcel. "Jacques Cartier" in *DCB*, I: 165. Extract from the king's order, dated 18 March 1534.

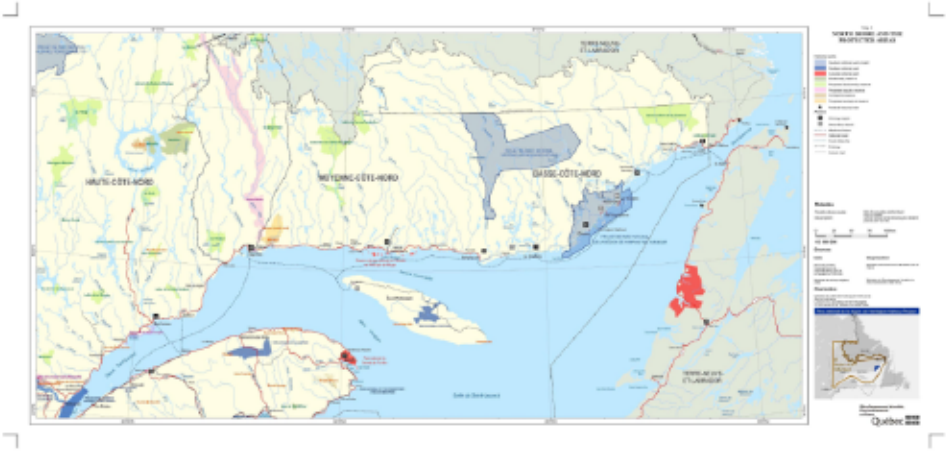

*Figure 3. Map of the Lower North Shore (Basse-Côte-Nord) of Québec*

The Lower North Shore (LNS) consists of sixteen small communities, spread along 400 km of coastline, located along the northeastern coast of Québec, Canada and bordering with Labrador to the North (see Figure 3). Due to the collapse of its cod-fishing industry in the 1990s, the region is currently developing place-branding strategies to encourage wilderness tourism and artisanal foods as forms of economic renewal. The cloudberry is a type of wild berry that grows in alpine and arctic tundra or boreal forest regions (see Figure 4). It resembles the raspberry, though its shape is more bulbous and it is salmon in colour. Cloudberries are tart in taste and are used in a number of recipes for tarts, pies, cakes, teas, jams and jellies. This wild berry has been an important staple in local diets for several centuries. The cloudberry is rich in vitamin C and as such, served historically as protection against scurvy. Its benzoic acid content serves as a natural preservative, facilitating its storage in places where food is scarce throughout winter months.

*Figure 4. Slightly unripe cloudberry (bakeapple), Blanc Sablon, Lower North Shore, 2013. Photo by the author.*

Cloudberries are central to current branding processes on the LNS, as a local co-op has begun marketing a series of wild berry products, including jams and jellies, with labels that intend to depict the place as "pure", "natural" and "wild". In this sense, the cloudberry is being used as a sign to represent a new, uplifting version of the LNS, counter-acting what some in the LNS-Concordia Partnership Initiative have described as the depressing tone of the name: "Lower North Shore".


*Figure 5. Wilberry Jellies — one of the first five products to be developed and sold by the Biosolidarity Co-op, St. Paul's River. Photo by the author.*

Take the package of Wildberry jellies (Figure 5) for example, which depicts the LNS as a pristine landscape. Arrived at through a student competition, the label packs a lot of information onto its two-inch by one-inch surface. The design is composed of bright blues, greens, reds, oranges, and violets, surrounded by a white border and cursive font. The

artistic rendition in the background features a horizon of pine trees reflected on water and mountains in the distance. In the foreground, an assortment of plump fruit — presumably the five that are used in the jellies — redberry, blackberry, marshberry, squashberry and cloudberry, are shown. The cloudberry is featured most prominently, centre-stage and repeated in the logo for Chicoutai & Cie (the Co-op's brand name). Below this logo reads (in French and English) "flavours inspired by nature". The nine candies are wrapped in clear cellophane and tied with a white ribbon at each end. Although the packaging and sugar-coating defy efforts to sell a pure and sustainable product/place, this is the aim. Furthermore, local tourism initiatives are attempting to develop a wilderness tourism industry by promoting activities such as wilderness camping and wild berry picking. Both the sign value and the material properties of the cloudberry are thus crucial for current "development" plans on the LNS. In this thesis I will analyze how this berry is being used to represent place, and demonstrate how relational methodologies can address some of the problems of treating berries as separate from social and ecological relationships. The inclusion of people and stories is central to this task.

This thesis focuses on *rubus chamaemorus* or the cloudberry as a nexus of systemic and institutional logics that intersect to construct the categories of "wilderness" and "nature" as a pretext for colonial-capitalist "development". Its guiding research question is: What are the effects of representations that have been and are being used in efforts to "stimulate" economic development on the Lower North Shore of Québec? I will analyze how the cloudberry is being deployed as a symbol of *wilderness* and purity in current place-branding projects in the region. This image perpetuates a frontier myth that the land is empty and available for privatization. The persistence of this narrative is shown across a history of similar settler colonial projects that use *wilderness* as a trope to justify so-called "development" of Indigenous land. The second research question asks: how can a relational approach open up different ways of thinking about the LNS? I argue that a relational approach to the cloudberry challenges its representation as a fixed "object", and leads to understanding it instead as a nexus of lived interactions that include a range of practices such as walking, cooking and camping, and a host of competing interests (Concordia University, Université du Québec, local development centres on the LNS, as well as Anglophone, Francophone and Innu communities there). For locals, this is not a wilderness,

but a lived and living place. In my interviews, conflicts surfaced in relation to locals' sense of freedom to roam, hunt and forage on unregulated tracts of land, and the diametrically opposed need to manage resources in order to maintain the so-called purity of nature. It becomes clear through descriptions of cloudberries as medicinal, social, and cultural that their management through picking permits, quotas and domestication would have significant repercussions for food sovereignty and social activity in the region. Through storytelling, the significance of cloudberries in everyday life on the coast is foregrounded, thus indicating social and environmental forms of well-being that, I argue, must be respected and encouraged in community-university partnerships that are currently being negotiated for the region.

My contribution in this thesis is to disclose how a conventional model of capitalist development has been introduced to the LNS largely through acts of representation, to analyze how these affect Innu populations in the area, and to propose ways in which storytelling and performance can contest such representations. It is argued that storytelling and sensory ethnography are two methodologies that can enrich dialogue around what counts as "sustainable development". This research has included the creation of an immersive, interactive installation using projection mapping and voice recognition software. *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams* is a portable 16' dome that serves both to archive and share video-recorded stories about harvesting and culinary practices using cloudberries on the LNS. The content is taken from fieldwork that I conducted on the LNS over the summers of 2013 and 2014. The

As a first step in our trip planning, Erik and I talked about how to get there. From what I'd read online, there were two ways: a ferry that makes a weekly stop in each village, or a small airplane that can access some of the villages. The return airfare from Montreal is $3000 CDN, and besides, we wanted a more direct engagement with the place. We wanted a more intimate experience and were interested in slow travel. We read that ATVs are used to travel from one village to the next, and on some of the maps I could see a trail marked "Route Blanche" — "Aha!," we thought, "so we can drive up the north shore along Highway 138 until the road ends in Natashquan, then continue along the next 400km by bicycle." This plan sounded best until I explored the coast in Google maps. As I zoomed in further with each click, the water expanded and the earth receded. I suddenly understood why they say that the villages are only accessible by boat. . . I later learned that la Route Blanche is a snowmobile trail. It can be used during the brief periods of the year when the water is frozen, thus creating a connection between all of the communities along the coast.

stories that I collected there are vital counterpoints to dominant representations of the region as depressed, undeveloped, and dying. I will focus on this aspect of the project in more depth in Chapters III and VI. To date, the work has been shown in a Montreal gallery and has been a way to introduce the complexities of "development" in coastal Québec to urban audiences. A more long-term goal is to share the installation within and between LNS communities. This written text meanwhile, demonstrates how an "object" — in this case the cloudberry — is constituted through a range of colonial-capitalist institutions that perpetuate *territorialization* of Indigenous land by representing it as wild and unproductive. Speaking with both Indigenous and non-Indigenous LNS locals about their harvesting and culinary practices has revealed that "cloudberries" are inseparable from quotidian social rituals such as walking, camping, fishing and cooking, all of which depend on large tracts of "undeveloped" and even arguably, unregulated land. The stories that I have collected in this process challenge representations of the cloudberry as wild and pure, raising important ethical questions about the development of eco-tourism on the LNS.

At that point we started to consider kayaking. We found one lonely blog by two kayakers who had traveled "the cloudberry route" partway up the coast. There was a photo of them dressed head to toe in dry suits and mosquito nets over their heads. Blackflies figured prominently in their report; I got the clear sense that in these parts, you don't want to have your pants down for too long when nature calls. Protecting every inch of our skin would be paramount. We went to Les Quatre Points Cardineaux in Montreal and bought topographic maps covering the entire length of the Lower North Shore, paying extra for lamination to make them waterproof. We made arrangements for an Intro to Kayaking course, bought a guide book and started to price out kayaks. We began to realize that this might take longer than we thought. It is recommended that only experienced kayakers attempt this route; strong currents can be dangerous and it is sometimes necessary to stop for several days to wait out inclement weather. Given the circumstances that might mean we miss the three- week cloudberry season entirely!

**Inattentional Blindness**

*"Things, people, and matters that could not be assimilated to the ethnologic eye and mind at certain times could not be apprehended, or were simply discounted because the eyes and ears that apprehended them were narrowed and tuned to see and hear certain things." (Audra Simpson 74)*

Because performance artists are attuned to relationships and rhythms between bodies and environments, or perhaps more accurately, between bodies and other bodies (since there is no external "environment" separating "inside" from "outside"), they are well suited to making these relations manifest in ways that work against the "inattentional blindness" that allows tourists and explorers of all kinds to see "nothing" or "emptiness" when encountering a given place. In Chapter III I offer concrete methodologies that I have used in my own storytelling project, and their theoretical implications as informed by Indigenous scholars Audra Simpson, Leanne Simpson, Glenn Coulthard, Shawn Wilson, Kathleen Absolon, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, and Wendy Makoons Geniusz.

> In the end we decided to drive along the South shore of the St. Lawrence River, through New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, take the ferry to Newfoundland, continuing along its western coast and return to Quebec by ferry, thus reaching the northernmost part of the LNS, Blanc Sablon, first. We decided that this would be the first of at least two trips there. In this early research it was already becoming clear that the map was indeed *not* the territory. . .

In my experience as a visitor to the LNS, inattentional blindness was unavoidable. Also known as "perceptual blindness", this phenomenon is described by psychologist and cognitive scientist Daniel Simons as a form of invisibility that "depends not on the limits of the eye, but on the limits of the mind. We consciously see only a small subset of our visual world, and when our attention is focused on one thing, we fail to notice other, unexpected things around us—including those we might want to see" (Simons). In the midst of my second season of doctoral field work recording culinary and harvesting practices using cloudberries on the LNS, I asked locals for tips on where to find these wild berries. They invariably responded with instructions to just walk out in the bogs and look for them, as though this should be self-evident. From my perspective, the directions I received were outrageously simplified, and after trying and failing several times to follow them, I concluded that what seems obvious for locals is imperceptible for outsiders. Residents have so internalized lifelong training in learning to read and sense the land and climate that their attunement to local conditions feels natural rather than skilled. In Chapters III and VI I argue that combatting inattentional blindness is essential to contesting conventional capitalist development, which relies on both willful and unwitting assessments of lively places as *terra nullius* —

empty, barren, and untouched. This is the founding myth on which settler colonialism mounts its quest to seize and "develop" land. In Chapter II I review a history of how representations of so-called "wilderness" areas in this country have been used as a pretext for dispossessing First Nations communities in the name of "progress". It will become apparent that maps have been instrumental in visualizing empty, "un-developed" land for this purpose. In my thesis project I have been intent on incorporating storytelling as a methodology for contesting these settled inscriptions. These stories are drawn from my field notes, interviews, and bibliography.

**Recognition**

The effects of a limited imagination are profound, handicapping our perceptual and affective capacities and rendering us insensitive to our *oikos*, or home. The very notion of "wilderness" is based on *not seeing* or *not sensing* (through intention or ignorance) at least two presences: that of the artist/researcher/explorer and that of the human inhabitants of the "wilderness" that is depicted. Jacques Cartier was a victim of this perceptual blindness. Cartier's sensorium and thus his assessment, was constrained by his expectations (about the forms of gold and fertile land) and his experience. Although he was aware of Indigenous presence in this place, a gap in his perceptual field made it impossible for him to understand humans, plants, soil, and minerals as part of a dynamic whole, of which each part is vital. Nor did he understand that his own appraisal both enabled and constrained the ways in which what he observed could be known, felt and imagined. Sent to this part of the world in search of gold, Cartier overlooked it entirely when it came before him. Unable to recognize the form that gold takes in this part of the world, it would be 500 years before settlers would develop the sensibilities to perceive this treasure. A pressing question now becomes whether settlers will now care for this fortune or destroy the very conditions through which it thrives?

In an interesting turn of events, non-Indigenous LNS locals are now beginning to develop a greater awareness of the nonhuman elements of their home, and wrestling with the implications of these "discoveries". In conversation, Priscilla Griffin and Ida Jones, Wildberry Coordinators for the LNS Bioproducts Solidarity Cooperative, confessed that: "we don't even know what's growing in our own backyards!" (Griffin and Jones). As a means of

addressing this, the Co-op engaged a student intern from Montreal to identify a range of local plants and their uses. In this fascinating process, the undifferentiated "moss and short, stunted shrub" that Cartier described is transformed into "non-timber forest products" or NTFP's, with far-reaching potential for economic development and jobs. In her research, the student identified at least ten different types of berry alone: marshberry, redberry, blackberry, bakeapple, squashberry, wild blueberry, blueberry, raspberry, dewberry, and teaberry. She presented her findings in a Powerpoint slideshow to LNS schoolchildren as part of the Co-op's pedagogical mandate. A compelling part of this mission is to educate locals about "sustainability" and the need to protect "natural resources" for younger generations.

During our conversation, Griffin noted that the Innu communities in the region are familiar with all the local plants and know how to use them. As explained in Chapter V though, this knowledge is usually (though not always) used for subsistence and trade rather than commercial exploitation. Plants therefore do come to be known and to become significant as part of human — nonhuman networks that are neither colonial nor capitalist in nature. Ongoing Innu use of cloudberries since pre-contact times proves that it is possible for such networks to be life sustaining over the long term. Innu people may be reluctant to share their knowledge of local plants though, due to a long history of settlers appropriating Indigenous epistemologies as part of what Linda Tuhiwai Smith calls the "global hunt for new knowledges" (37). Tuhiwai Smith writes about researchers who "gather traditional herbal and medicinal remedies and remove them for analysis in laboratories around the world. Still others collect the intangibles: the belief systems and ideas about healing, about the universe, about relationships and ways of organizing, and the practices and rituals which go alongside such beliefs, such as sweat lodges, massage techniques, chanting, hanging crystals and wearing certain colours" (37). To recognize the value of wild berries beyond the limited scope of conventional capitalist "development" means taking into account forms of well-being in which humans, plants, animals, water, and climate are inseparable. How is this to be accomplished? As we will see in Chapter V, some locals believe it is through government regulations to protect land from ATVs and other human traffic. Another approach is to perform non-capitalist onto-epistemologies, simply demonstrating publicly that other ways of being and knowing are possible.

In Chapter II, we will review the work of Glenn Coulthard, who argues that through processes of fighting for and being 'granted' recognition according to the master/colonizer's terms, Indigenous populations come to self-identify as slave/colonized. He writes: "the longevity of a colonial social formation depends, to a significant degree, on its capacity to transform the colonized population into subjects of imperial rule" (Red Skin 31). According to this view, "recognition" within a colonial legal system would only further entrench the subjectification of the oppressed. Ultimately, Coulthard argues that "authentic freedom" cannot be achieved without "struggle or conflict" (Subjects 449). According to him, "transformative praxis" "challenges the background structures of colonial power as such" (Subjects 449) or the "background legal, political and economic framework of the colonial relationship itself" (Subjects 451). Coulthard is calling for a deeper, ontological shift in the dominant conception of humans' place in the world. In the case of cloudberries on the LNS, what I learned through my interviews is that the berries are significant because of their role in a range of social traditions, such as walking, boating and camping, which suggests the importance of maintaining large tracts of "undeveloped" land and water.

In Hillsboro, New Brunswick, just south of Moncton, we were tempted to stay longer and visit the Hopewell Rocks Provincial Park. But we had to be on our way in order to make the ferry to Newfoundland on Thursday morning. Just before passing through Truro though, we discovered that there had just been a ferry accident. Fortunately, no one was hurt, but it put the ferry out of commission for a month. For us, this meant that our arrival in Blanc Sablon would be delayed by about a week. So, we got off the highway, bought a couple of ice cream cones, and drove to Kiwanis Park to adjust our plans.

Through the lens of Coulthard's critique then, "transformative praxis" would proudly perform these traditions, regardless of whether or not their implications are recognized. While these are seemingly innocuous activities, in some cases they count as civil disobedience — for example picking berries in a restricted area or fishing an endangered fish.

Audra Simpson picks up on Coulthard's use of Fanon, arguing that: "Settler colonialism structures justice and injustice in particular ways, not through the conferral of recognition of the enslaved but by the conferral of disappearance in subject. This is *not seeing* that is so profound that mutuality cannot be achieved." Because she believes that

'Recognition' in either a cognitive or juridical sense is impossible" (23), Simpson also advocates that Indigenous people 'live freely', irrespective of whether one's customs and values are 'recognized' through "official" channels. She suggest that this "can mean recognition by another authoritative nexus (one's own?) and thereby call the other's into question. This negates the authority of the other's gaze" (24). Coulthard and Simpson are not the only scholars calling for Indigenous resurgance through everyday performances that refuse to comply with dominant imperatives of "development". As we will see in Chapter III, Leanne Simpson stresses domestic and artistic performances as forms of empowerment that are as important as large-scale political mobilization. In fact, many Indigenous scholars maintain that seeking recognition through state channels implies adaptation to a juridical system that is at odds with Indigenous values and politics. Kanien'kehaka author, educator and activist Taiaiake Alfred writes that: "In the midst of Western societies that pride themselves on their respect for freedom, the freedom of indigenous people to realize their own goals has been extinguished by the state in law and to a great degree in practice. Above all, indigenous nationhood is about reconstructing a power base for the assertion of control over Native land and life. This should be the primary objective of Native politics" (Alfred 47).

Indigenous food sovereignty is an example of asserting control over Native land and life. Could it be that non-Indigenous communities on the LNS could also benefit from reconstructing a new power base that is guided by community and subsistence values? If all communities on the LNS wish to preserve their freedom to provide their own food, in a place where they don't have to lock their doors, how can this reality be realized through performance, rather than sacrificed in order to adapt to conventional capitalist business models?

**Cloudberry Connections in a Place Without Roads**

> *"Unlike representationalism, which positions us above or outside the world we allegedly merely reflect on, a performative account insists on understanding thinking, observing, and theorizing as practices of engagement with, and as part of, the world in which we have our being." (Barad 133)*

In January 2013 I was introduced to the LNS – Concordia University Partnership Initiative, a partnership that was then being initiated between Concordia University faculty and students, and local development centers on the LNS. I was brought into preliminary discussions of this partnership, as there was interest in sending Concordia student interns to assist in the development of an art industry there. Although this partnership has been put on hold due to subsequent budget cuts at the school, there is clearly strong interest in mobilizing Concordia University resources to assist in economic development initiatives that would create independence for locals of the LNS, and encourage youth to remain in the region. Some potential stakeholders in this enterprise include Concordia's: School of Extended Learning, School of Community and Public Affairs, Sociology and Anthropology Department, and Volunteer Abroad Program, who have all been involved in partnership meetings. Dean of Students Andrew Woodall suggested other potential partners in a meeting on 12 June 2012 including the McConnell Foundation, the ALIA Network, and Business Alliance for Local Economies. He also suggested a Marketing and Branding project by young adults from the LNS studying at Concordia and even McGill, who would help to identify what they love about the region. There is much potential in rallying this range of resources, not to mention those mobilized by the Coasters Association, Community Learning Centers and Local Economic Development Centers on the LNS. I was both skeptical and curious about this endeavour and decided to investigate further. This thesis has thus emerged from an effort to address the exclusion of Innu participation in this university-community partnership. If Concordia University is to continue this partnership, it will carry a certain responsibility attached to representing the LNS for colonial-capitalist "development."

In conducting an experiment, taking a picture, or describing a place in words, we create what physicist Karen Barad (following Nils Bohr) calls a "cut", dividing the ontological "world out there", and its representation as an epistemological object. According to her, we carry a responsibility in enacting these "cuts". "Indeed," she writes, "ethics cannot be about responding to the other as if the other is the radical outside to the self" (Barad 178). Rather than assess the "cloudberry" as an object of knowledge then, to be

apprehended, domesticated, and converted into a "value-added" product for export, what if a relational approach to the berry were adopted, understanding it ontologically as part of a network of interactions that includes land claims disputes, colonial trade, informal exchange, subsistence gathering, family traditions, international markets, tourism, government funding, research teams, elections campaigns and more? Likewise, my own participation as an artist and researcher is part of a larger apparatus that allows the separation of "the cloudberry" as an object of examination for the purposes of this dissertation. I am accountable as part of this apparatus in my roles as: an artist, a researcher, a student and employee of Concordia University, and as a consumer of Hydro electricity supplied to Montreal by northern Québec[2].

Over two summers, I traveled to the LNS and conducted interviews with local cloudberry harvesters, members of the LNS Bioproducts Solidarity Cooperative who are producing cloudberry products for export, local tour guides, the Bio-Food Development Agent, two scientific researchers working on domesticating cloudberries, the Biopterre Bioproduct Development Centre and members of the region's two Innu communities. The embodied and emplaced culinary and harvesting practices that are communicated through my audiovisual recordings of locals challenge representations that attempt to stabilize meanings of berries and place by sustaining antagonistic perspectives together. The outcomes of this research-creation project are both textual and audio-visual. Through writing, performance and an interactive installation, I demonstrate the use of culinary performance and minority storytelling as strategies for contributing evidence of the cultural and historical value of food and its connections to place. I will focus on my research process and methodology in greater detail in Chapters III and VI.

[2] **According to Paul Charest,** "Altogether, about one third of all Hydro-Québec's hydro energy production, or 10,000 mw, comes from Innu lands in Quebec and Labrador." (255). Furthermore, "Most of the new projects considered by Hydro-Québec for the next ten to fifteen years will be located in Innu country on the Peribonka, Romaine, and Little-Mecatina rivers on the Quebec side, and eventually at Gull Island on the Churchill River in Labrador. The primary beneficiaries of this type of large-scale and low-priced energy production are, of course, the inhabitants of the St. Lawrence Valley, where the great majority of Quebecers live."" (262). See "More Dams for Nitassinan: New Business Partnerships Between Hydro-Québec and Innu Communities" in Power Struggles: Hydro Development and First Nations in Quebec and Manitoba.

**"Great White North": Unsettling Narratives of Nature**

> *"We need to bring our best social and political theories to bear in reassessing how we understand social phenomena, including the material practices through which we divide the world into the categories of the "social" and the 'natural'."*
> *(Barad 25)*

In Canada, *territorialization* through the dispossesion of First Nations land has proceeded through racist, patriarchal and anthropocentric assumptions about the value of land and labour that are embedded in national mythologies. In Chapter II, I sketch a literature review focusing on anti-colonial analysis of so-called "development" in Canada, which has centered on the cultivation of land that is deemed to be "un-productive". Comparing the perpetuation of colonial narratives that conflate North/nature/Native in both Canada and Australia, cultural geographer Kay Anderson writes: "Great White North and Wide Brown Land are modes of subjectivity that adhere not only to the apparently benign scripts of tourist brochures and mantras of human connection to a pristine nature. They also shape the imaginaries of governmental unities or 'nations' that were themselves born in the turbulent experiences of settler colonialism and Indigenous dispossession" (260). Anderson is pointing to descriptions of Canada that conflate the "North" with the categories of "nature" and "Native", which serve to erase Indigenous presence and justify "white" invasion in the name of modernization and economic "progress". Cultural geographer Caroline Desbiens offers an extended analysis of the dispersed discursive strategies that enable this dispossession. Focusing on the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement (JBNQA)[3], launched by Liberal leader Robert Bourassa in 1971, Desbiens shows how the collusion of nation and nature in popular imagery and rhetoric contributes to the fiction of a unified Québécois identity and legitimizes hydro development on Aboriginal lands. She analyzes music videos, television shows, advertisements, fictional literature and tourist sites, revealing their contribution to colonization of the North by southern Québec. Driven by a narrow conception of "development" conforming to the parameters of what she

[3] The JBNQA is a First Nations land claim agreement covering approximately two thirds of the area of Québec, ratified in 1975 by the Cree and Inuit of northern Québec . It was modified three years later through the Northeastern Québec Agreement, through which the Naskapi First Nations joined the treaty.

calls "big science" (218), Desbiens argues that Aboriginal understandings of the land as embodied and lived experience are made to disappear through distanced representations that reframe the land as "wilderness"—emptied of human presence. She asks: "is there something we can retain about the cultural connection between people and land that can revivify our understanding of development and sustainability?" (218). This is a question of interest to me in my own fieldwork, as will become clear below. In her selection of images and in her analysis, Desbiens situates herself as a non-Indigenous scholar with a personal interest in this settler colonial discourse. She does so by hinging her narrative around her childhood experience as a Québécoise in Montréal, growing up during the excitement around the JBNQA. She also frames herself as a Northern tourist, including many photographs from her personal collection, taken during visits to the former Hydro Québec work camps. Aside from situating her knowledge, this approach is conducive to a literary academic style that is engaging and evocative. This offers the potential to reach non-academic audiences, which can be one tactic toward unsettling colonization, through transforming popular imaginaries.

American environmental historian William Cronon analyzes the category of "wilderness" over a longer period. He describes "wilderness" as a nineteenth-century frontier ideology, coinciding with primitivism and nation-building projects. Cronon writes: "To protect wilderness was in a very real sense to protect the nation's most sacred myth of origin" (7) and that to protect wilderness was to defend "the last bastion of rugged individualism" (7). By untangling the roots of this wilderness myth, Cronon reveals the complicity of religion, colonialism and capitalism in cultural imperialist projects. Like Anderson and Desbiens, Cronon draws connections between settler colonialism and discourse that represents Indigenous land as "wild" and, consequently, available for capitalist appropriation. On a more abstract level, Cronon argues that wilderness is what is immediately recognizable as "other". What he deems *most* dangerous is the attempt to distance ourselves from "wilderness", suggesting instead that we hone the ability to recognize otherness in what is most familiar. He believes that this will lead to caring and taking responsibility for the "wilderness" within our own homes. As an artist-academic, I interpret this as a challenge to take responsibility for the uneven relations that allow for me to prosper within public institutions, while these same resources are out of reach for many

people living on reserves in this country. Taking advantage of the privileges that I am afforded might open possibilities for unsettling discourse around "wilderness" and "development" that limit imagination to a colonial-capitalist framework.

In practice, this could involve the creation of representations or performances that disrupt conflations of Native/nature/Nation like those described above. In my thesis project it means troubling descriptions of Québec's LNS as "wild", and "pure"—designations that perpetuate the depiction of First Nations as part of nature, "undeveloped" and therefore in need of colonial-capitalist intervention. In media coverage of the LNS, the area is consistently described as both "depressed" and "undeveloped". The problem with this is, in the words of American geographer Joel Wainwright: "By defining a space-economy as an object in need of development, development texts provide setting, i.e., they set the scene for capitalism qua development" (204). I will return to this idea again.

In his text "Purity and Pollution", American geographer Jake Kosek argues that invoking "wilderness" is motivated by a will to purity that is rooted in racism and classism. He shows that notions of "wilderness" are historically linked to masculinity, nationalism and colonialism that represent "progress", "development" and "civilization" as antidotes to the so-called "backwardness" of "ignorant" and "savage" lands/people. Kosek demonstrates that this dark history is alive in certain environmentalisms, which either ignore or mask the presence of Indigenous populations in areas that are marked as in need of "protection", or view these populations as threats to the ecologies of those places. In order to maintain these myths, artificial separations between "nature" and "society" are entrenched. Kosek identifies intersections between historical attempts to "purify" society through eugenics, and to "purify" nature through wilderness discourse: Frederick Jackson Turner's famous "frontier" paper; Coolidge's 1924 Immigration Act; romantic writings of the "fathers of environmentalism"; the Wilderness Act; the National Park system; California's Proposition

In Sydney, Nova Scotia, we ate haddock and chips with beer before boarding the 7.5 hour overnight ferry to Newfoundland. Amidst a chorus of rollicking babies and riotous children, we managed to sleep for two-three hours before continuing the drive north along the west coast of Canada's easternmost island. Halfway up, in Gros Morne National Park, we stopped for the Stanleyville hike in Lomond, then continued to the Berry Hill campground where we cooked, ate, roasted marshmallows and settled in for a good night's sleep. This morning we completed the drive to St. Barbe in three hours time.

187; Judeo-Christian traditions; Enlightenment thought. Added to these could be radio segments and newspaper articles produced during Jean Charest's 2011 campaign for le Plan Nord[4]. In this media coverage, the LNS was depicted as "undeveloped", "depressed" and "dying", as a pretext for instigating road-building and other economic development projects that were controversial partly for their disregard of First Nations land claims. These representations will be addressed in Chapter VI.

**Resistant Naturecultures on the Lower North Shore**

> *"The modern order itself is entwined with capital as this accumulative and acquisitive force further detaches people from places and moves them into other zones for productivity, accumulation and territorial settlement".*
> *(Audra Simpson 17)*

This thesis focuses on what is at stake in using the cloudberry to market a place as "pure" and "natural" — cleansing the messy social practices that go to work to construct such a category. According to popular narratives, the LNS is currently undergoing a period of transition as a result of the decimation of its once thriving cod industry. The small, remote villages are isolated and undeveloped. Lack of roads limits its access to boat and plane. Due to scarcity of work, a large percentage of the population leaves in summer months for construction jobs elsewhere in the country, while remaining largely dependent on social assistance during the rest of the year.[5] In light of these circumstances, the current challenge for LNS residents is to develop new economic opportunities in order to achieve autonomy and prosperity.[6]

This narrative representation rests on a certain set of assumptions. Firstly, the idea of *development* is framed within capitalist infrastructural requirements. This region is

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[4] Le Plan Nord is an economic development strategy by the Québec Liberal Party. It promised jobs and investments in energy, mining and forestry. While the plan was backed by the Cree and Inuit Nations, it was vehemently opposed by the Innu Nation and by environmentalist groups.

[5] Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages
<http://www.ocol-clo.gc.ca/html/stu_etu_062008_lns_bcn_p4_e.php>

[6] Both the problem of underdevelopment and its solution in entrepreneurialism are being framed as such, for instance, by Québec's Community Economic Development and Employability Corporation < http://www.cedec.ca/blog/tag/lower-north-shore/> and le Centre local de développement de la Basse-Côte-Nord < http://www.cldbcn.qc.ca/accueil.htm>.

deemed "undeveloped" because of the lack of roads connecting villages to each other and to the rest of the province. Transportation of goods, services and people is limited to scheduled ferry and airplane routes and is expensive. *Development* in this context also refers to the marketing and distribution of local products. Until the 1990s, cod fisheries provided the main sustenance for local communities, with most jobs being in that industry. Over-fishing threatened the decimation of this species and led to a moratorium on cod fishing and subsequent job loss. Since the mid-nineties the government has funded a number of projects to develop economically viable alternatives to the fishing industry.

Another assumption in this narrative is that the populations of the LNS are currently *un*productive. The above description casts LNS residents as a reserve labour force that remains idle during many months of the year, becoming useful only seasonally, during the months in which (mainly) construction work becomes available. Even then, residents' productivity requires that they leave this stagnant place and seek opportunities to be of value elsewhere. Furthermore, in this narrative it is the youth who are productive and mobile, leaving the elderly behind, the underlying assumption being that the aging population does nothing at all. Like *development* then, which is measured according to the conversion of land, plants, air, water and animals into capital, *productivity* is determined by the transformation of human activities into waged labour.

A third underlying assumption sustaining this story is that populations of the LNS are dependent. During three seasons, while they are out of work, a large percentage of this population receives government transfer payments.[7] The disproportionately aging community is also dependent on state health care and pensions. As such, the LNS population that emerges in this narrative appears to be a burden to Canadian taxpayers. The implication is that it is incumbent upon residents to take responsibility and to develop the means to become active contributors to the Canadian economy in order to sustain themselves.

The dominant stories emerging around the LNS of Québec in the last twenty years (in the news, tourism websites, government reports, development groups) portray these coastline towns and their populations as: old, frail, sick, isolated, dependent, unproductive,

[7] Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages <http://www.ocol-clo.gc.ca/html/stu_etu_062008_lns_bcn_p4_e.php>

undeveloped and failing. Cast overwhelmingly in terms of lack, the only alternative imaginary becomes possible through economic gain: via road-building projects and exploitation of natural resources; identity through branding of place; and establishment of 'slow' or eco-tourism.

The LNS is currently being marketed as a *wilderness* destination, featuring activities such as whale-watching, wilderness camping and wildberries picking[8]. Chicoutai, known alternately in Québec as shikuteu, cloudberry, bakeapple, or plaquebière, is central to this identification process, as a wild berry that grows in only a handful of places around the world. While the cloudberry is being used in efforts to brand an identity that will represent the LNS as a unique, pure and natural place, my research focuses on stories that reveal its symbolic value as a site of contestation. For the leaders of the LNS Bioproducts Solidarity Cooperative in the municipality of Bonne Espérance, who are attempting to build economic independence for local communities through the development of non-timber forest products (NTFP), what gives their wild berry foodstuffs value is the fact that they are "hand-picked by locals", "healthy", "pesticide-free", "rare", "unique" and of course, "wild". Former Wildberry Coordinator at the LNS Bioproducts Solidarity Cooperative Priscilla Griffin explains that, in selling a package of wildberry jellies, "you aren't only selling your redberry, you are selling your area, you are selling your community" (Griffin).

However, the cloudberry as a symbol of economic independence for locals is complicated by potential restrictions around harvesting practices. For instance, there is disagreement about the value of regulating labour and remuneration for "pickers". It seems that, for some people, independence entails the ability to pick when and where and as much as they want, and the choice to sell, for cash or not, to whomever they wish (these are just some of the current forms of local well-being that exist outside of a capitalist framework). For others, long-term economic and environmental independence depends upon the regulation of labour and land.

The maintenance of "wild" and "free" qualities of local places and their populations is complicated by their implication in global markets. Johnny Burke, tour guide at the Visitor Information Centre in Blanc Sablon, explained that bakeapples are one of the main tourist attractions in the area, due to their rarity. He and others described the destructive

[8] See <http://tourismlowernorthshore.com>. Accessed 29 Oct. 2015.

tendencies of some tourists to cut or even uproot the plants. As a twenty-something, he claims that: "Most of the generations here that are younger than me have motor vehicles, so going out and walking the land is something that they don't know very well" (Burke). It would appear then, as though the pressures to compete in global economies, coupled with changing relationships with the land, are contributing to local struggles with understandings of *development*. In Chapter IV, I trace a colonial history of the LNS and its land claims process over the last thirty years. This is meant to provide context to show why current uses of the cloudberry to represent the LNS are colonial and could be used to justify further dispossession through *development* efforts in the region. In Chapter V, I follow this with an analysis of the use of the cloudberry in current place-branding strategies that helps to reveal the various competing interests at play in this process.

**Conclusion**

In a province where debates about nationalism center around the protection of colonial Francophone language and culture, universities have an important role to play in raising awareness of Indigenous presence and connections to place. The LNS-Concordia Partnership Initiative, which triggered the investigation that follows, has identified an impressive range of actors who are interested in contributing to improved living conditions for locals on the northeastern coast of Québec. A variety of creative approaches to this have been suggested, and more recently, l'Université du Québec, Trois-Rivières has come onboard with a potential Research Chair dedicated to *development* on the LNS. Because most of the researchers, academics and artists involved to date are unfamiliar with the region though, the two Innu communities on the coast have so far been overlooked in their plans. As these initiatives progress, both universities have an exciting opportunity to help imagine possible new worlds on the LNS based on the diversity of languages, cultures and values there. As a first step toward this, I offer here an outline of the historical context of settler colonialism and a critique of its lasting influence in this country to show why it is important to consider Innu communities in "development" of the coast.

## CHAPTER II

## "An Inadequate Measure of Property": Wilderness as Pretext for Development

### Introduction

In this chapter, I begin by defining "settler colonialism" and show how two representations in particular serve settler colonial projects — that of nature as wilderness and that of nature as undeveloped. These two colonial representations are instrumental in depictions of the LNS and are currently being implemented in the service of economic development there. I draw on postcolonial literatures below to demonstrate how these two representations have operated in various other colonial-capitalist projects. Furthermore, I show that representations of nature or wilderness have been and continue to be used to create an illusory separation between "undeveloped" and "productive" places as a pretext for capitalist incursion. I review literature from the discipline of cultural geography with a focus on postcolonial critiques of the dispossession of people from their land through development discourse that depends on "wild" and "civilized" binaries. Next, I draw from geographers Sarah Whatmore and Stephen Hinchcliffe, whose work proposes an approach to the world and its relationships that disrupts the kind of colonial representation being critiqued here. The work of physicist Karen Barad then helps me to explain how it is that representations come to be understood as separate from the world that they purport to depict, with "observers" or "experts" being identified as somehow outside of the "nature" in these depictions. Together, Barad, Whatmore, and Hinchcliffe help me to analyze the way in which "objects" are in effect constituted by a whole set of representations and relationships. So, understood in this way, the cloudberry becomes a site of intersection for representations of nature as wild and of nature as underdeveloped, thus affecting how the berries are understood and governed on the LNS. Taking this analytical approach, we can see the intersection of a set of systemic or institutional logics at the nexus of *rubus chamaemorus*: the colonial state, capital, and institutions like Concordia and l'Université du Québec. These various institutions thus all gain power and establish themselves through the logic of settler colonialism, as it operates through representations of the cloudberry.

**Unsettling Home: What Is Settler Colonialism?**

In his essay, "Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native", Australian postcolonial historian Patrick Wolfe explores the relationship between genocide and the settler-colonial "logic of elimination". According to Wolfe, race is a central organizing principle of settler colonization and genocide, with territory as the primary motive for elimination (of Indigenous peoples) in this ongoing process (388). *Territorialization* occurs through assimilation processes, re-naming practices, privatization of communal lands, native citizenship, religious conversion, child abduction, and so on. "Settler colonialism is an inclusive, land-centered project that coordinates a comprehensive range of agencies, from the metropolitan center to the frontier encampment, with a view to elimination of Indigenous societies" (393). Wolfe shows that what American colonists found contemptible about the Cherokee was the settlement of their own civilization. Those Cherokee that remained after the genocidal elimination of their tribe were accepted because they had become "homesteaders and American citizens.' In a word, they had become individuals" (397) as opposed to the collective that had been removed. "Tribes and private property did not mix. Indians were the original communist menace". Thus, a prime threat to settler colonialism is communal land. Privatization of property is the goal of colonialism, making its modernist-capitalist foundations clear: progress achieved through development of 'nature' (land, 'resources', labour) into products for exchange.[9]

[9] Neil Smith's description of capitalism's incessant predation, scouring the earth and devouring everything attests to this colonial impulse. I would argue though, that it goes too far in its description of a world in which there is nothing that is non-human.

Wolfe insists that settler colonialism is the foundational structure of social relations within the logic of capitalist accumulation. "When invasion is recognized as a structure rather than an event, its history does not stop—or, more to the point, become relatively trivial—when it moves on from the era of frontier homicide" (402). What Wolfe means to show is that colonialism is not an event that took place in the past, located in European-New World encounters. Rather, settler colonialism is characterized by an insatiable capitalist hunger that invades, dispossesses, and domesticates through ongoing epistemic and cultural violence. Recognizing this helps to clarify the deeply uneven power relations upon which privatization depends. Bringing wild berries under state control through regulating areas for picking, charging fees for picking permits or instituting picking quotas is thus a settler colonial project, since the berries grow on unceded Native land and are central to seasonal harvesting practices by the Innu. Such regulation seems inevitable to the development of a tourism industry that features wild berries picking or to the production of artisanal berry products for export. Furthermore, construction of roads and buildings to support tourism means ongoing dispossession of Innu land.

Yesterday we arrived in Blanc Sablon (pronounced BLONK SABLAWN) at 4pm local time. Not having plans or destination, our first stop was the Visitor Information Centre at the end of the road leading from the ferry. There, we collected brochures and maps, as well as a tip for where we might find bakeapples. The spot, two ponds near the airport, was suggested for camping too. Before heading that way down the main road, we drove up a hill in the other direction, toward Labrador. At the top of the hill, we parked the vehicle and got out to take pictures of the spectacular view, and to read the interpretive sign posted there. To our surprise, what we found underfoot was as extraordinary as the view. Crouching down, we examined what appeared to be red, unripened bakeapples. We took pictures, then got back into the car and returned toward the airport.

In “Settler Colonialism: Career of a Concept”, postcolonial historian Lorenzo Veracini traces a historiography of the analytical category "settler colonialism" in the second half of the twentieth century, showing that the relationships between “settler” and “colonialism” have only recently been acknowledged. According to him, "colonialism within 'settler colonialism' or "settler colonial studies" begin in the mid ‘70s and are instigated by Indigenous demands for recognition and self-determination. The emphases of these studies are: ongoing colonial

processes of violence, theft, waste, classism, and racism. "Colonialism" is now seen as operative within all settler colonial environments, including the North (Veracini points out that the United States and Canada were both late to adopt this category of analysis). Academic revisionisms have contributed to the re-writing of colonial histories. This relatively new focus on the relationships between 'settlement' and 'invasion' has produced a need for instituting 'reconciliation' processes and public apologies. Thus, it would seem from this account that any attempt to 'unsettle' colonialism must be guided by Indigenous voices as well as by academics.

> The seemingly haphazard layout of the houses, lack of visible boundaries between properties and proximity between them is unfamiliar to me, and being here makes me feel like a city person. I am amazed at the openness of the landscape and the fact that we are able to choose any spot we like to set up camp. After driving along the coast and checking out the ponds near the airport, we decide to set up our tent on the beach overlooking the ocean. We have the whole beach to ourselves, and sunshine for enjoying the evening there, barbequeing and resting.

But how can non-Indigenous scholars avoid colonizing when engaging with 'others' through research projects? Political scientist Glen Coulthard writes as both a member of the Dene First Nation and a professor of Political Science at the University of British Columbia. In "Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the 'Politics of Recognition' in Canada", he argues that "the colonized must struggle to critically reclaim and revaluate the worth of their own histories, traditions, and cultures against the subjectifying gaze and assimilative lure of colonial recognition...the colonized must initiate the process of decolonization by recognizing themselves as free, dignified and distinct contributors to humanity" (454). Can non-Indigenous scholars also play a role in helping to reclaim these histories, traditions and cultures? As I show through case studies below, "inattentional blindness" has led to the imaginative *and* real eradication of First Nations across Turtle Island. Coulthard points out though, that representation of First Nations by settlers can be just as dangerous, since this has the effect of translating perceived Native perspectives into the language of capital and the state. How should colonial institutions like Concordia University and Université du Québec deal with this paradox? In this project, it has been important to speak with Innu people about their harvesting and culinary practices as a way of understanding the relational significance of cloudberries. In this way, it has become

apparent that respecting the practices associated with these berries means leaving large tracts of Innu land alone for use in walking, hunting, boating and camping activities. Any "development" project amongst non-Indigenous communities should thus take this into account so as not to interfere with the livelihoods of this area's first inhabitants. I am nonetheless left with the unresolved issue of having directed these representations and maintained editorial control. As I see it though, I am beginning a conversation that is important, as fraught as it may be.

**Land as a Verb**

The representation of so-called undeveloped land by colonial "experts" has been crucial to the dispossession of First Nations in Canada. As we will see in Chapter IV, Innu leaders are forced to rely on "expert" translations of their land into the language of the Canadian legal system. This is part of a process in which the Innu become assimilated through representational acts. As a sociologist and anthropologist who has been engaged in long term work with the Innu, Colin Samson writes that: "In the rights-granting arenas that take shape in the comprehensive land claims negotiations, the knowledge generated by scientific representations of Native land acts as a trump card over all other possible contesting versions…It is in a world of representation not experience, that the Innu are urged to dwell for the sake of winning recognition of their land rights" (61). Samson describes a series of "land selection meetings" that he attended in 1998 in his role as independent human rights reporter. In preparing the Innu Nation's position on the land for their comprehensive land claims negotiations, Innu leaders were commandeered by four "non-Native advisors — a lawyer, an environmental scientist, a forestry expert, and an anthropologist" (65). Samson provides a vivid description of their specialist translations of Innu land into "three landscapes", each defined by the appropriate expert. "After explaining what a 'landscape' was ('the whole of the land, culture, and ecology that is claimed'), it was announced that the anthropologist would speak about the 'cultural landscape', the environmentalist, the 'development landscape,' and the forestry expert, the 'ecological landscape'" (65). Each of these "landscapes" was reduced to digitized and gridded abstractions, presented in bullet points formatted in Microsoft Word software and flanked

by the Innu Nation logo. The key role played by representation (in both senses of the word) is clear in Samson's description of what transpired during that meeting:

> [I]t became apparent that the centrepiece of the experts' presentations was undoubtedly the maps — colourful, hard-edged, digitized, laminated, overlain with transparencies, cultural as well as physical, metamorphosizing at the tap of a key. According to the anthropologist, the maps were sources of power. Standing beside the overlays, he spoke to a small group of Innu in loud, crisp tones, 'When Europeans came here, they asked your people to draw maps so they could find their way around. They then made their own maps, which they used to occupy the land. Now we are making our own maps. That gives us power over them.' Like the writing on treaties, a guarantee that Native peoples across the continent were told signified protection for them and future generations, power was now inscription. (67)

Despite protests from the Innu community that the boundaries demarcating these "landscapes" had nothing to do with their understanding and use of the land as dynamic and relational, these representations went on to be used in the land claims negotiations. One of Samson's Innu interlocutors eloquently noted: "'I don't believe in maps…Maps are only pieces of paper. I know ponds and lakes because I was there'" (69). This expression of land as relational and performed through direct encounters is echoed by Coulthard, who explains that:

> [T]he theory and practice of Indigenous anticolonialism, including Indigenous anticapitalism, is best understood as a struggle primarily inspired by and oriented around *the question of land*— a struggle not only *for* land in the material sense, but also deeply *informed* by what the land *as system of reciprocal relations and obligations* can teach us about living our lives in relation to one another and the natural world in nondominating and nonexploitative terms—and less around our emergent status as "rightless proletarians." I call this place-based foundation of Indigenous decolonial thought and practice *grounded normativity*, by which I mean the modalities of Indigenous land-connected practices and longstanding experiential knowledge that

> inform and structure our ethical engagements with the world and our relationships with human and nonhuman others over time" (Red Skin 13).

I will return to "place-based" practice in the next chapter, and in Chapter VI, I will expand on this differentiation between "representational" and "performative" approaches to land. For now what I want to highlight is that dispossession of First Nations people happens contemporaneously not through overtly violent conquest but through discursive means. Drawing cartographic fictions, branding places, converting concepts into incommensurable legal jargon and having so-called experts speak on behalf of "others" are all means of translating lived places into private properties.

Government officials, administrators, company men and academics are not the only ones who are responsible for dispossession through representation. The popular imaginary is shaped largely by artists of various stripes, and through their intention or ignorance land can come to be understood as either an empty object or as a vibrant place. In his essay "Wild Art History," art historian John O'Brian coins the term "wildercentric" to describe the lasting tendency in Canada to associate national identity with geography and climate. He argues that the kind of landscape promoted in Canadian cultural establishments and popular culture depicts forests, mountains and lakes that are untouched by people or by industry. O'Brian's aim is to show that this 'wildercentric' penchant has served the interests of wealthy men of Western European descent and has masked racial

After leaving the Visitor Information Centre, we drove to a specific spot where we could pick up a cell signal and check email before heading south. Johnny had warned that once you leave Blanc Sablon, there is no chance of a connection. With this taken care of, we were set and decided there was time to check out the trail that Sandra recommended, with its rare Milk Vetch and wild berry crops. We could see right away that the situation here was similar to our first encounter with the bakeapple. The berries were hard, small and red. They grew very sparsely and I was having a hard time imagining how it would be feasible to pick any significant amount. Next, we drove down the only stretch of road connecting any of the villages along the LNS. On the left glistened the ocean, and on the right stretched expanses of rolling, green, rocky land that reminded us of Ireland and Scotland. We felt like we were in another country and it was shocking to see so much space without buildings of any kind.

and ethnic disparities produced through the nation-building project. The use of landscape in this process began with the patronage of the Group of Seven by wealthy Protestant Torontonians, the railway and the National Gallery of Canada during the 1920s, which coincided with a period of strict immigration laws that limited access to Eastern Europeans and Asians while Western Europeans were being encouraged to settle and farm the land. This essay is part of an edited volume called *Beyond Wilderness*, which was prompted by a Group of Seven retrospective curated by Charles Hill at the National Gallery of Canada. The exhibition, titled *Art for a Nation*, traveled throughout Canada in 1996, prompting many to ask, "whose nation?" The empty, vast expanses painted by such artists have been read as part of a colonial project to promote development of the country's "natural resources", while excluding women, Aboriginal populations, French Canadians and Asian immigrants from the picture; their absence in the paintings was analogous to their dismissal from positions of power in everyday life. O'Brian's claim that "Landscape representation is always attached in some way to economic and social circumstances" means that it should be called to account for its ideological import (31). The connections between notions of "nature" as unpeopled white landscapes and "the North" persist. American actor and comedian Steve Martin has recently curated an exhibition of paintings by Group of Seven artist Lawren Harris. Titled *The Idea of North*, it will travel throughout the United States this year, further perpetuating these stereotypical associations.

*Figure 6. Icebergs, Baffin's Bay North, 1930. Lawren Harris.*


*Figure 7. Le Plan Nord: 2015-2020 Action Plan.*
*http://plannord.gouv.qc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Synthese_PN_EN_IMP.pdf*

There are parallels between compositions by the Group of Seven and those used in major economic development projects in Québec today. Note the similarities between Figures 6 and 7; they both use pristine nordic landscapes imagery to sell Canada. It is an often overlooked fact that Group of Seven members were graphic designers, and therefore trained to make commercial paintings. They were commissioned by the CN Railway to paint landscapes on the interiors of their trains to promote exploration of the Great Outdoors. Even long after their deaths, their landscapes continue to help sell tours of Canada's *wilderness* (read: First Nations territories). The CN/Algoma Central Railway has recently partnered with the Art Gallery of Algoma to sell rail and museum tickets. Jasmyn Rowley wrote an article for Northern Ontario Travel titled "Explore the Creative Trail of the Group of Seven: One Brush Stroke at a Time!" to promote these tours. Figure 7 is an image from the Gouvernement du Québec's Plan Nord Action Plan. The similarities to Harris' iceberg composition are striking and in this case, the image is used to create an uplifting vision of resource extraction and road-building in the province. The stark white icebergs on crystal clear aquamarine waters lend a harmonious image to what are in reality controversial economic plans. The contested nature of this so-called "development" can be seen, for example, in Figures 8 and 9, which picture protests over the plan and effects on caribou migration routes, respectively.


*Figure 8. Protest against Plan Nord in Montreal, Feb 9, 2013. Posted by Zig Zag on Warrior Publications blog.*


*Figure 9. Posted by Nicolas Mainville for Greenpeace. 30 August 2012.*

Representations of "wilderness" proliferate today not only in the medium of landscape[10], but also through cartographic projects, with the help of GIS, GPS, remote sensing and other technologies of abstraction. While these forms hold out promise for understanding certain aspects of distant places or for representing places to distant people, or even for assisting in live navigation of places, it is important to keep in mind that they produce partial, disjointed and distorted inscriptions over lived space. "Remote" or "wild" places are cast as such only through the omission of movement or through their framing as discontinuous with "cultural and economic centres". Cultural theorist and philosopher Jonathan Bordo refers to wilderness as "'haunted,' because it owes a part of its ambiguity, detachment and symbolic meaning to that aboriginality which is there but absent, not from the land upon which aboriginal peoples have continued their painful, marginal dwelling, but from the system of representation that we call 'wilderness.'" Furthermore, he defines "the Euro-Canadian view of wilderness not as an 'idea' but as a cultural project that articulated

[10] See W.J.T. Mitchell's "Theses on Landscape" in his essay "Imperial Landscape". Thesis number two asserts that: "Landscape is a medium of exchange between the human and the natural, the self and the other. As such, it is like money: good for nothing in itself, but expressive of a potentially limitless reserve of value" (Landscape and Power, 5). Note that the treatment of *landscape* as a medium instead of a genre emphasizes exchange and relationality. This is in line with Mitchell's aim to "change 'landscape' from a noun to a verb" (1).

itself as a system of representation, intimately and inextricably linked to… aboriginal presence" (Beyond Wilderness 333). The Action Plan for Le Plan Nord does, in fact, represent First Nations people in its pages (see Figure 10). It pictures small, smiling children, the sun on their faces. These youngsters will be of working age in 2035 and the Plan promises a bright future for them, its objectives aiming to "promote labour force training and retention in the North" and "help local and aboriginal communities plan and structure their development". This is an example of the problem that Coulthard and Simpson identify with "recognition". Aboriginal people are "recognized" here by incorporating them into a plan to privatize their communal land, promising them "jobs" to compensate for a way of life that is incompatible with colonial-capitalism.


*Figure 10. "Innu Youth." Photo by Marc Tremblay.*

In Canada's nation-building project, the land as devoid of people, "unproductive" and "undeveloped" is fuelled by depictions of "wilderness" areas ripe for resource extraction, and these have formed a frontier myth that transforms land as relational, to land as commodity. This approach to land as *terra nullius* is the foundation of settler colonialism's justification for dispossession. Coulthard suggests that: "one of the negative effects of this power-laden process of discursive translation has been a reorientation of the meaning of self-determination for many (but not all) Indigenous people in the North; a reorientation of Indigenous struggle from one that was once deeply *informed* by the land as a system of reciprocal relations and obligations (grounded normativity), which in turn informed our critique of capitalism in the period examined above, to a struggle that is now increasingly *for* land, understood now as material resource to be exploited in the capital accumulation

process" (Red Skin 78). The above helps to explain how it is that representations of *wilderness* and *nature* shape the colonial/Canadian imagination, making the homes of First Nations people seemingly available for *development.* Artists are complicit in this process insofar as their depictions of unspoiled, unpeopled land help to promote tourism and other settler colonial projects. Representations of the LNS as wild and pure are exploiting old tropes that dismiss First Nations presence to validate colonial-capital expansion.

**History: Settler Colonialism and the Management of Nature in Canada**

Canada's reserve system has also relied on depictions of land as wild, and this myth has extended to people too. In *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia,* Canadian geographer Cole Harris writes a history of the making of the reserve system in the settler colonial province of British Colombia from the mid-nineteenth century to 1938. Throughout this period, he shows that First Nations people were understood and represented by the Canadian government as backward, lazy, and unproductive, and their land was described as "waste", because it was used for seasonal hunting and gathering rather than for agriculture. Harris writes: "I show that the reserve system was a particular instance of the assault on custom associated with the expansion of market economies and the increasingly regulative role of the state in a regime of disciplinary power" (xxx). Harris traces the protracted and piecemeal carving up of the area that was renamed "British Columbia" through ongoing struggles between the federal government, which considered First Nations to be wards of the state, and the province, which held control of land and resources (71). The Indian Commission, once it was instituted, could not challenge the ideology of private property that justified the possession of First Nations lands by individual settler colonists. Private property was unquestioned, thus First Nations' claims to land were constrained within a capitalist logic of individual competition. Harris demonstrates the history of this assumption in early settler-Indigenous encounters. For instance, Premier and chief commissioner of lands and works in the mid-1880s William Smithe, "told a delegation of Nisga'a and Tsimshian in Victoria to press their land rights in February 1887, they had needed extensive lands when 'they were little better than wild animals that rove over the hills,' but 'as they are taught other and better ways ...

they do not require to go picking berries over the hills as their forefathers did" (189). He said: "When my attention was called to this immense area of land lying in a wild, waste condition, without any attempt being made to improve it, by cultivation or otherwise, so as to make it productive and of benefit to the community at large, I felt that an almost criminal wrong had been done in withdrawing from settlement so large a tract of fertile land. A wrong, particularly apparent at this time, when there is such a demand for land by white settlers, who are entering the country in search of homes" (189). Here is an example of the nation-territory-state triad that becomes entangled in discourse about "development" by treating so-called "progress" as natural and inevitable. This happens through the conflation of the different meanings of the word nature. I will return to this idea below.

During the McKenna-McBride Royal Commission from 1913-1916[11], testimonies by Indigenous representatives were heard in court, and these occasionally consisted of non-European forms of knowledge, such as songs and oral histories. Unlike the representations of settlers, which depicted First Nations land as fallow and unproductive, these performances were part of the *grounded normativity* described by Coulthard, since they portrayed the land as a system of reciprocal relations. Being incommensurable with the prevailing colonial-capitalist discourse, however, these were discounted. An order was passed that forced "Indians" to be represented by counsel nominated and paid for by the Dominion. Opposition to this by the Nisga'a and the Allied Tribes was dismissed. To mount their case, settlers and officials used tools that were conducive to the management of nature in ways that supported their

Arriving at our destination on the waterfront in the picturesque village of St. Paul's River, we were greeted by our hosts, who generously offered us cod from their freezer for dinner, along with fresh spinach and lettuce from their garden. We grilled the fish with veggies and couscous on our portable BBQ in their driveway. Feeling happy with the day's accomplishments, we settled in for the night. To our surprise, however, more bakeapple discoveries were to be had, where they were least expected. As it turns out, our hostess is a master berry picker, cultivating this skill since childhood when she picked berries with her father. I was quickly invited upstairs to see her 2013 harvest, which had been recently picked and frozen with no sugar, after simply being washed. I photographed these in their Ziploc bags.

[11] The mission of the McKenna-McBride Commission was to create a final map of Indigenous reserves throughout British Columbia by adding to, and mostly restricting and eliminating reserves that had been ambiguously delineated and redrawn over disorganized successions of federal and provincial administration since the mid-nineteenth century.

limited notions of "progress" and "development" through the domination of nature. "Maps and numbers were, at once, egregious simplifications and effective colonial tools. Such information seemed objective, lent itself to cross-tabulation and to comparative analysis, and could be transported and stored. The commissioners took it to Victoria, and pored over it in their boardroom in the Belmont Hotel. Their maps and numbers were, in historian of science Theodore Porter's apt phrase 'technologies of distance.' They were simple 'inscriptions' from one place transported to what French sociologist Bruno Latour calls a 'centre of calculation' where, with scant connection with their place of origin, they shaped decision making about it" (233). The Canadian government conceived of Indigenous populations as children, in need of reform just as the land was in need of management to be made productive. Thus, because they did not exploit the land for private profit, First Nations were understood in the same way as the newly "discovered" land: undeveloped. Treating Innu land as depressed, dying, and undeveloped thus perpetuates this racist frontier narrative as a foundation for "developing" land through privatization.

Harris explains that: "For English colonists, planting a garden and, in the process, subduing the land, was much more than a horticultural experience. A properly fenced garden was property. It followed from this that those who did not plant gardens, or did not fence them, or did not create landscapes that bore imprints familiar to the English, did not possess the land and could not have property rights to it. English settlers in early colonial America considered that even a Native garden, unfenced, was an inadequate measure of property" (48). Within this settler colonial mentality, development through the conversion of "nature" into products for exchange is an imperative that is taken for granted. The conquering of territory for profit therefore becomes a justification for the assimilation, dispossession and government of Indigenous

> Our hostess explained that she likes to pick some berries while they are still hard, because these are better for cooking and baking. She freezes these for later use in jams and desserts, and because they are slightly unripe, they maintain their form. The softer, riper berries are good for immediate consumption, fresh. The berries she showed me were much larger than what we saw growing, and golden with orange in colour. She showed me three large Ziploc bags stuffed with frozen berries, which apparently took her under two hours to pick, thanks to her secret spot, which sounds to be as reliable as it gets.

populations, through both physical force and cultural imperialism.

I take this careful history by Harris to be exemplary of the challenge articulated by geographer Joel Wainwright in his book *Decolonizing Development: Colonial Power and the Maya*, that is, "to decolonize the realist framework that simply presupposes the natural existence of territory, without asking after its ontological basis" (20). Wainwright describes territory as something more than space that is occupied by a nation. Territory is an iterative practice, one that is produced, as Harris shows, through a state's spatial and ontological distinction between its own space and an other's. In the case of Canada's reserves, these have historically been sub-territories used to separate Indigenous peoples from those of European descent. The processes of *territorialization* involved in making these spaces have hinged upon differentiating practices of organizing families, of working, of making homes, of worshipping, of continuing traditions, and so forth. Because First Nations people did not establish nuclear families, work according to an abstract workday, settle in permanent locations, practice Christianity, and write histories, they were relegated to small, mostly uncultivable portions of land that would not interfere with the path of economic "progress".

Wainwright draws on cultural studies theorist Raymond Williams' tripartite definition of 'nature' (5) as: an essence, a force, and "the world itself" to explain how processes of *territorialization* come to be naturalized. He argues that these three different meanings are often "conflated when some thing is described as being 'natural.' An affiliation between essence, direction, and environment is thus woven through our language" (5). The conflation of natural realism, with the notion of a force that is impelled toward a goal, and that of quintessential *being* accounts for the affinity between "nature" and "development". According to Wainwright: "The essence of nature is expressed through development. Development thus binds temporality and

The couple described the bakeapple as fickle, as there are many unpredictable, uncontrollable variables that determine the highly fluctuating outcome of its crops year to year. They explained that every year, the hearty plant produces white flowers, which must bloom before the berry is produced. These delicate flowers are prone to destruction by wind and heavy rain though, both common in this area. While the couple conceded that people here have other theories about what caused the lean growth this year, they both insisted that it had to be the heavy rains that destroyed the white flowers during their critical phase.

ontology via the rational unfolding of presence. The distinct meanings of development are frequently conflated in ways that have important effects. When we refer to 'national economic development,' for instance, we at once refer to something that is desirable, that requires willful intervention, and also is a 'natural' thing for the nation to do. This conflation is not due to a choice made by the speaker. It is an effect of language — and one of great significance" (7). This analysis helps to deconstruct the rationality that interpreted First Nations inhabitants as relegated to an unproductive past—one that was used to justify their violent eradication and assimilation, as well as the reduction and management of their lands by public and private officials. Wainwright argues that the triad of nation-territory-state bound up in processes of *territorialization* should be disaggregated through critique. One way of doing this is to analyze the tools of colonial and corporate governmentality that are used to translate materiality into discourse, including those mentioned by Wainwright, such as maps and museums. Other discursive forms could be added to these, such as place names, political campaigns, radio segments, and newspaper articles. In Chapter VI we will see how these are relevant to development of the LNS. Analyzing the constructedness of representations of place is a way to denaturalize discourse and imagine places otherwise.

A key dimension of the structure of settler colonialism is Indigenous self-identification with narratives of nation. Coulthard critiques this process of identification as it occurs in the current trend toward Indigenous lobbying for "recognition" from the state. He sees this as a shift from the previous assimilationist model that held sway until the end of the 1960s, and one that threatens to eclipse Indigenous understandings of human relationships to land, animals, water, and non-human forces. Coulthard writes: "I take 'politics of recognition' to refer to the now expansive range of recognition-based models of liberal pluralism that seek to reconcile Indigenous claims to nationhood with Crown sovereignty via the accommodation of Indigenous identities in some form of renewed relationship with the Canadian state. Although these models tend to vary in both theory and practice, most involve the delegation of land, capital and political power from the state to Indigenous communities through land claims, economic development initiatives, and self-government processes" (Subjects 438). Thus, rather than work in opposition to colonialism, the 'politics of recognition' further embeds asymmetrical and non-reciprocal forms of recognition and neoliberalism.

**Indigenous Guides to Unsettling Nature**

In his book *The Intemperate Rainforest: Nature, Culture, and Power on Canada's West Coast*, geographer Bruce Braun also demonstrates the ontological limits imposed upon Indigenous places and people by discursive strategies, while suggesting tactics for overturning them. In his text, Braun analyzes tools and techniques that are mobilized to construct the category of the "temperate rainforest" on BC's West Coast, specifically the Clayoquot Sound area of Vancouver Island. Drawing from literary theorist and philosopher Gayatri Spivak, Braun argues that the rainforest, or more largely, the category of 'nature' is a "necessary theoretical fiction" that must be posited in order to stage a critique (260). Through analyses of representational forms such as maps, tours, brochures and infographics, Braun demonstrates how certain historically and locally situated discourses shape and limit the ways in which a place (in this case, a rainforest) can be imagined, understood and valued. Braun evaluates competing representations of nature by logging companies, wilderness activists and First Nations on Vancouver Island. For instance, he shows how strategies used by the logging company MacMillan Bloedel for constructing a "normal forest" have the effect of establishing authority through techno-scientific imagery that frames the forest as a resource of instrumental value for productivity, progress and job security. The function of MacMillan Bloedel's rationalized translation of the forest is to produce what Wainwright calls "capitalism qua development", treating trees as "natural resources" that must be managed to improve place and position the nation as a global economic competitor. In the context of the LNS, using the cloudberry as a "natural resource", as a key ingredient in "value-added" artisanal products, as a place brand and as a tourist attraction are similarly instrumental to positioning the region within global economies.

Braun also analyzes competing representations of the same area by two other sets of interests though: a book published by the Western Canada Wilderness Committee (WCWC) and a map produced on behalf of the Nuu-chah-nulth—both of which were made to curb logging in Clayoquot Sound. Social concepts of places, such as "nature in need of protection" have very real consequences, as Braun shows through the ability of the WCWC book *On the Wild Side* to mobilize activists in Clayoquot Sound and internationally. While applauding their introduction of Clayoquot Sound into "global spaces of publicity," Braun critiques Andrew Dorst's photographs in the book for depicting the forest as emptied of human presence. According to Braun, Cameron Young's accompanying text produces a similar effect, describing a spectacular landscape that appears to be uninhabited and ripe for exploration. Braun points to the ambivalence in environmental rhetoric like this, which enlists support in the struggle against logging while also making invisible the people who make a living from these lands and waters. Despite the fact that over 2,200 people lived in the region when the book was produced, with half of these being Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations, their presence as workers, residents and recreationalists is occluded. This has political implications, which become apparent when these representations are compared with the map, which aims to document human interaction with the land.

Yesterday and today have been very rainy, so we stopped to stay at Barney's B+B in L'Anse au Loup, Labrador for two nights. In the dining room where breakfast is served, Mary, our hostess, has framed three photographs of baskets overflowing with ripe, luscious berries. On the left are blueberries, with bakeapples in the middle and redberries on the right. Along with the eggs and toast were a selection of homemade jams, including partridgeberry, strawberry, redberry and bakeapple, to which I helped myself in ample amounts. Erik and I continued to characterize the nature of the bakeapple seeds, and came to an agreement that in appearance they resemble tomato seeds. When bitten into, they are hard and crunchy like pomegranate seeds though.

The map that Braun analyzes is included in a multivolume work by a team of archaeologists commissioned by lawyers representing two Nuu-chah-nulth bands in Clayoquot Sound. It depicts First Nations' ongoing presence in the area through evidence of "culturally modified trees" (97). In some ways this map thus challenges both the forest industry's *and* environmentalists' representations of certain areas of the forest as

"untouched". Braun explains that the reserve systems that were drawn out in the period discussed by Harris above essentially remained "cartographic fictions" until the 1950s, when expanses surrounding the tiny reserves were divided into Tree Farm Licenses and rights to their timber allocated to large forestry companies (98). Braun thus demonstrates the significance of the map in defending First Nations' land in Canadian courts by serving as evidence of indigeneity bound to particular places, and uninterrupted over time (99).

> Mary said that the jam is made with harder berries but that when eaten fresh, the berries are better, softer and more ripe. Her jam was a uniform consistency, with no berry chunks, like Sandra's. Because of this the jam tasted entirely sweet, rather than sweet in some parts and more bitter and tangy in the chunks. This time I identified a citrus flavour, and Erik agreed. Mary also said that the ripe bakeapples are good for cheesecake, echoing what I had heard from others.

The brilliant irony in this Nuu-chah-nulth map, as Braun points out, is that it proves Indigenous peoples to have made extensive use of the land "and to have altered the landscape, not only appropriating a Lockean discourse of property and turning it against the state, but revealing the cartographic incarceration of First Nations achieved by the Indian Reserve Commission to have been based on its inability to correctly read the landscape" (102). This is remarkable, given the repeated references, quoted throughout Harris' text, that describe Indigenous people as idle and savage because according to Europeans, they were ignorant of how to exploit the land. This case activated the popularity of mapping as an Indigenous tactic for making claims to land, and challenged the idea of cartography as a unidirectional, colonial tool.

Braun's analysis highlights the real impact of representations of nature on people and land. The construction of "nature" or the "rainforest" through linguistic, representational and social forms is not a refutation of its materiality, but rather, as geographer Noel Castree argues, an acknowledgement that nature is *at once* ontologically real *and* epistemologically relative. It is important to recognize the interaction between discourse and materiality as relational processes in the construction of categories, as a way of analyzing the interests at play in struggling over their meaning. Depictions of the LNS as unpopulated and unproductive negate its lived significance for nomadic and semi-nomadic Innu populations who, as we will see, understand the land as both healing and as an extension of the human body. Seasonal activities depend on respect for land as communal

and relational. In their "Submission from the Council of the Innu of Unamen Shipu to the Joint Review Panel of the Proposed Lower Churchill Hydroelectric Generation Project Public Hearings," the Council documents the continued dependence of Innu on hunting and foraging to contest development projects that proceed in ignorance of migration routes, treating these areas as unused.

Braun's analysis shows that appropriating colonial-capitalist tools, such as maps and surveys, is an important tactic for re- or even de-territorializing. Likewise, British geographer Matthew Sparke describes two significant instances of the disruption of official narrations of nation in this way. The first is the *Delgamuukw vs. the Queen* trial that began in 1987, brought by the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en against the Crown, seeking recognition of their land and sovereignty. The second example is the Historical Atlas of Canada—a "national project that narrated an origin story of Canada" (464), and which cost $6 million in public funds. "Both these examples of national negotiation had much in common as graphic and, indeed, cartographic negotiations of the meanings of space, territory, and state jurisdiction. Critical to both were maps of national space, and clearly evident in both was the paradoxical capacity of such cartography to function variously for and against the exercise of modern state power" (464). Drawing from Edward Said, Sparke analyzes the ambivalence of these representational forms introducing the term "contrapuntal cartographies" to describe the tactic of employing hegemonic conventions to create oppositional narratives.

Sparke describes the use of colonial mapping conventions by the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en in court, explaining that: "the point of producing their maps as trial affidavits related to the translation of the oral histories of the House into modern maps...[T]hey presented the court with a series of maps that mapped their Houses and thus their territory over, or more accurately perhaps, *under* British Columbian provincial maps...Because such provincial maps had historically been imposed over the territory in a way that almost erased its precolonial spatiality, this cartographic representation of the Houses also served to chart the sheer density of the palimpsest produced by the whole series of precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial inscriptions"(474). Anticolonial names were also inscribed on these maps. These tactics are important because they make Aboriginal ontologies legible for those in power, who are not educated in the languages of Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en.

Also significant though, is the insistence on bringing forth Indigenous forms of communication into spaces that are territorialized by the colonial-capitalist state, even if these are not understood at the time. Sparke analyzes how this was done during the trial. He writes:

> One aspect of the First Nations' subversive courtroom performance was the repeated demonstration of the vitality and importance of their oral histories. Witnesses from both the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en sung or described ceremonial songs and performances in court, among them the Wet'suwet'en *kungax* and the many Gitxsan *limx'ooy*, each of which evoked the *adaawk*—a form of historical geographic record—of particular Gitxsan Houses. There was a great deal of controversy in court about having such oral records accepted as legitimate evidence in exemption to the hearsay rule. In a Western juridical field that conventionally accepts only written and cartographic documentation of territory, such oral traditions were cast as illegitimate. (472)

Although Chief Justice McEachern dismissed these performances, one measure of their success is that his disregard for them contributed to the Supreme Court in Ottawa later overthrowing his judgment. It could also be argued that the public performance of sacred songs and stories has a broader purpose. To repeat again the words of Glen Coulthard: "the colonized must struggle to critically reclaim and revaluate the worth of their own histories, traditions, and cultures against the subjectifying gaze and assimilative lure of colonial recognition...the colonized must initiate the process of decolonization by recognizing themselves as free, dignified and distinct contributors to humanity" (Subjects 454). Although at first these songs and stories were not heard with respect, over time they have effects, as they come to be recognized in legal and popular contexts through repetition. These case studies show that performance can counteract the reductive effect of abstracted representations of place. But what is the role of non-Indigenous academics, artists, professionals, and experts in this process? Perhaps the key is to use the particular skills and opportunities available to each of us to help make these contributions acknowledged by those in power. This can mean many things. In the case of the lawyers and anthropologists working on behalf of the Nuu-chah-nulth, it involved the translation of trees into forms that

were legible within Canadian courts as evidence of uninterrupted land use over significant time. For Joel Wainwright it has meant working with Maya farmers to build a movement aimed at cancelling debts to the Development Finance Corporation and returning their ancestral lands. I would argue that many of the scholars cited in this chapter also work toward this task by critiquing anthropocentrism and encouraging relational thought (see Barad, Hinchcliffe, Whatmore below) to counter myths of independent, individual progress. In this thesis, I have collected stories from residents of the LNS and others who describe forms of well-being that defy the regulation, privatization and domestication advocated by some of the development plans that are currently underway there.

Samson points out that explorers for the Hudson's Bay Company were some of the first cartographers of the Peninsula, gathering geographical knowledge of the region and its peoples for European interests. In order to avoid objectifying or abstracting places, counter-mapping projects need to find performative ways of incorporating human activity that is otherwise disappeared in scientific depictions. Eades points to the thorniness of this issue by explaining that courts rely on *inscription* rather than *incorporation* (performed and embodied) cultures in the settlement of land claims (111). "Contextualization amounts to incorporation, as it brings to bear material from outside a particular piece of inscribed documentation" (Eades 111). Drawing attention to the apparatuses used to produce phenomena such as "cloudberries" or the "Lower North Shore" demands a performative approach that contextualizes by examining which individuals are involved and omitted, what funding structures are brought to bear, and what tools and equipment are used. This is what Eades means by *incorporation* and *contextualization* — they are critical processes that challenge simple inscriptions that attempt to present places as settled.

**Directions for research: Conception and Management of Nature**

The accounts of Harris, Braun and Sparke demonstrate that First Nations people do not conform to the expectations of Canadian settlers. By producing evidence of uninterrupted use of trees over at least 2500 years, the Nuu-chah-nulth disrupt settler colonial narratives of idle, unproductive children living in a state of nature or 'undevelopment'. Harris cites numerous private and public officials with ambitions for the assimilation of Indigenous populations becoming gradually dismayed as their "wards" do

not embrace white ways as expected. This dissonance between colonial interpolation of First Nations and their actual performance is echoed in other occupied countries. In her text "Extremity: Theorizing from the Margins", Kay Anderson notes that: "Nature/Native encounters did not confirm prevailing discourses of savagery as a difference that would inevitably be surmounted. They *upset* them" (261). More than simply *not* conforming to colonial expectations, Indigenous 'others' challenge the very foundations on which this 'othering' occurs. Writing about contact in Australia, Anderson argues that these encounters "disrupted the very logic and conceit of human distinction" (262). This logic was disrupted by the non-farming habits of Indigenous people and their uncultivated land, which challenged the "presumption that people universally realize their character *as human* in a progressive movement out of nature" (262). Indigenous populations exhibited different relationships with animals and plants than Europeans did, and this posed a challenge to the anthropocentrism that is a hallmark of Christianity. One response to this on the part of colonists has been to employ the tools of eugenics and racial profiling to depict Aboriginal people as inhuman and degenerate. But the resistance of Indigenous ontologies to colonial-capitalist subjectivity also holds out promise for the disruption of the latter. Anderson writes that: "Sitting at the limit of what it meant to be human in the nineteenth century, the Australian cast doubt on the cherished assumption that an interval of 'agency' separated human from non-human" (262). It is perhaps in this other understanding of agency that hope for a more caring and less destructive ecological future lies. Indigenous practices have suggested ways of reconceiving of human-nonhuman relations, and these are currently being taken up in the academy.

> Last night, we left Barney's B+B for dinner at the Lighthouse Inn, which had been recommended by clients at the Korner Kafe. The cloudberry martini on the menu naturally drew my attention, so I ordered one, along with pan-seared scallops in bakeapple coulis, and a slice of bakeapple cheesecake for dessert. This lived up to my expectations, prompted back in Blanc Sablon, especially because the server, knowing that we were from out of town, kindly quadrupled the bakeapple topping. Chatting at the end of the meal, she filled us in on her fiancée's strategy of picking a combination of ripe and slightly underripe berries, since the latter soften once they are mixed.

British geographer Sarah Whatmore, for instance, suggests how geography might address the theoretical problem of Nature, and specifically the notion of agency. In her text

"Hybrid Geographies: Rethinking the 'Human' in Human Geography", she presents Actor Network Theory (ANT) as an antidote to the two general (caricaturized) strands within human geography, of 'social construction' and 'natural realism' —the first of which overemphasizes the role of humans in mediating Nature, and the second of which assumes a division between some reality 'out there' and its communication through representational forms (23). Instead, she proposes 'hybrid geographies', which are: "concerned with studying the living rather than abstract spaces of social life, configured by numerous, interconnected agents — variously composed of biological, mechanical and habitual properties and collective capacities — within which people are differently and plurally articulated" (26). Her work is inspired by the writings of: Bruno Latour, Michel Callon, Michel Serres, John Law and Donna Haraway. Most important within what Whatmore terms 'hybrid geographies' and within ANT is the conception of agency and its implications. Agency here implies a "radically different understanding of social agency in the senses both that agency is decentered, a 'precarious achievement' (Law, 1994: 101) spun between social actors rather than a manifestation of unitary intent, and that it is decoupled from the subject/object binary... An actant network is...No more, and no less, than their performance... This represents the point of greatest tension between ANT and conventional social theories: a refusal to equate agency (the capacity to act or to have effects) with intentionality, premised on narrow linguistic competences" (28-29). The notion of agency as distributive and non-intentional thus erases the distinction between human and nonhuman upon which rests the Christian hierarchy that places man above all other animals and indeed the rest of "nature". It also troubles the very idea of individual actors that are separate from 'others'. To accept Callon and Latour's definition of agency as any entity which can link together others in networks (Murdoch 747) is to challenge a deeply embedded colonial-capitalist mentality that assumes man's dominion over nature through his rational/intentional distinction.

Since the waitress appeared to be in her early twenties and I was curious to test the theories I had heard about younger people not liking the berries and being unwilling to pick, I asked her if she also harvests. Laughing, she said that her mother told her she would no longer take her picking, since she eats two berries for every three she picks.

While the battles won by First Nations in Canadian courts have been the result of these groups' abilities to appropriate the tools of the state to their own ends (such as in the case of the Nuu-chah-nulth map discussed above), this argument about re-conceptualizing agency suggests the need to move toward other representational forms. These would be forms that evade the "purification" of "nature" and "culture" into binaries, forms that acknowledge the capacity of affect in effecting social and environmental justice, and forms that reflect ways of knowing beyond rational intentionality. First Nations people have been modeling such forms inside the house of justice for a long time, but the economic and linguistic training imposed by Canadian institutions seems to have the effect of making these inaudible-invisible-inaccessible to non-Indigenous sensoria. In the next chapter, I will explain how storytelling can encourage network thinking to reveal relationships between humans and nonhumans.

Geographer Steve Hinchcliffe writes that: "Representation as translation implies a whole suite of practices which include the loading of the world into words, the construction of a referential chain, the making public of a thing and at the same time the making of a public which can attest that thing. It is, then, nothing more and nothing less than a test of the socio-technical assemblage. It is the simultaneous attempt to engage with another, and learn how to engage with another, that is at stake... Viewing species as processes overlapping with differentiated populations (93-94), representation becomes about more than one identity; it becomes about engaging with potentialities and becomings" (94). Furthermore, he argues that: "Concern and care involves attention to the details of the lives of others, to understanding that those details matter, even and especially when why they matter is an open question" (95). While I do not advocate speaking on behalf of others, it would be duplicitous to disavow the role that academics play in translating the world into words and other forms of representation. This chapter has shown, in numerous ways, the real effects that discourse can have on places and people, if it is accepted as natural. Thus, I believe it is an academic task to examine the apparatuses that are implemented to translate "the world" into words. This means deconstructing the "referential chain" that makes a thing public.

For example, in this thesis project, I show the significance of indigenous berries on the LNS, given their role in the "development" of an area that has been part of an open

comprehensive land claim by the Innu Nation since the 1970s. The Biosolidarity Co-op in St. Paul's River is currently drawing on a range of government funding to launch a wild berries product line, in the hopes of gaining economic independence for locals in the region. Priscilla, one of the founders of the Co-op, is optimistic about the potential for the project to jumpstart a larger non-timber-forest-products (NTFPs) industry that will provide LNS residents with work year-round. Speaking as a member of the majority Anglophone population in the region, Griffin explains that while the two Innu communities in the area have knowledge of local plants: "we don't know what's growing in our own backyard!" (Griffin). The Co-op is addressing this by inviting students from cities like Montréal to conduct fieldwork to identify the plants and their properties, and to help develop educational programs that will teach local youth about their "natural resources". They also hired Biopterre, a non-profit organization founded by the Institut de technologie agroalimentaire in La Pocatière, Québec, the Cégep de La Pocatière and the Centre de développement bioalimentaire du Québec. Biopterre supports private companies in the development of bioproducts derived from agricultural and agroforestry activities and has used five wild berries that grow on the LNS to develop a series of products, such as jams and jellies, that could be produced, marketed and distributed entirely by LNS residents.

Part of my task in this thesis is to deconstruct the "referential chain" that involves student and expert translation of indigenous plants into "value-added *bio*products", the effects of which include representations of the LNS as a "wild" and "pure" place. I am interested in the human-nonhuman relations that are

This afternoon, we visited the recently designated UNESCO World Heritage Site in Red Bay. This includes a Visitor Information Centre, a one-room whale exhibition, and another gallery housing an exhibition about Basque whalers. Three young teenage girls worked as gallery attendants, gathering admissions. I asked two of them if they like and pick bakeapples. One said she "never had a taste for them," and the other eats but doesn't pick them... For an extra $2, it is also possible to take a small speedboat to Saddle Island in about four minutes. A self-guided walking tour introduces visitors to the archaeological discoveries made in and around the island. The most unexpected find for us though, were bakeapple patches. The berries were ripe, and just as locals had described, popped juicily right off the plant as soon as I touched them. We tasted a few berries and gathered the rest on video.

involved in this referential network, as well as the structure of settler colonialism that is motivating it. For instance, scientific experiments in domesticating the berries have revealed these to be stubborn and fickle in their resistance to human control. This suggests the significance of agentic plants in posing challenges to the assumption of human dominion in scientific and economic developments. Furthermore, the treatment of indigenous berries as "natural resources", to be exploited for the development of an NTFP industry will undoubtedly have an impact on Innu land, for instance by promoting a tourism industry there. The Circuits des Gourmands already extends as far north along Highway 138 as Rivière au Tonnerre, with the main attraction there being La Maison de la Chicoutai, featuring a plethora of specialty items made from cloudberries. Extending this route up through the LNS will affect all communities there, whether or not they are participants in this economy. And so far, Innu communities have not been involved in wild berry development plans.

All partners involved in "developing" the LNS, including the Research Chair at l'Université du Québec, have a responsibility in colonial-capitalist representations of the region, such as those using the cloudberry, that perpetuate the myth of wild and uncharted land. It is thus incumbent upon university partners to examine their own roles in constructing the categories of "wilderness" and "nature" in order to extend their influence in northern Québec. Barad's work helps to explain how it is that an "object" such as the cloudberry come to be taken as an objective entity rather than a site of intersection for a host of colonial systems and institutions. The terms "apparatus" and "phenomenon" are key to understanding the dynamic and relational thrust of her argument.

An apparatus is a particular material-discursive arrangement that is configured to observe, measure or produce effects in other parts of the world. The boundaries of an

Leaving the museum, we crossed the parking lot to the Whalers Restaurant. There, I ate a bowl of soup and continued my research with a slice of warm bakeapple pie à la mode. The contrast between the tart berries and the sweet ice cream was superb. Also on the menu were berry sundaes with a choice of bakeapple or other wild berry toppings, and shakes that incorporate bakeapples.

In the afternoon, we drove back to Blanc Sablon to set up camp. The winds picked up so fiercely that we were not able to anchor ourselves and pitched the tent instead in a clearing beyond the airport.

apparatus are difficult if not impossible to ascertain, as these include all aspects of the measuring device. In the case of an apparatus that will produce a "cloudberry", this might include a seed or root section, test tube, plant growth regulators, a greenhouse, a plant biologist, and a variety of other objects. But each of these elements of the apparatus are enabled through government funding, municipal resources such as hydro and water, private services such as internet, and a host of other supports. Furthermore, a particular political climate will influence the direction of government spending, so that the apparatus cannot be thought as separate from ideology. Importantly, the production of that test tube cloudberry is also dependent on cultivars harvested from bogs on the LNS, in areas that have been cared for by Innu people for millenia. So one issue to remember when considering any apparatus that brings into being a particular phenomenon, is that its boundaries can always be drawn differently, with the effect of drawing attention to certain of its components, to the exclusion of others.

A phenomenon is an event that is produced through a particular apparatus or relational arrangement, and that is reproducible any time the same apparatus is employed. It is important to note though, that contrary to Newtonian physics, a phenomenon is never separate from the apparatus through which it is produced. As Barad puts it: "'we are a part of that nature that we seek to understand. Bohr argues that scientific practices must therefore be understood as interactions among component parts of nature and that our ability to understand the world hinges on our taking account of the fact that our knowledge making practices are social-material enactments that contribute to, and are a part of, the phenomena we describe" (Barad 26). She argues that: "although there is no inherent distinction between observer and observed, so to speak, there are real effects generated by "cuts" that delimit an "object of analysis" from its conditions of possibility" (115).

Barad extends the "philosophy-physics" of Bohr to a series of historical experiments that prove the Cartesian subject-object distinction to be false. She writes that: "although no inherent distinction exists, every measurement involves a particular choice of apparatus, providing the conditions necessary to give meaning to a particular set of variables, at the exclusion of other essential variables, thereby placing a particular embodied cut delineating the object from the agencies of observation" (Barad 115). As Barad points out, this

continuity between world and representation implies that we are responsible for our part in the making of "marks on bodies" through representational acts.

This is important because it dismantles the notion that representations and their makers are separate from their referents. To represent is to enter into a relationship, thus implying responsibility for the context of this relational situation. This is often not acknowledged in community-based academic and artistic projects. If any partnership is to be developed between Concordia University and the LNS, it will be important that those involved become trained in the socio-political and economic contexts of that place in order to gain a better understanding of the implications of their development-oriented initiatives. The entrance of students, artists or researchers into communities in which they are outsiders is already a delicate enterprise, but the relationships between Indigenous communities in particular and artists/researchers are especially fraught.

**Conclusion**

This literature review has shown that the structure of settler colonialism in Canada has meant the dispossession of First Nations land through a capitalist logic of development for private gain. This has involved the "expert" translation of the world using colonial tools such as maps, surveys, place names and courtroom testimonials. I have cited examples in which First Nations people appropriate these forms to unsettle the discourse of development that has justified their dispossession. I would argue that these are models to follow in further attempts to dismantle the settler colonial structure.

> In the last few days, Erik and I have seen what appear to be Minke whales, and have come out of the tent in the middle of the night to see the Perseod meteor shower. When the sky is clear here, the stars become visible and so does the coast of Newfoundland.

Current efforts to brand the LNS as a wilderness destination for the development of an eco-tourism industry are reproducing the same colonial tropes that I have identified through a number of examples in this chapter. For instance, Voyages Coste, a self-described equitable tourism co-operative on the LNS, exploits the myth of an empty, expansive frontier to sell their tours. Their website boasts: "Jacques Cartier en parcourant ce territoire aujourd'hui ne serait pas dépaysé tellement la nature et les paysages sont presqu'intacts. Il l'appelait la « Coste », une côte constituée de milliers d'îles et aujourd'hui peuplée de gens

courageux, attachés à leur territoire disséminé dans ces quelques dizaines de petits villages." I have shown above how this myth of absence has real effects in disappearing Indigenous people from the political sphere and dispossessing them of their homes. Likewise, the cloudberry is being used as a symbol to represent a pure and wild, natural, untouched place. This narrative serves the interests of colonial-capitalist investors who wish to entice tourists to the LNS, but it also perpetuates harmful stereotypes about heroic pioneering that simultaneously dismiss First Nations presence or relegate these populations to a stagnant past.

Efforts by non-Indigenous academics to redress this wrong always run the risk of colonizing Indigenous people, the environment and nonhumans through writing and other representational forms. As geographer Emilie Cameron warns: "Any academic project seeking to document, interpret, understand, and address Indigenous experiences, concerns and knowledges necessarily inherits a long tradition of knowledge production that has been intimately related to the colonization of Indigenous peoples" (111). It seems to me that the only way to overcome this challenge is to engage with the "other", to learn from anticolonial ways of knowing, and to acknowledge one's own implication in processes of *territorialization*. If the structure of settler colonialism has involved the physically and epistemologically violent dispossession of Indigenous land, as this chapter has shown, then it follows that research should now make way for other ways of being and knowing that will challenge the imperative of private economic gain.

## CHAPTER III

## Twisted Roots and Fickle Fruit: Storytelling and Sensory Ethnography

### Introduction

The *heroic* tales of development in Quebec feature road-building, mining and hydro development. These stories are loud. They are featured on CBC radio, CTV News, in Canadian Geographic, the Montreal Gazette, the Huffington Post. The gouvernement du Québec projects that le Plan Nord will involve over $80 billion in investments, $47 billion towards renewable energy and $33 billion for investments in the mining sector and public infrastructure such as roads, rail and airports (Jacobsen). Complexe La Romaine is touted as a 1,550 megawatt hydroelectric project featuring four generating stations and reservoirs stretched over 150 km, each with its own dam and spillway. The increasing demands of global competition are spurring new forms of connection via roads and electricity. On my first visit to the northeastern coast of Québec in the summer of 2013, there were no cell or wifi connections. Those networks are now also gradually being implemented there. What impact will these new communications systems have on older forms of networking?

On the other hand, my search for books on wild berries turns up a Cree children's story by Julie Flett. A search for "cloudberries" turns up the titles: *The Everything Nordic Cookbook*; *Falling Cloudberries: A World of Family Recipes* and more children's stories, such as *Finland: Femi and the Cloudberry Pie (The World of Make-believe Stories Book 6)* and *Cloudberry Castle: Ballet School Secrets*. Cloudberries, it would seem, are not the serious stuff of survival, but rather frivolous, fairy-tale fluff, downgraded to dessert, decor and the domestic. Is this the narrative place that cloudberries occupy in relation to those of masculine adventure? What if we take these fruits seriously, considering berries as substance for social entanglement?

*This* is a story about twisted roots, about a rhizomatic network, a spongy scrub, a fickle fruit that might hold a place together or might be trampled underfoot, crushed by the now ubiquitous All-Terrain-Vehicle (or ATV), bulldozed or otherwise erased. *Rubus chamaemorus* is native to Nitassinan, or "our land," in the language of the Innu — the largest of the ten Amerindian nations living in the province of Québec, with a population of

15,000[12]. Our berry has moved people along the northeastern coast for thousands of years, as they stake out territories and save secret spots, returning to these for three weeks every August, to gather stocks for family, friends and the long winter months.

In Québec, people say that cloudberries are "like gold" and in Norway, they are referred to as "highland gold" due to their colour, their rarity and their cultural and economic value. For centuries, these berries have been precious in a place where food is scarce throughout the winter. My Indigenous interlocutors and Soeur Armande Dumas explain that from the spring through to fall months, a series of berries ripens, directing the diets and migration patterns of Innu people. The berries are also stored throughout the year for subsistence, which is supplemented with the hunting of wild game. The cloudberry's benzoic acid content helps to preserve it, and its richness in Vitamin C helped early settlers to prevent scurvy.

While marketing cloudberries as a "value-added" wild food product might indeed be a promising alternative to destructive large-scale mining, hydro, road-building and even nuclear waste disposal projects in the region, there is no consensus on what this means, how this should be achieved, and who should be involved. As it stands, treating the cloudberry as a symbol of "purity" masks the contested nature of plans for its development. Approaching the berry as a material-discursive arrangement instead of a static sign forces us to consider the quotidian performances that make it meaningful for LNS residents. For instance, harvesting cloudberries, as we will see in Chapter V, is a family activity that involves traveling long distances on land and water, camping, fishing and educating younger generations. An apparatus that produces the image of a pure, ripe berry misses these larger socio-ecological networks that depend upon the sustainable management of land,

> Yesterday while talking with Eldon, I gained a new understanding of the significance of trading travel stories. He showed us an area on the water around Middle Bay on one of his marine maps that can be very rough, followed by a long stretch of coastline where there is nowhere to stop on a kayak. He suggested that we stop and talk with fishermen in villages along the way when we return by kayak. It is through tacit knowledge that one discovers where it is possible to get off the water, and which areas are more or less dangerous. Much of this information is not recorded on maps.

[12] Paul Charest, More Dams for Nitassinan in Power Struggles, p.259

opportunities for exchange between youth and elders, et cetera. The methodologies that I have employed in *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams* attempt to highlight the socio-ecological networks that intersect in the "object" of the cloudberry. Through storytelling, sensory ethnography and place-based research, I aim to treat the cloudberry as an entanglement of practices involving walking, cooking, hunting, camping, boating and family reunions. At the same time, *rubus chamaemorus* is the nexus for various competing interests, such as Voyages Coste and the LNS Biosolidarity Co-op, who are brandishing the berry as a symbol of nature and wilderness as a pretext for "development" — a colonial strategy with a long history, as we have seen in Chapter II.

In their introduction to a volume on Practice as Research (PaR) and Performance As Research (PAR), Shannon Rose Riley and Lynette Hunter write that the most singular contributions of these two methodologies may be their "claim that creative production can constitute intellectual inquiry" (xv). I am inclined to reverse that statement to also claim that intellectual inquiry can constitute creative production. And the goal of this practice is to achieve what performance studies scholar Shannon Jackson argues that so much "art since the sixties" has done — to position "the art object as a medium of critical exchange" (Mapping Landscapes 161).

**Storytelling**

Stories bind taste and place, lending value through particular foodstuffs. We are familiar with this process through the system of Appellation d'Origine Contrôllée, in which certain grapes and other foods become official representatives of regions and their growing practices. A Malbec grape then, stands in as the flavour of Mendoza, Argentina. The taste of this grape is tightly controlled and can belong to no other place; and this relationship is governed through language. One wine reviewer writes that: "I came to love this Argentine red, not only because it was cheap but because it spoke not only of its fruit but the soil in which it grew". He describes its tasting notes in this way: it "offers a pleasant earthiness, a hint of clean, moist clay that suggests a sense of place in a distinctly Old World way."[13] Stories are used to link taste and place and are also printed on bottle labels to sell wine by evoking an image of the land where it grew. In purchasing a wine we are thus buying into a

[13] "Cahors, the Original Malbec," Wine Lover's Page. http://www.wineloverspage.com/wlp_archive/wineadvisor2/tswa20120810.php

particular story about the flavour of a place. American Anthropologist and chef Amy Trubek, studying the notion of *terroir* beginning in France and gaining momentum globally, writes that: "the taste of place, like food and drink, may end up being a universal phenomenon with very localized stories, practices framed by particular cultural memories, meanings, and myths" (116-117). When people talk about the foods that they gather and eat, they are telling stories about place, and these are valuable for a number of reasons. Storytelling about local foods can be understood as a form of mapping that conveys the significance of places through the everyday practices that take place there; and this can have political import, as we will see below.

**Counter-Cartography**

Mapping place through storytelling has been a key strategy for Indigenous people across Turtle Island. For example, in the early 1980s the Muller-Willes husband-wife team instituted a mandate through the Avataq Cultural Institute to record Inuit place-names, and successfully gathered eight thousand of them with the help of experts and local participants (Eades 105). Also, the three volume report called the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project of 1977 demonstrated Inuit use and occupancy of approximately 1.5 square miles of land and ocean and was used in support of Inuit land claims, eventually leading to the creation of Nunavut from lands formerly part of the Northwest Territories. It is clear then, that stories about place have significant potential for intergenerational linkages and land claims disputes.

Jake Whalen, Senior Advisor, Economic Policy & Development, Halifax Regional Municipality is a proponent of GIS and GPS hardware and software by First Nations communities for the purposes of documenting land use to be used for claims to ownership and rights to the land and resources. He points to Innu research projects that were conducted between 1975 to 1999, and used mapping methodologies to create hundreds of map biographies. He cites Peter Armitage, who conducted much of this research, writing that: "Each biography is based on 'informant recall' and constitutes, therefore, a record of an individual harvester's land use both as part of community-based and country-based harvesting activities. The biographies record the locations of campsites, travel routes, birth and death locations, harvest areas for various animal species and wild fruit, and other

information (Armitage 2). Between 1996 and 1998, Armitage digitized the map biographies using MapInfo GIS software. The composite layers have become a key component in concurrent and ongoing Innu land claims and self-government negotiations" (Whalen 142). Whalen also cautions though that such information provided by First Nations can potentially be misused to their detriment. "In addition to the financial strain of 'going distributed,' many Aboriginal groups across the country are wary of disclosing their ecological knowledge to outsiders. There is a justifiable concern that it may be appropriated to access valuable local resources or misused to satisfy environmental assessment regulations. During the Voisey's Bay Nickel Company environmental assessment, for example, concerns were expressed that the company was attempting to gather Innu Ecological Knowledge from Elders without their explicit consent" (Whalen 147). While documentation of Innu harvesting and culinary practices can prove useful in supporting their rights to land and resources, it is important that researchers involved in archiving such information understand the potential implications of their work. The nature and extent of what is depicted can have important ramifications for the communities concerned. In my work, I have avoided this problem by generalizing information: I did not record specific recipes or the locations where cloudberries are picked. These sites are considered by locals either to be secret "sweet spots", or ancestral lands that are passed from one generation to the next.

Sarah Pink's notion of "visualising emplacement," discussed further in Chapter VI, is useful here in considering how recording devices can contribute to place-making. Incorporating local *practices* into counter-mapping projects is an important way of resisting reductive inscription. Cameras can record ways of interacting with the land, rather than simply encoding locations. Performative approaches to mapping also open avenues for Indigenous Research Methodologies (IRM). As Linda Tuhiwai Smith explains, "stories, values, practices and ways of knowing ... continue to inform indigenous pedagogies. In international meetings and networks of indigenous peoples, oracy, debate, formal speech making, structured silences and other conventions which shape oral traditions remain a most important way of developing trust, sharing information, strategies, advice, contacts and ideas" (26-27). French philosopher Michel de Certeau contrasted maps and tours. For him, the former is characterized by "*seeing* (the knowledge of an order of places)", and the

latter by "*going* (spatializing actions)" (119). Contrary to maps that abstract space, stories, tours or itineraries refer to *practices* of getting around. What de Certeau calls "tours" describe ways of doing, or of operating in familiar places.

**Performance**

It took me a year to build *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams*. During its planning, I was thinking about a storytelling event by American artist Ellie Ga at the Kitchen in New York City. In this hour-long performance, Ga superimposes sketches, annotated documents, objects, and images using overhead and digital projectors, adding photos, video and sound recordings to these as an accompaniment to her live narration. *The Fortunetellers* is a story about her experience during a several months long residency as the sole artist aboard a ship in the Arctic. Ga creates a sense of place both through the content of her story, and its form. The slideshow and live monologue evoke a nostalgic feeling of 1970s-style communal gatherings to share somebody's travelogue. The maps and recordings also recall the stories of seamen and explorers adrift in the great unknown. At the same time, I was thinking about performances by Laurie Anderson and Marie Brassard. Both artists combine live storytelling using vocoder and sound engineering to adopt a range of voices or characters onstage with projection, music, props and lighting. The use of pre-recorded and live media by all three artists allows for a layering of past and present. Their incorporation of a range of imagery and documents alongside the narration becomes a way to interpret and make sense of fieldwork, archives and recordings, making non-linear connections between these.

In April 2015 I performed *Cloudberry Connections* for the Blue Metropolis Literary Festival in Montreal. This was part of my process in the creation of *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams*. It was a one-hour live storytelling event incorporating projections and audio recordings from the LNS. I used still photos, videos and interview clips from my fieldwork as I narrated a story about cloudberries. Some of the audio-visual media went on to be used in *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams*, and parts of the script have been reworked into this written text.

**Moving Stories**

Canadian oral and public historian Steven High notes that although oral historians are attuned to the relationships between life-history interviewing and spatial stories, few have given much thought to creative use of the recordings, being more comfortable with transcription. High's collaborative work has employed a range of audio-visual media to convey contested place-histories in formats that can be accessed by diverse audiences. In creating these controversial stories that reflect marginalized voices, he asks: "How do we represent the complexity of social relations and the fluidity and multiplicity of communities themselves? In answering these questions, we must keep in mind how these interpretative acts came into being: from whom, by whom, for whom. What is the process behind the finished product? What choices were made and why?" (219). A storyteller's choice of media affects not only the nature of the story itself and its content, but also its audience and degree of accessibility. For instance, as Walter Benjamin notes in *The Storyteller*, oral storytelling depends on a communal sharing, whereas reading a novel is an individualistic experience. Exploring content through various forms, or aparatuses, generates different connections and different narrative threads to become pronounced as a result. The story in prose and in poetry will each appeal to particular people. A wonderful quality of oral storytelling is its ability to attract diverse audiences.

Storytelling is a way of mapping places, and it is useful to look at formal approaches by visual and performing artists where the primary concerns are aesthetic. Many other artists have informed my own methodology, but there are a few whose work has had particularly lasting effects. Turkish-American artist Kutlug Ataman is an interesting example, because his methodology is somewhat ethnographic in that he spends long periods getting to know people within a particular community, interviewing them at length about their lives. In his multimedia installation *Küba*, for instance, he spent three years in a shanty town within the city of Istanbul, and emerged with hundreds of hours of footage from his conversations with more than forty of the neighbourhood's residents. Rather than edit the interviews, which are up to several hours each in length, he includes everything in his final work, which consists of forty individual portraits of community members, each of which plays on an old television monitor facing a single chair. All of the furniture was purchased from thrift shops, so that visitors encountering the installation in a gallery must

navigate an eclectic assortment of cozy "stations", deciding for themselves which stories to sit in on and how much content to take in. Ataman deliberatly includes an over-abundance of media so that no two people will leave having heard the same narrative and will thus have unique perspectives on what this shanty town is all about. This work succeeds in conveying the unknowability of a place. By including the whole of his research material, Ataman places the onus on the visitor to perform the editing by simply sitting down in front of what interests them and leaving when they are ready to move on. It is more than obvious that there is no way to take it all in, that there is no complete story. The artist's choice of furniture also contributes to the storytelling by partially re-creating the environment in which his interviews were conducted. The visitor feels as though they are sitting down in conversation with an onscreen interlocutor. Gesturing toward the partiality of stories and the ultimate inaccessibility of place to an outsider who is effectively just passing through is something for which I also aim.

The complexity and ambiguity of a story can also emerge from re-presenting it across a variety of media or formats. American artist Allan Sekula created the book project *Fish Story* between 1989 and 1995, showing individual chapters in gallery exhibitions as they were completed. Its final exhibition form consisted of 105 colour photographs interspersed with twenty-six text panels, and accompanied by two slide projections that were displayed in separate rooms. The story is about a global maritime industry and the international distribution of commodities, with a focus on labour conditions. The publication of the text and images in their constituent parts and subsequent assembly in book form allowed for a continual remixing of the story to take place, thus defying a singular narrative. The work in its exhibition form continues to travel in this fragmentary way, highlighting one of its parts to the exclusion of others and the whole. As photos and text panels in galleries, *Fish Story* is disbursed communally, while its book form is meant for private consumption. The changing configurations of image and text encourage an ongoing reconsideration of the relationships between the two, while undoing the teleological structure of book form. In this thesis project I have also tried to remix stories and images, edited and translated across different media to promote multiple interpretations.

On the Bella Desgagniers, there is a representative from Voyages Coste, offering a selection of tours at each stopping point. Because the boat is off schedule, these have all been canceled.

*Forest Law* is an installation by Swiss artist Ursula Biemann and Brazilian urbanist Paolo Tavares, comprising video (shot by the artists, as well as court trial documentation), research presented in the form of books, objects and wall panels. It centers around the 1996 legal case of the Kichwa Indigenous People of Sarayaku vs. Ecuador, in which the forest was protected from transnational development (on the part of General Combustibles) by arguing for the universal rights of nonhumans. In this case, the forest was constituted as a legal subject. This was achieved through the performances of Indigenous people in Ecuadorian law courts, in which the Kichwa explained the concept of the "living forest" from an animist worldview. The way in which Biemann and Tavares make their research-creation public is an interesting model for my own project. It is not composed of a finished work, but includes a range of research objects as "evidence" too: maps, photographs, an environmental report titled "Amazon Crude," a theoretical text called "Contrat naturel" by Michel Serres, a sample of contaminated earth. The audience is thus invited *into* the research process, through the making public of these objects.

*Figure 11. Installation view of Forest Law at the Leonard & Bina Ellen Gallery, Montreal. Photo by the author, 2015.*

*Figure 12. Installation view of Forest Law at the Leonard & Bina Ellen Gallery, Montreal. Photo by the author, 2015.*

*Forest Law,* like the *Delgamuukw vs. the Queen* trial described by Sparke in Chapter II, demonstrates the key role that performance can play in providing "evidence". It also opens various paths into the story through the inclusion of its assorted research materials, something I have tried to do in this project too.

Canadian artist Janet Cardiff is internationally recognized for her immersive sound installations and walks. I have had the pleasure of experiencing *The Forty Part Motet* in several different galleries in Canada, the United States and Europe. The first time, it was installed in the reconstructed Rideau Chapel inside the National Gallery of Canada, bringing the church to life. This work is sound-based like *Küba*, but here uses voice to re-create place through immersive media. Cardiff recorded each singer in a choir performing a rendition of Thomas Tallis' 1573 "Spem in Alium". Each voice is then played back through a separate speaker, with the forty speakers positioned in an oval, so that visitors can walk amidst them, taking in the performance from different angles. In this way, it is possible to move from a close listening to an individual voice and back out to hear the whole choir. The eleven-minute piece plays on a loop with three minutes of intermission before it loops back to the beginning. This choir is powerful. Even in a white cube, the voices resound and fill every corner of the space, totally absorbing the listener as though the singers were right there in the room. In *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams*, I also tried to create an immersive space through sound and image, hoping to engage visitors on an affective level.

**Process and Participation**

*Manifest Cloudberry Dreams* (see accompanying DVD) is an interactive multimedia installation using sound recordings triggered by voice recognition software and projection mapping over a 16' dome that can be entered by gallery visitors. The image of a cloudberry is projected over the top portion of the dome, visible from its interior and exterior. Inside this space, which fits about fifteen people at a time, words become visible on the walls: "Shikuteu [hakute:w]". These words correspond with audio on a hidden computer. As in language learning software, a voice demonstrates the correct pronunciation of the word: "ha-koo-teh-oo". Next, this text appears: "Now repeat after me: ha-koo-teh-oo". The visitors' repetition of the word aloud is picked up by a microphone that triggers voice recognition software, which initiates a second video track from a random selection. The stories are narrated in Innu-aimun, French and English. At any point during playback, the stories can be interrupted by pressing a button and repeating the word "shikuteu" again, which triggers another video to play. The content includes media collected during my fieldwork: photographs, video and audio recordings of the LNS and its locals speaking about cloudberry harvesting and culinary traditions.

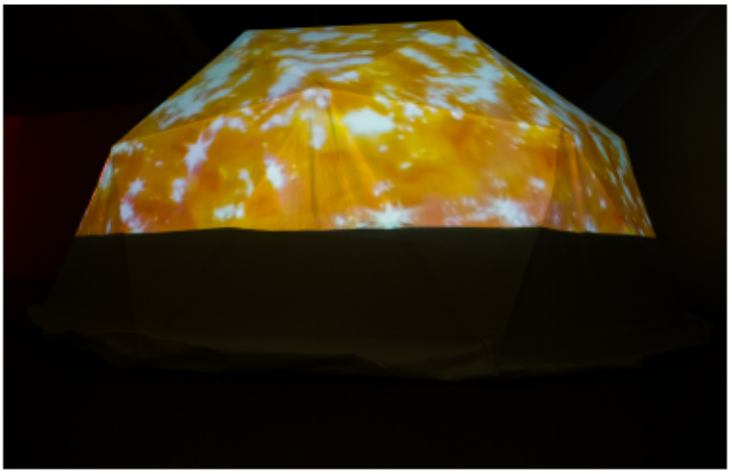

*Figure 13. Manifest Cloudberry Dreams. Installation at Espace Cercle Carré. Photo by Erik De Leon, October 2015.*

*Figure 14. Manifest Cloudberry Dreams. Installation at Espace Cercle Carré. Photo by the author, October 2015.*

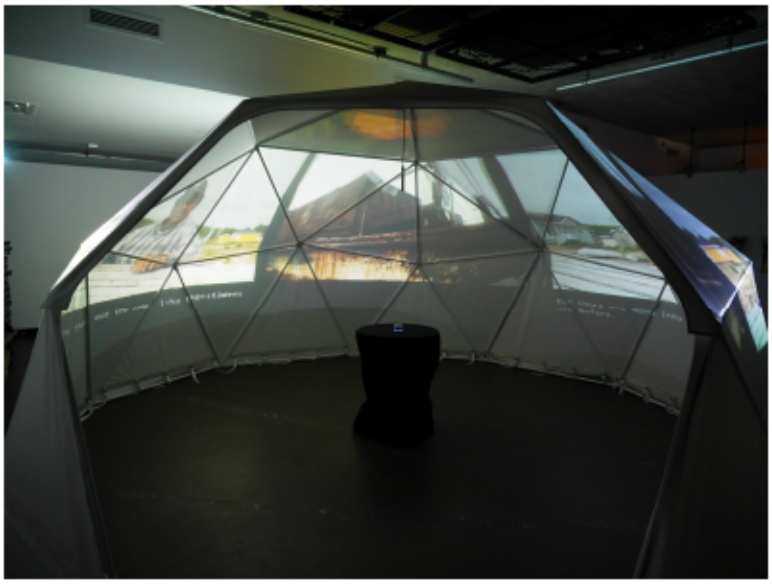

*Figure 15. Manifest Cloudberry Dreams. Installation at Espace Cercle Carré. Photo by the author, October 2015.*

The space itself plays on associations with the evocative word "cloudberry", which conjures ideas of both virtual memory storage and of mobile devices. This is appropriate for the narrative content, which consists of Innu and non-Indigenous LNS residents speaking of ancestral knowledge and traditional land-based practices. The tent itself is also symbolic of mobility, nomadism and connection with the land. Visitors literally enter a place where these memories are being stored and shared. They are required to perform the somewhat awkward task of pronouncing a foreign word in order to access these stories. This is meant

to evoke the ambivalent senses of desire and discomfort in traveling to foreign places. The idea developed in reaction to the claims of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous LNS residents, who explained to me that cloudberries are good for digestion. One person clarified though, that this is true only for locals. For outsiders, the berries have the opposite effect. I thought this was a beautiful metaphor for the way in which a foreign language feels strange in the mouth. New words, like unfamiliar berries, are difficult to digest.

Embodiment is a central component of this work. The goal is for the participant to feel a certain discomfort or awkwardness that is inherent to being an "outsider" or a "foreigner," thus placing them in a position akin to that of the artist-researcher (ie: me) who has collected this footage. This installation functions very differently from the kind of fixed representations discussed in Chapter II. It relies on the active participation of the visitor and presents cloudberries as part of a dense network of relationships and practices that are lively, thus countering the image of the LNS as fallow. The storytelling methods described above have all informed the aesthetic choices I have made in *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams*, with the goal being to maintain and convey lively relationships in a gallery setting.

**Community and Relationships**

In this section I will unpack some of the ways in which I have attended to community and relationships in this project. On 23 May 2013, I was invited to a meeting of the Lower North Shore Community – Concordia University Partnership Initiative. Present at this meeting were two staff members from the Concordia Volunteers Abroad Program, a Sociology & Anthropology professor and a Creative Art Therapies professor (both from Concordia) as well as a representative from the Community Learning Centre in Chevery, LNS. The main topic of discussion was how to recruit and support two student interns to travel to the LNS that summer to assist in the organization and creation of an art exhibition that would travel throughout the LNS and then to Montreal. The theme of the exhibition was to be "I Love the LNS," with the goal being to "showcase the LNS beauty" (CLC and Coasters Association promotional poster May 2013). In this planning session, it was agreed that student interns would not require extensive training before being sent to the LNS (as they would, for instance, in a volunteer posting to Gulu, Uganda, another of the program's

destinations) since the students wouldn't be leaving the province. After having traveled to twelve of the sixteen villages on the LNS, I would describe the experience as being comparable to visiting a foreign country. During my first visit, there was no cell or Wi-Fi connection in the region. There is no public transportation or road connecting the villages. There are no bars or coffee shops or clothing stores. Preparation for the adjustment to this different way of life is important.

Because my work is place-based, I have found it important to learn about Indigenous Research Methodologies (IRM) as part of my process since the LNS is inscribed over Innu land. Although this is a new area of research for me, I draw from it throughout this thesis. Wendy Makoons Geniusz, Cree-Métis-Polish director of American Indian Studies at the University of Wisconsin, explains that: "A 'colonized text' ... presents information according to the philosophies, cosmologies, and knowledge-keeping systems of the colonizers, which are alien to those of anishinaabe-izhitwaawin" (4). It is impossible for me to avoid this completely, as I have been trained and work within the colonial institution of the university. However, I believe that responsible engagement with one's research environment means being informed by the ethical principles employed there.

In his book, *Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*, Cree researcher Shawn Wilson struggles to articulate a common Indigenous research paradigm in the academic language of "ontology", "epistemology," "methodology" and "axiology". The most salient features that he identifies amongst communities in both Canada and Australia are *relationality* and *accountability*. He writes: "Of special significance is the way relational theory examines the power relationships and hierarchical structure of male-dominated, Euroamerican ethnocentricity that is prevalent in most social science theory (Howitt and Owusu-Bempah, 1994)" (16). Wilson defines IRM as work that is done by or for Indigenous peoples, and that is critical of dominant, hierarchical systems and approaches. Cree playwright and musician Tomson Highway explains that this resistance is built into language itself, with Cree language challenging what he calls "the straight-line, phallic, monotheistic superstructure" of Engligh in favour of a "yonic, pantheistic circle". Embedded in Cree is a reverence for Mother Earth and equal respect for humans and all other animals. The narrative structure reflected in this alternate logic is circular, rather than linear. Stories

might have multiple ways in and out, and are open to interpretation. Process is valued, rather than conclusions.

In IRM, topics are generated from *within* communities, in response to their needs and objectives. The methodologies employed are also decided upon collectively and as Wilson explains, "research is not seen as worthy or ethical if it does not help to improve the reality of the research participants" (37). The community is thus actively engaged at every stage of the research process, including the interpretation and analysis of "data" that has been generated. Furthermore, these participants are named and acknowledged; this is in recognition of their contributions to the research process, and also because each person is understood to be accountable for their contribution. In IRM then, there is no 'spokesperson' for a group of humans and nonhumans that has been set aside for representation over which the group has no control. The purpose of my fieldwork was to include Innu voices in narratives that are currently being constructed about the LNS. I conducted semi-structured interviews with approximately 40 community members from both Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, focusing on harvesting and culinary practices using the berries, and including questions about whether and to whom locals sell cloudberries. I recorded these conversations in video, photographs and text, with the intention of eventually bringing the recordings back to the communities. Admittedly, this is not a topic generated from within the Innu communities. It was inspired rather through an impression that divergent ways of life along the coast should be honored during this period of economic planning for the region.

In IRM, accountability is to the community in the service of which research is being conducted. For a Western academic working with Indigenous people, this accountability is no easy feat, since two paradigms must be maintained—one Indigenous, the other institutional. Inherent to this task is an art of

Arriving in Natashquan at 2am, we continued on the road after receiving the car two hours later. Sometime in the morning we stopped at Maison de la Chicoutai in Rivière au Tonerre and chatted with the owner, Bruno. We ended up exchanging the bakeapple tea that I had purchased at the Sea View Restaurant for his blend, which includes leaves from the bakeapple plant (apparently a cancer preventative). Bruno explained that the tea I had purchased came from Newfoundland and was made with an artificial "bakeapple" flavour produced by a company out of Toronto.

mediation. Dealing with my own positionality in this project has involved researching how ethnographers have approached work in foreign communities. Sensory anthropologist Paul Stoller describes the weight of this responsibility in his book *Sensuous Scholarship*. In his case, Stoller was "elected" after years of apprenticeship with his host Adamu Jenitongo, and after having demonstrated respect for the role of the "griot" or bard — the one who masters and recites a community's social history. Stoller explains that while this practice is traditionally a strictly oral one, some Songhay elders see ethnographers as griots of the written word. He describes their training, which is learned through apprenticeships that last up to thirty years. Griots:

> must learn to dispossess their 'selves' from the 'old words' they have learned. The words that constitute history are much too powerful to be 'owned' by any one person or group of people; rather these words 'own' those who speak them. Accomplished griots do not 'own' history; rather, they are possessed by the forces of the past. By decentering themselves from history and the forces of social life, these griots are infused with great dignity. In time their tongues become ripe for history. Only these griots are capable of meeting the greatest challenge: imparting social knowledge to the next generation. (25)

This is an example of how an artist or social science researcher might go about moving from the informant-researcher relationship, to becoming co-learners. There are many obstacles to this reformation of the research process though. Time and funding are probably the two most significant issues. It is usually expensive to travel to Indigenous communities, which are often remote and inaccessible due to lack of roads or transportation. Finding a place to stay for long periods may prove difficult, especially in villages where there is inadequate housing even for locals. These are both problems that I encountered in my fieldwork. Being away for prolonged periods puts strains on the researcher's family, home and economic resources. These limitations have prevented me from returning a third time to the LNS with *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams*; I thus understand its function in a Montreal gallery to be a prototype for the kind of work that it could potentially do in triggering discussion there. These are challenges that require strategic balancing, while maintaining a research objective that prioritizes the needs of the

community. To achieve this, it is imperative to remain in dialogue with the community at every stage, to ensure that the research serves them. This is also a challenge in my project because LNS locals are not accustomed to communicating via telephone and email, so connections must be made in person. Wilson argues that the length of time spent in a community is not what is most significant, and that it is not necessary to wait until a deep relationship has been built before beginning to write. According to him, research should begin a conversation, developing an increasing number of relations as it progresses. He describes the role of the researcher as a "mediator" between "the community, our environment or cosmos as a whole" and "the idea or topics that we are researching" (106). This is the meaning of relationality and of accountability. Analyzing the apparatus that is used to produce an "object" of study, as Barad points out, is one way of attending to relationality and accountability in a project like this one.

In IRM, the emphasis is on *process* rather than material outcome, so Wilson describes dialogue, personal stories and even dream analysis as important methods. Story circles involve a group of people gathering to discuss matters of collective interest and are organized so that each participant is given equal opportunity to talk. This is a community-oriented process. When a problem requires resolution, the method of inquiry also differs in IRM. Stories of life experiences are often told, but without leading toward conclusions. It is left up to the listener to interpret what they hear, based on their own unique perspective and needs. Wilson explains that: "For the storyteller to explain too much is not honouring you as the listener. It is removing all responsibility from you to do any learning" (135). Benjamin expresses a similar idea when he writes that: "it is half the art of storytelling to keep a story free from explanation as one recounts it" (148). Here too the rigid demands of academia compete with the ingredients of a good story. While the latter thrives on uncertainty and even contradiction, the former demands a thorough accounting of every ambiguous beauty. In addition, Wilson explains that the reification of knowledge in visual and textual forms is difficult to reconcile with an Indigenous understanding of living epistemology — which is meant to be interpreted differently by each person, depending on their own unique perspective. IR methods depend on face-to-face relationships developed with people and environments over time.

Emphasis on relationships has also been central to much art since the 1990s, from Relational Aesthetics to New Genre Public Art, most recently going by the moniker Social Practice. In the collection *Living As Form: Socially Engaged Art from 1991-2011*, curator Nato Thompson notes that: "Perhaps in reaction to the steady state of mediated two-dimensional cultural production, or a reaction to the alienating effects of spectacle, artists, activists, citizens, and advertisers alike are rushing headlong into methods of working that allow genuine interpersonal human relationships to develop" (21). But this has also been one of the main issues of debate within social practice. Critic Claire Bishop, one of the most critical voices in the field, asks: "If relational art produces human relations, then the next logical question to ask is what types of relations are being produced, for whom, and why?" (Bishop 65). This is an important question, though Bishop limits her critique to human relations, forgetting that many socially engaged artworks challenge binary thinking that separates humans and nonhumans. Putting that shortcoming aside for now, Bishop's work has been instrumental, especially for its claim that antagonism is an important feature of relational practice. She critiques works that claim to create relations between people, while appealing only to "the in crowd" of gallery-goers and friends of the artist, without considering the dissensual conditions of its own environment. Storytelling is a methodology of choice in this regard because of its possibilities for maintaining conflictual voices and minority perspectives in a form that is also accessible. Indeed, American community-based artist and scholar Jan Cohen-Cruz remarks that: "Through the interviewing of eyewitness participants, oral history, for example, emphasizes the inclusion of the experiences and perspectives of groups of people who might otherwise have been 'hidden from history'" (Cohen-Cruz 136). *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams*, in its current form as gallery installation, accomplishes this by including the voices of various, divergent LNS community members — voices that are never otherwise heard together. The stories compiled in the piece challenge the holistic colonial representations of the LNS as natural, wild and undeveloped by focusing on the complex relationships at play in berry picking.

**Dialogical Aesthetics**

This is where I see the contribution of this thesis project. Its different outcomes: academic text and interactive mobile storytelling installation have the potential to reach diverse audiences — something that has already begun to happen. This provides different ways of entering into conversation about the emplacement of conventional capitalist development within communities that have historically thrived otherwise. I have been able to produce the installation through support from Concordia's Mobile Media Lab and from the European Commission's culture programme through an international traveling exhibition called *Performigrations: People Are the Territory*, in which I participated. Because of this support, I was able to develop the required technology (projection mapping and voice recognition) and show the installation in a non-profit Montreal gallery called Espace Cercle Carré in October 2015. I have also had a number of opportunities to present the work in progress at academic conferences throughout 2014 and 2015. These occasions have helped me to develop the project both conceptually and technically. Through them, I have also attempted to raise awareness of the problematics of capitalist development within a settler colonial context, showing how communal forms of life and well-being are displaced by these processes.

Accessing different audiences through diverse forms is crucial to my approach. In his essay, "Performance Studies: Interventions and Radical Research," late American ethnographer Dwight Conquergood reminds his readers that for many minority peoples who have been excluded from reading and writing, performance has been key to expression and resistance. He writes: "It is a fact of life of being a member of a minority or disenfranchised subculture that one must and can learn how to perform cultural scripts and play roles that do not arise out of one's own culture" (74). As Western academics we tend to forget that adaptation to foreign epistemologies and representational forms is for many people not a matter of choice, being either enforced or restricted by those in power. We saw examples of this in Chapter II, in the context of Canadian law courts where First Nations people have used performance and storytelling as evidence.

Wanting to counter colonial depictions of the LNS as empty, barren and undeveloped has led me to strategies that highlight the tensions and contradictions at play in managing

berries and picking practices there. These antagonisms are signs of vitality that fly in the face of any settled account of the place. Any responsible approach to "development" there will respect this deeply rooted liveliness. In *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams*, I have tried to create a form that is conducive to dialogue and that allows for non-linear storytelling, to emphasize that there are multiple perspectives that can co-exist despite being conflictual. These goals are also reflected in IRM and addressed through the method of "talking circles". According to Wilson, talking circles constitute a common Indigenous research method, when used in accordance with relational accountability: "A talking circle involves people sitting in a circle, where each person has the opportunity to take an uninterrupted turn in discussing the topic" (41). In his book, he presents a study of this in practice in his own research. In the appendix to her book *Engaging Performance: Theatre as Call and Response*, Cohen-Cruz includes "Roadside Theater's Story Circle Methodology," which functions in much the same way as talking circles in IRM. It is a democratic forum for speaking, listening and exchange around a given topic. "In the course of sharing stories, difficulties in a community often rise to the surface, including issues from which its members are suffering" (200). Roadside Theater suggests that story circles be preceded by informal time to socialize. The form that I have created for *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams* could be used for other community projects, or to further develop this one. Further events could be arranged along the LNS in which previously recorded stories from neighbouring communities are presented interactively inside the dome described below. The interior of the dome is conducive to small group exchange as it accommodates up to 15 people; Roadside recommends 5-15 people, sitting so

Our trip has begun in what seems to be characteristic LNS fashion. It rained profusely the entire day yesterday, from Montreal to Rivière du Loup, where we found a dog-friendly hotel to avoid a swampy night of dreary camping. It was a pleasant surprise. We were able to keep our few perishable foods refrigerated, and to study equipment — cameras — charge batteries and prepare for interviews. This morning before leaving we prepared four liters of carbonated water with our Soda Stream. Not a bad start, in many respects, though it added almost $200 to our budget. We drove to Trois Pistoles for the ferry crossing to the North Shore. On the way Erik phoned Relais Nordik to confirm 6:45pm ferry departure from Kegaska to La Romaine tomorrow. He was told matter-of-factly that they have decided to leave at 2pm instead and that we should plan to be there by noon to load the car.

that everyone can see everyone else. The screening could act as an icebreaker, followed by informal conversation before opening up to the story circle, which would center around the topic of local development planning. The conversation could also be recorded and added to the installation's repertoire. For now though, the installation has served a related function in the context of a Montreal gallery where it was exhibited in October 2015. During the opening, groups of people gathered inside the dome and engaged with me in lively discussion about the tensions and contradictions raised through the recordings of locals' stories.

In *Conversation Pieces: Community + Communication in Modern Art*, American art historian Grant Kester writes about social practice that is aligned with activism through its facilitation of dialogue and exchange that is reframed as "an active, generative process that can help us speak and imagine beyond the limits of fixed identities, official discourse, and the perceived inevitability of partisan political conflict" (8). Dialogical art unfolds "through a process of performative interaction" distinct from other forms of art and activism. Through socially engaged artistic practice, it is possible to manifest other ways of being, thus igniting the imagination of participants. As Cohen-Cruz puts it: "Other ways of living together are possible. This ability to imagine a more inclusive world, a world in flux, is part of engaged art, too" (25). Two of the visitors with whom I spoke at the opening of *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams* commented on how important it is to tell these stories in public, since Indigenous histories and presence are rarely discussed in Québec schools and Québecois remain largely ignorant on this topic.

> Erik pointed out that locals seem to adjust themselves to the ferry, not the other way around. He compared their dependence on the Bella Desgagnés to our reliance on the internet. And so we make adjustments. We arrive at Trois Pistoles and prepare to buy our tickets to cross from the South shore to the North. We learn that the next crossing is not until 3pm. So much for our 8am start! We turn around and head back to Rivière du Loup to make the 11:15am crossing from there. $70 for a ½ hour trip. I'm beginning to doubt that we've brought enough cash. While waiting in the ferry line-up we reschedule our stops so that we can make it for the 6 h 45 min. difference in ferry departure in Kegaska.

There are many ways of initiating dialogue through art. Art can be used to bridge distances that arise from geography, culture, language and values. Nishnaabeg author Leanne Simpson argues that Indigenous resurgence requires public presentation of

Indigenous languages, oral traditions, performance, song and dance. In her book *Dancing on Our Turtle's Back*, she maintains that: "When resistance is defined solely as large-scale political mobilization, we miss much of what has kept our languages, cultures, and systems of governance alive. We have those things today because our Ancestors often acted within the family unit to physically survive, to pass on what they could to their children, to occupy and use our lands as we always had" (16). As an example of alternative, everyday forms of resurgence, she describes a performance by Anishinaabe artist Rebecca Belmore, in which Belmore "re-map[s] Peterborough from an Indigenous perspective as a way of marking the twentieth anniversary of the 'Oka Crisis'" (96). Deeply moved by Belmore's evocative staging, Simpson says that the "performance was liberation from within; and I am reminded of her/my presence, her/my power because she has altered the landscape in my memory and in the memory of everyone who witnessed her performance. Nishnaabeg and Indiginous artists like Belmore interrogate the space of empire, envisioning and performing ways out of it. Even if the performance only lasts twenty minutes, it is one more stone thrown in the water. It is a glimpse of a decolonized contemporary reality; it is a mirroring of what we can become" (98). On 14 April 2015, PhD Candidate in Political Science Surbulent Turan spoke on the CBC program "Ideas" with Paul Kennedy. He argued that people act according to what they are told, until they witness someone doing otherwise. Turan's research shows that symbolic acts of resistance are often what lead to revolution and freedom, thus corroborating Simpson's point. If this is true, then it is important to remember the crucial place that action and embodiment play in the process of dialogical aesthetics, or communication as form.

**Place-based Research**

Like Wilson's *Research Is Ceremony*, Anishinaabe scholar Kathleen Absolon surveys commonalities across Indigenous approaches to research in her book *Kaandossiwin: How We Come to Know*. Absolon reviews published and unpublished PhD theses by Indigenous scholars across Canada, and speaks with them about their processes and their struggles in working within colonial institutions while respecting traditional methods and worldviews. She writes about the difficult negotiation that must take place between academic and

Indigenous theories, methods and expectations. According to her, IRM are "rooted in oral traditions that involve ceremony, song, stories, teachings and knowledge that are creative, diverse, visual, oral, experiential and sensory based" (166). So, while dialogical aesthetics, based on conversation and relational accountability are central to both IRM and social practice, these are not emphasized to the exclusion of the senses. In this section I will address the role of embodiment and emplacement in place-based methodologies.

Anthropological and geographical studies of Aboriginal land use over time have been important in demonstrating the link between the landscape and cultural practice. Such studies and mapping projects have contributed to legal negotiations in land use and development[14]. As Canadian geographer Jon Corbett has shown through his use of IRM, culinary stories are significant in this regard, especially those that reference particular sites where food is gathered, where people camp, as well as how they get there and how long they stay. This information helps to establish evidence of ongoing engagement of people with land over time.

How does my own storytelling project differ from the work of geographers and anthropologists who have contributed to the production of "evidence" of the long-term marriage of people and place? I think that artistic productions (in this case live performance, storytelling and interactive multimedia installation) have several effects that make a difference. First, the sensory qualities of these works appeal to divergent audiences and make their content accessible to non-academic groups. Second, the use of multi-media and performance allows for non-linear storytelling, thus enabling the co-existence of 'irreconcilable differences' and for complexities to emerge. This is a key point, since much debate in social practice has centered around "antagonism" as a crucial component of democratic dialogue[15]. Third, these ways of 'making public' facilitate dialogue, as opposed to producing a "publication" as a finished work. Artistic "research outcomes" are also more appropriate to at least one of my main audiences: LNS residents. Appropriate choice of form is part of relational accountability. Absolon contends that: "A critical understanding unveils the oppressive nature and intent of research on Aboriginal peoples and critiques the old

[14] See Basso 1996, Braun 2002, Wainwright 2008.
[15] See Laclau and Mouffe, Bishop and Rosalyn Deutsche, who writes: "In the end, I contend that conflict, far from the ruin of democratic public space, is the condition of its existence" (*Evictions* xiii)

order of scientific empiricism, which squashed methodologies of acquiring knowledge through the senses, by experience and observation" (97). University protocols for academic output are often at odds with IRM, which do not adhere to bureaucratic deadlines and the stipulation of "research questions" and "outcomes"; however, the process of decolonizing academia involves embracing performance and oral storytelling that are tied to particular places.

American performance studies scholar Della Pollock explains that oral history is "an art of listening that requires historians to participate in a horizontal versus vertical economy of narrative exchange that specifically challenges top-down approaches to community development" (Mapping Landscapes 146). I was invited as an artist to enter a community-university partnership. Although I did not enter that partnership, my approach to answering this call has been to solicit stories from locals that are relevant to current and potential development in the region and to reflect these back through performance, installation and writing. I take this to be an illustration of Pollock's definition. She writes further that: "Oral history is itself a performance in the sense of a multiply constituted, culturally rehearsed, relationally charged, and radically contingent practice of responsible witnessing.... In practice, this means that the interviewer-as-audience member reflects back the micro-politics and ethics enacted at the relational nadir of the interview process" (Mapping Landscapes 147). I inserted myself into this dialogical process because it seemed to me that certain voices were being excluded from co-operative efforts to develop local economies on the LNS. If the university is to be involved in those developments, I felt that the re-presentation of divergent voices was important.

On 14 March 2015, writer Marcus Boon gave a talk at Concordia University called "Is There Life After Mimesis?" as part of the conference *Re-Originality: Curation, Plagiarism and Cultures of Appropriation*. In it, he described nuclear disarmament as a radical form of gifting, or giving up, or giving away. I thought this might be a productive way of thinking about this project. While I am in no way suggesting that this project has an impact on the grand scale of nuclear disarmament, in view of the histories of "epistemic violence" and "cultural appropriation" by settlers and academics vis à vis First Nations communities in Canada, to use the resources and knowledge gained through institutional privilege toward community empowerment is perhaps also a form of disarmament. Boon used the neologism

"depropriation" to describe the act of giving that which has been privatized back to the public. Could it be that using artistic forms (video, installation, performance) can create more engaging, accessible work that diverse audiences can enter into? It seems to me that this can be a way of recuperating voices that have been muted through dominant communications media.

In this case, dominant media representations have been working to present the LNS as decaying, depressed and dependent. The articulation of the "problem" as such leaves "development" in the forms of road-building, mining and hydro-electricity as the only possible solutions to "revitalization". I will elaborate upon this in Chapter V. I believe that storytelling and sensory ethnographies can create counter-narratives that draw from place-based ways of knowing to depict this region as already lively, an idea to which I return in Chapter VI. In storytelling, sensory ethnography and IRM, place-based research is stressed as a means of *locating* the researcher thus undoing the myth of objective distance. Furthermore, by focusing on how berries are used in everyday life and how they organize cultural activities, the LNS is cast as a *vibrant* place, rather than decaying and obsolete. Also emphasized in place-based research is the notion of *home*. Knowledge comes from embodied practice in a particular place with which one is intimately connected. Focusing on the cloudberry as a relational nexus allows us to see the investments of private and public institutions in maintaining a fixed image of it as a pure, wild, and natural representation of place. The work of Barad, Hinchcliffe, and Whatmore help us to see that the cloudberry as an object is a myth that is maintained in order to sustain colonial interests in developing so-called unproductive wild places.

In my approach to storytelling and in IRM, embodiment and emplacement are key concepts. To summarize, place-based research involves a holistic approach to culture and geography, meaning that concepts, memories, ideas, relationships, histories and identities are bound to particular places. Thus, to learn about cloudberries on the LNS it is crucial to walk the land, journey to island berry patches, crawl through shrubbery, endure mosquitoes and blackflies, watch and listen to Elders to learn what it means to pick cloudberries on particular ancestral sites. In *Cloudberry Connections* and in *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams* I try to evoke these experiences through interactive installation and live performance. I conducted approximately forty semi-structured interviews during my fieldwork, and accompanied locals on berry-picking outings. The outcomes of this project draw from the video and audio recordings of these encounters.

Yesterday was a long, exhausting day of travel, with me behind the wheel from 8:40am-4:00pm, and two ferries along the way. The crossing at Rivière du Loup was a chilly but beautiful 1.5 hour trip. The free, 15-minute crossing at Tadoussac was just enough time for a picnic of crackers with avocado and smoked oysters. We are eating well from the groceries we packed. Because of the change in ferry schedule we decided to go all the way through to Natashquan in one day, leaving time for my first interview there in the morning. Erik found us a room in the only pet-friendly accommodation there. He took the wheel at Baie Comeau and pushed through a stoic 7.5 hours of driving. We arrived limp and grateful for a comfortable place to rest at Auberge Port d'Attache. We both slept well and awoke to a breakfast of cantaloupe and honeydew melons, toast, orange juice and coffee on the back porch overlooking the water.

Australian sensory ethnographer Sarah Pink explains that: "the idea of embodiment" is "a *process* that is integral to the relationship between humans and their environments" (24). According to Wilson, people are inseparable from the places they inhabit: "Knowledge itself is held in the relationships and connections formed with the environment that surrounds us. This reinforces the earlier point that knowledge, theories and ideas are only knots in the strands of relationality that are not physically visible but are nonetheless real" (87). Furthermore, "there is no distinction made between relationships that are made with other people and those that are made with our environment... The only difference between human beings and four leggeds and plants is the shadow they cast" (87). Within sensory ethnography, the notion of 'emplacement' has been developed as a way of

emphasizing the importance of "environment" in this equation. Howes writes that: "While the paradigm of 'embodiment' implies an integration of mind and body, the emergent paradigm of emplacement suggests the sensuous interrelationship of body-mind-environment. This environment is both physical and social, as is well illustrated by the bundle of sensory and social values contained in the feeling of 'home' (see Tuan 1995)" (Empire of the Senses 7).

Building on this, Pink suggests a new paradigm for social science research:

> I propose an emplaced ethnography that attends to the question of experience by accounting for the relationships between bodies, minds and the materiality and sensoriality of the environment. It is now frequently recognised that we need to investigate the emplacement of the people who participate in our ethnographic research. It is equally important for ethnographers to acknowledge their own emplacement as individuals in and as part of specific research contexts. The experiencing, knowing and emplaced body is therefore central to the idea of a sensory ethnography. (25)

In her book, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, Pink examines techniques for "learning to know as others know"(70), including apprenticeship, eating and walking together. She also advocates meeting in participants' homes, and conducting "elicitation interviews," which involve presenting the interviewee with a series of objects or experiences (93) to trigger storytelling, or alternatively inviting them to introduce their own objects, such as photographs. Pink expands on what she calls "visualising emplacement" through a range of media techniques. "The multisensory video tour involves the researcher and research participant collaborating to explore a particular environment using video"... Doing the video in an environment such as a garden allows the participants to use their whole bodies (110); this method can also be linked with the practice of walking with participants. Tours, guidebooks, documentary film, even musical scores can all be used and combined with writing, Pink advises, but she cautions the researcher to attend to the visual cultures of the people involved when conducting this kind of work (113). I will expand on my own use of "visualising emplacement" in Chapter VI.

Presented by Pink as methods for "sensory ethnography," these are all strategies familiar to artists, especially those engaged in community works. Shannon Jackson, in her essay "When Is Art Research?" remarks that: "With the social turn in contemporary art and community performance, the labor of many kinds of socially oriented art practices are more like participatory fieldwork than they are like the methodologies traditionally associated with the humanities" (Mapping Landscapes 161). It does not seem important whether art (or social practice) is like ethnography, or conversely that ethnography is like art. Either way, the methods outlined by Pink, including both performative acts like walking and eating, and the use of technologies for recording stories offer significant opportunities. Pollock points to the common roots of both ethnography and oral history: "Oral history began primarily as a method, propelled by the technological innovation and popularization of the tape recorder. By the late 1960s, scholars like Paul Thompson began to discern its radically democratizing potential, and the possibility not only for filling gaps in official records but also for expanding those records to include the stories of people and experiences buried under or excluded from histories of conquest.... Oral history and ethnography cross in the emergent role of the oral historian as an ethnographic participant in culture construed as a matrix of micro- and macro-performances" (146). This is akin to what cultural theorist Edward Said called "contrapuntal reading," in which the narratives of the colonizer and the colonized are upheld alongside one another. The choice of media is significant here, not only in the potential afforded for the capture of testimonies, but also for their potential modes of dissemination, which is why I chose a portable structure that could potentially be transported between communities to share stories between them.

**Conclusion**

Storytelling and place-based research in sensory ethnography focus on process (rather than product), thus working against nature/culture, wild/productive binaries. These methodologies oppose the representationalist impulse to separate land from lived experience. In his critique of imperial capitalism, Coulthard points to the role of performance in resisting the commodification of lands and labour, arguing that without a

> massive transformation in the political economy of contemporary settler-colonialism, any efforts to rebuild our nations will remain parasitic on capitalism, and thus on the

> perpetual exploitation of our lands and labour. Consider, for example, an approach to resurgence that would see Indigenous people begin to reconnect with their lands and land-based practices on either an individual or small-scale collective basis. This could take the form of "walking the land" in an effort to re-familiarize ourselves with the landscapes and places that give our histories, languages, and cultures shape and content; to revitalizing and engaging in land-based harvesting practices like hunting, fishing, and gathering, and/or cultural production activities like hide-tanning and carving, all of which also serve to assert our sovereign presence on our territories in ways that can be profoundly educational and empowering; to the re-occupation of sacred places for the purposes of relearning and practicing our ceremonial activities. (Coulthard in conversation with Walia)

Representations that depict land as barren and devoid of activity are guilty of perpetuating inattentional blindness. As researchers, artists, and settler colonists seeking to expand our "homes" we must become attuned to the effects of the apparatuses that we use to measure and observe foreign lands. If these are left unaccounted for, then we risk reducing vibrant places to "resources" for "development" —to the benefit of some and the detriment of others. In this thesis, I have tried to highlight antagonistic perspectives on the meaning and uses of cloudberries on the LNS. In the next chapter, I will trace a history of the LNS, showing how fixed representations of land have served settler colonialism there. This will serve as a backdrop for the counter-narratives that emerge through *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams* (the focus of Chapter VI), which emphasize land-based activities that challenge the state and private boundaries discussed below.

## CHAPTER IV

## "This is Our Land": Sedenterization and Segregation on Nitassinan

### Introduction: Territorial Boundaries

Nametau Innu (nametauinnu.ca) is a website dedicated to the knowledge and memory of Nitassinan; it is a space devoted to sharing between Elders and younger generations. The site claims that: "Nitassinan, this vast territory in North-Eastern Quebec has been guarded jealously by the Innu for 8,000 years. The nomadic Innu walked it and took care of it with the purpose of passing it on to further generations. However, the Europeans who arrived about 400 years ago see it rather as a reservoir of consumer goods for their own use." The map in Figure 16, also featured on the website, attests to the importance of stories in recording the lived relationships between people and the places they inhabit across Nitassinan. On it, the Innu are using geo-tagging to archive stories connected to particular sites of significance to nomadic activities.

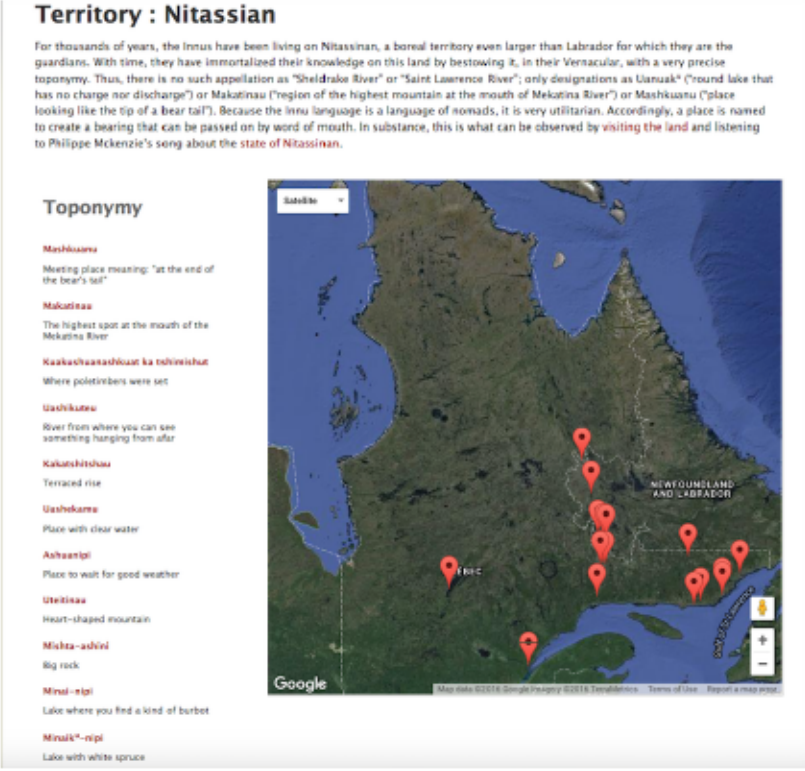


*Figure 16. Map of Nitassinan. © Musée régional de la Côte-Nord 2010. All Rights Reserved.*


*Figure 17. Geographical map of 2006 Economic Regions of Eastern Canada, 2006 Census of Canada. Produced by the Geography Division, Statistics Canada, 2011.*

Note the differences between this indexical mapping system, which emphasizes practice and serves as a database for a growing number of stories, and the map of the economic regions of Quebec produced by the state in Figure 17. The latter represents fixed borders delineated by arbitrary, fictional lines and an abstract, bureaucratic numbering system. The two maps depict the same area, yet contradict one another. They stand for two irreconcilable understandings of place. "The Lower North Shore," or economic region 2480 has been produced by a settler colonial apparatus that renders invisible the Innu presence over which it is inscribed. The production of such visualizations has real effects. In this chapter, I will trace a history through which the movements and livelihoods of Innu people have been artificially fixed through the drawing of administrative and economic boundaries. As first peoples of *Nitassinan*, or "our land" — what is now referred to as Québec and Labrador, the Innu have never ceded their ancestral lands nor signed any treaties. This chapter will outline how this land came into the hands of the Canadian state, with Innu being relegated to reserves. The ordering of people and places into constituencies and resources described below will help to make evident the processes of *territorialization* described by Wainwright in Chapter II as they have occurred in this part of the country. It

will then become clear how the cloudberry acts as a symbol for the "wild" Indigenous nature that should purportedly be administered, domesticated and developed, according to a colonial-capitalist paradigm.

## Innu History and European Settlement


*Figure 18. Innu communities, Quebec, public domain image, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Innu*

The Innu (also referred to as *Montagnais,* though this term is considered racist by some Innu) have populated the "region" now designated "Lower North Shore" for at least 9000 years (see Figure 18 for Innu communities across Nitassinan). There are two Innu communities established there:

- the village of Pakua Shipi had a population of 312 in 2011, according to Statistics Canada[16] having risen by 8% since 2006. In 2006, the median age of the population was 20.7.[17] There is no reported knowledge of English, and 15 people report knowledge of French. The 2006 census reports the mother tongue of 275 members

[16] <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=2498802&Geo2=PR&Code2=24&Data=Count&SearchText=Pakuashipi&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=All&Custom=>
[17] <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=2498802&Geo2=PR&Code2=24&Data=Count&SearchText=Pakuashipi&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=All&Custom=>

of the population under "Other language(s)", presumably Innu-aiman, a language belonging to the Algonkian linguistic family.

- and the Unaman-Shipit reserve, which counted 1,015 members in 2011, having risen by 9.7% since 2006, according to the census report.[18] In 2011, the median age of the population was 27.7.[19] Of the total population, the mother tongue for 985 is Innu/Montagnais. Ten people have knowledge of English and 860 have knowledge of French.

Of note in these statistics is the fact that the two Innu settlements on the LNS are the only ones on the coast with an increasing population, and a greater proportion of youth to seniors. Already, this complicates the story of an aging and dwindling place and suggests potential for "cultural survivance"[20]. Survivance is currently being pursued by the movement Idle No More as an alternative to euphemistic "reconciliation" discourse, and represents a rejection of mainstream capitalist "development" processes. I will return to this at the end of this chapter.

Gabriel Dionne was a Catholic priest with the Oblates of Mary Immaculate who studied History and Literature before going to live and work as a missionary and as a member of the Conseil Économique on the LNS from 1946-1974. This council was charged with the promotion of the LNS, with funding from local members, and the Service d'éducation populaire de Québec and support from abbot Philippe Blais (256). In his history of the LNS *Voix d'un Silence*, to which I return in Chapter VI, Dionne describes the debates that led to the approval of bill 23 on 4 April, 1963. Bill 23 brought into being the municipality of the North Shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, stretching from approximately 250 miles between the 57th to the 62nd parallels of Québec along the coastline. This law would permit the new region to access community programs, territorial planning,

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[18] <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2011/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=2498804&Geo2=CD&Code2=2498&Data=Count&SearchText=Romaine&SearchType=Contains&SearchPR=01&B1=All&Custom=&TABID=1>

[19] <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2011/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=2498804&Geo2=CD&Code2=2498&Data=Count&SearchText=Romaine&SearchType=Contains&SearchPR=01&B1=All&Custom=&TABID=1>

[20] See Anishinaabe author Gerald Vizenor, who defines Indigenous survivance as: "an active sense of presence, the continuance of native stories, not a mere reaction, or a survivable name. Native survivance stories are renunciations of dominance, tragedy, and victimry. Survivance means the right of succession or reversion of an estate, and in that sense, the estate of native survivancy." < http://survivance.org/acts-of-survivance/>

modernization of fishing methods, electrical service, and road-building projects. During the debates in the Legislative Assembly over the adoption of these new regional boundaries, forestry engineer and member of the Assembly Henri Coiteux declared:

> La Basse Côte Nord d'abord, l'Afrique ensuite! Dans la belle province de Québec, il est impensable que pareilles conditions existent en 1963. Mais, me direz-vous, Monsieur le Président, pourquoi tout cela? Est-ce parce qu'ils sont paresseux? Non, ce sont des vaillants. Serait-ce parce que ce ne sont pas de bons pêcheurs? Ce sont les meilleurs du pays. Parce qu'ils ne sont pas bons navigateurs? Non plus, car j'en connais bien peu qui réussiraient à faire ce qu'ils font avec les moyens qu'ils ont en mains… l'économie de la Côte Nord peut se résoudre sur place, à la condition, comme le prouve le geste posé en présentant ce bill, à la condition, dis-je, que les ministres, l'exécutif de la Province, se penchent sur ce problème comme un problème de haute humanité"[21]

In this excerpt, the conditions of settler populations are compared with those of Africans, suggesting that LNS residents face the plight of an impoverished people, though there is no mention of the two Innu settlements. Ironically, confinement on Canadian reserves is now commonly compared with South Africa's apartheid system. Of note too is the stark difference in which poverty in settler communities is interpreted in comparison to that of First Nations.

Despite having asked us to arrive at 1pm yesterday, the inspection of our car did not happen before 4-4:30pm, and the ferry did not depart until 7:30pm. The boat's wifi has been down throughout its journey, so it hasn't been possible to track its location. Karen, who works for la Coste tourism on the boat explains that people in the villages know best what is happening on the boat, where it is and when it will arrive. Their mysterious communications are more reliable than any internet. By 12:30am, we were finally at our hotel and ready to collapse after another long day. We collected some beautiful footage — a time lapse of the drive from Natashquan to Kegaska, another of cargo being loaded onto the ferry, and various shots from the boat in transit, at the setting of the sun.

[21] (Journal des Débats de l'Assemblée Législative, Québec 1963, 27e législature, 1re session, le 19 mars 1963. <http://www.assnat.qc.ca/fr/travaux-parlementaires/assemblee-nationale/27-1/journal-debats/19630319/118689.html> (Accessed 18 August 2015).

As we have seen in previous chapters, the latter are consistently described as lazy and unambitious, while here the figure of the valiant pioneer surviving against all odds is reinforced. Apparently if the settler is struggling, it is through no fault of their own, but due rather to systemic conditions that must be addressed by the state.

This economic support achieved through bill 23, as well as that provided now to minority Anglophone populations, is representative of a history of efforts to develop this region of Québec through recourse to a heroic frontier narrative, while simultaneously disappearing the people on whose land this settlement is erected. Another example is the provincially and federally funded Grenfell Mission[22] (founded in the late nineteenth century), which funneled medical and economic support toward settler populations to ensure their survival and well-being. It is important to remember that concurrently with these projects, the Innu were being coerced into sedentary communities where they could be divided, immobilized, made dependent on commercial goods and stripped of their self-reliance.

Sedenterization and segregation of the Innu and the attribution of economic regions in Québec has meant that state funding for "development" projects are allocated to non-Indigenous communities, thus creating further stratifications. Census data is used to support communities differentially. According to the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages: "Generally, the English-speaking communities of the Lower North Shore have been witnessing a slow but steady decline in population that is marked by three predominant demographic features (comparative to the overall population of the region): there is a higher proportion of seniors, the level of bilingualism is lower than in other English-speaking communities (reflecting the isolated nature of many Lower North Shore communities), and there is a higher level of unemployment that results in seasonal and temporary migration in search of work".[23] In response to this situation, the Community Economic Development and Employability Corporation (CEDEC), as a province-wide organization that mainly serves Québec's English-speaking populations, is supporting entrepreneurial projects in the region. For instance, in November 2012, their Entrepreneurial Approach initiative highlighted economic development opportunities

[22] See http://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/society/grenfell-mission.php
[23] Office of the Commissioner or Official Languages. <http://www.ocol-clo.gc.ca/html/stu_etu_062008_lns_bcn_p4_e.php>

through a tour along the coast, along with the Centre local de developpement (CLD) de-la-Basse-Côte-Nord, the travel cooperative Voyages Coste, and Emploi-Québec. The team discussed plans for two projects pertaining to cloudberries:

- La Tabatière plans to create a tourism-oriented community co-op that transforms marine and non-timber forest products.
- A regional group of artisans and organizations will focus on the establishment of an e-commerce co-operative that would sell local products from across the Coast globally.[24]

In serving English-speaking communities, as minorities within the province of Québec, is this team inadvertently contributing to uneven development that could endanger other ways of life on the coast? Are the potential impacts on non-English speaking communities also being taken into account in the planning of wilderness tourism and development of wilderness products, not to mention the infrastructure to support these industries? These are important questions, since these projects are part of a settler colonial *territorialization* process that eradicates ways of life that conflict with the goals of privatization.

*Territorialization* (see Wainwright in Chapter II) of the Québec-Labrador peninsula has happened through Christianization, trade, "gifts" (such as overcrowded housing, medical care, and government transfer payments), introduction of French and English in exchange for Innu-aimun, and European-style education. Through each of these processes, the range of movement and relationships for Innu has been further constrained as administrative, individual, public and corporate boundaries are erected and a foreign legal structure is enforced on native land.

[24] Community Economic Development and Employability Corporation <http://www.cedec.ca/blog/tag/lower-north-shore/>


*Figure 19. Screenshot from Ntapueu: I am Telling the Truth (11mins 49 seconds into the film).*

*Ntapueu: I am Telling the Truth* is a 40-minute storytelling video on the social, environmental, economic and cultural impact of resource development in Labrador. It was prepared as an oral history for the Voisey Bay Nickel Mine public hearings in the 1990s. These testimonies seem to have had no impact on the initial development plans presented at the outset of the consultation process (Samson), perhaps because, as we see in the footage of *Ntapueu*, officials slept through the Innu testimonies. Nevertheless, the film provides important insight into the effects of sedenterization and assimilation processes that have been working to eradicate Innu ways of life and replace these with European practices. One of these practices is the erection of borders. One participant in the film explains that: "In the past as I explained, Innu gathered in any part of our territory. We didn't have such things as borders like we do today. I remember when Québec and Labrador was an open territory for Innu people. They could go anywhere they wanted. They could hunt anywhere they wanted. They could harvest and gather anywhere they wanted" (See Figure 19). The Innu that I met in Unamen Shipu and Pakua Shipi are still semi-nomadic and rely on seasonal hunting, fishing and harvesting for subsistence, at least in part. Their adoption of houses is a recent trend, having begun in the 1960s.

In journalist Christopher Frey's article for Canadian Geographic, discussed further in Chapter VI, the author points out that: "Language is a useful barometer of cultural health. In Quebec, the Innu language is spoken less and is more corrupted by French the closer a community is to a road or large town. Those same communities also suffer higher incidences of alcoholism, sexual abuse and domestic violence... the root of these ills is the

increasingly sedentary nature of the Innu, who are thought to be North America's last nomadic peoples. And, not surprisingly, where there is a road, the sedentary life is most likely to prevail" (7). This is corroborated by the statistics presented above, which show that most people in both Pakua Shipi and Unamen Shipu speak Innu-aimun. Note that in Unamen Shipu though, which is much closer to Highway 138 and more accessible to the road via ferry, most people also speak French. In my own experience, I needed a translator for much of my communication in Pakua Shipi, whereas in Unamen Shipu I was able to communicate with most people in French. I did hear from several Elders in both communities though, that youth are beginning to lose their native tongue. For missionaries, traders and bureaucrats, sedenterization was always understood to be a crucial step toward assimilation — a tidy way of garnering Indigenous consent for colonial-capital development.

As stated above, the Innu have never ceded land to the province, the country, or other colonial authorities. A first step toward the possession of Innu land though, was King Charles' charter in 1670, granting the Hudson's Bay Company the "right" to legally possess whatever land was deemed suitable for trade (Gosling, 1910, qtd in Samson). Furthermore, two historic legal documents contribute to the foundations of present day approaches to addressing First Nations "rights" to land. The first is the *Royal Proclamation* issued by the British government in 1763, which became the cornerstone of Canadian and U.S. Indian Policy. The Proclamation erected boundaries between the colonies and "Indian Country", and asserted the right of the Crown to acquire further territory with the permission of the "tribes" concerned (Samson 41). The *St. Catharine's Milling* case of 1888 affirmed Aboriginal "occupation" or "title" prior to the arrival of Europeans, but was deemed a "burden" on the Crown, meaning that the state has the authority to "extinguish title" to reserved land at any time (Samson 42).

Canadian ethnographer and linguist José Mailhot has worked closely with the Innu since the early 1960s. Her work focuses on Innu dialects and genealogies. In her book *The People of Sheshatshit*, she notes the incredible dispersion of kinship networks over a vast geographic area, transcending the political and administrative borders of "Québec" and "Labrador." Her research reveals many transformations of Innu ways of life since the arrival

of Europeans, most notably in terms of social and geographic stratification, beginning with attachments to trading posts and Catholic missions, with religious, state and commercial officials all placing a variety of pressures on Innu people to abandon a nomadic, subsistence survival in the interior of the peninsula in favour of sedentary life in coastal villages.

## Assimilation, Reserves and Social Stratification

*Figure 20."My body is here but my spirit is always there": The Innu Language of the Forest - Musée McCord Museum*

*Figure 21. Prefabricated housing, Pakua Shipi, 2014, Photo by the author*

The processes through which First Nations were coerced onto reserves in the first place were gradual and multifarious. One strategy was through the promise of housing. For instance, in Labrador, the Indian Housing Agreement offered a rental purchase plan in

which families were given building materials as an "advance" to construct a house. They were required to sign a contract promising to live in that house for ten years, after which time, passing inspection, they would be granted ownership. Welfare and other social benefits were also extended to those who agreed to "settle" in this way (Samson 32). According to Innu living on these reserves today, reserve membership was determined arbitrarily by government agents who recorded the names of people who arrived at trading posts during the summer months.

In his history of the LNS, titled *The Forgotten Labrador*, author Cleophas Belvin explains that until the 1970s, the Innu were nomadic hunters, aligning their movements with caribou migrations in spring and autumn months to sustain themselves. This continued (and still does in part) until the government interrupted ancestral hunting, fishing and trapping practices by introducing the concept of "bands" (Mailhot, Samson) and locating these along the St. Augustin River to the Unamen Shipu reserve near La Romaine. Belvin writes that: "Feeling out of place in their new surroundings, the displaced families returned on foot, walking the 380 rough kilometres back to their homeland. A joint federal-provincial housing project helped establish a tidy settlement of pre-fabricated box houses at Pakua Shipi in 1974. When the first families moved in, some erected tents outside, not sure what to make of their new homes".

I woke up before Erik today, walked Beanie for about half an hour, showered, and began my phone calls. I tried Théo Mark first. He told me to wait outside the hotel in five minutes and he would take me, Erik and Beanie out to the islands for chicoutai picking, along with his two sisters and brothers in law. Erik jumped out of bed and we hurriedly packed bags for the day and met Théo out front. He drove us to his sister Rachel's, where we talked about my project, chatted a bit about the berries and the importance of a heavy snowfall for their growth. Rachel, Théo and their nephew Joseph discussed the weather and agreed that the fog would soon lift so that we could leave in a chaloupe in about half an hour. In the meantime, Théo returned us to the hotel and instructed us to bring lunch and bug spray, then walk back to his place down the street.

The move from a communal, democratic social organization to private, individual and sexist arrangements has contributed to stratification of the Innu and other First Nations described by Mailhot, Simpson, Samson and others. For instance, Mailhot explains that: "the Innu, in recent centuries, modified their aboriginal kinship system, which encompassed a form of marriage unacceptable to the missionaries"

(114). Innu family organization historically suited nomadic lifestyles and was designed to extend relations over large geographic areas. In fact, access to territory was only through complex kin networks, so that the more skillful one was at forming these connections, the greater one's access to territory would be[25]. This is what Mailhot terms "structured mobility". She writes:

> The immediate social environment of Innu children in nomadic times, then, bore no resemblance to the concept of a family consisting of a father, a mother, and their children. The Innu family was a more complex and flexible reality that adapted itself to deaths, marriages, and other circumstances of life. In the pre-settlement culture, most individuals had experienced a broad and diverse social universe by the time they reached adulthood. They could then count on numerous bonds of kinship, which would eventually be doubled by marriage. (129)

We spent the rest of the day on three small islands about half an hour off the coast of La Romaine. Théo, Rachel, their sister Marita, Rachel's husband Lionel and another brother-in-law busy themselves picking berries, squatting low amongst the blackflies, mosquitoes and other flesh-eaters, while Erik and I record.

It is thus possible to understand land as a network of relationships, rather than as "property". From season to season and year to year, each person lived with a shifting configuration of social relations, so that over time one's network of relations and therefore access to space would be quite large. Mailhot argues that: "The sedentarization of the still nomadic Innu was the first stage of a government policy intended to assimilate them into mainstream Canadian society" (152). Other authors (Ryan 1988) have drawn associations between policies to assimilate the Innu and development plans in Labrador at the dawn of its incorporation into the Canadian state. The adverse effects of trading a nomadic life on the land for a stable coastal existence would not be noticed until the Innu were already mired in poverty, alcoholism, substance abuse, inadequate food, loss of language and connections to the land (for example through knowledge of plants' medicinal properties).

[25] See Audra Simpson's *Mohawk Interruptus* for a further account of the importance of kinship ties in present day Kahnawake territory.


*Figure 22. Screenshot from Ntapueu: I am Telling the Truth (11mins 49 seconds into the film).*

Sedenterization and assimilation of Innu people have gone hand in hand. The speakers in *Ntapueu* describe the ways in which they have been made to feel that they are less than non-native settlers, being shown how to dress, speak and behave like the newcomers. Their dialogue is accompanied by images of a royal visit by Queen Elizabeth II, followed by this narration: "They teach us differently in school. We learn things about Newfoundland and all around the world. But there is nothing taught in school about who we are, where we came from, how we used to live, and what our grandfathers did to survive on this land before white man came here. Yet this is our land. These are the things Innu should understand for kids to feel important again. To know they are Innu." Images of plucking birds and gutting caribou under the watchful eyes of children accompany this narrative.

Mailhot uses the term "Naskapi syndrome" to describe a situation in which Innu people have come to identify European values as being more desirable than those of their own ancestry, probably due to internalized racism cultivated through the missionary and educational systems described by the speaker in this clip. She explains that: "Contrary to what one might understand from the discourse of native self-affirmation, the least Europeanized groups do not enjoy the most prestige among the Innu. It is rather the other way around" (61). The earliest missionaries and trading posts were located in the southwestern part of the peninsula, centered around Tadoussac and Lac St-Jean at the mouths of the Saguenay and Manicouagan Rivers, with European influence spreading out from there. Those places came to be associated with civilization, with the hinterlands on the other end of a spectrum that equated "unsettled" areas as savage. Because "Naskapi" was

historically used in reference to inland Innu, Mailhot uses "Naskapi syndrome" to describe the transformation of this designation into shorthand for the radical devaluation of traditional modes of life including nomadism, hunting, rotational agriculture, communal living, native languages, and learning through direct observation in situ. According to Mailhot:

> behind the term 'Naskapi' as used over the last two centuries, there lies the idea that Innu groups form a continuum from 'European' to 'Indian', and that 'European' is synonymous with 'civilized' while 'Indian' corresponds to 'savage' and 'barbarian'. Paradoxically, this equivalence does not exist solely in the minds of Euro-Canadians. Nowadays bilingual Innu from Lake St. John to the Atlantic use the term 'Naskapi' — in English or French — in the same derogatory sense... Thus the Innu as a whole appear to have adopted the negative evaluation of native identity that originated with the colonizers who strove to 'civilize' them. (63-64)

So from the perspectives of both the speaker in *Ntapueu* and Mailhot, the Innu have been victims of assimilation not only through physical abuse such as regular rape and beatings in residential schools and starvation inflicted by traders to motivate "lazy Indians" to procure more furs (Samson 128-131), but also through cultural imperialism, a "softer" form of power wherein European-Canadian values are presented as superior and imposed through domination of media and cultural-educational practices. This is evident in Figure 22, a scene from *Ntapueu* in which an elder demonstrates to younger Innu how to make a toy. Here the tension between pressures to adopt Western values can be seen in the ubiquitous crucifix that the Elder wears around her neck, and her attempts to pass on traditional skills to younger generations, as seen through her demonstration of an Innu game.

While domesticating cloudberries to increase efficiency for economic ends might seem inocuous, it can also be understood as part of a larger colonial process related to the sedenterization of people and dispossession of their land. As we will see in Chapter V, Kristine Naess suggests that sustainable development might mean increasing the density of berries. Cutting the plants' root systems stimulates berry production. Increasing the yield on a smaller area means a more productive harvest can be achieved. But what does it mean to change the "root to shoot" ratio? Do the berries carry their same meanings when their

rhizomes are diminished? What impact will this have on social networks that have grown entwined with these entanglements? "We used to walk the land," says Etien Munen, says Jean Baptiste Lalo, say Garland Nadeau and Johnny Burke. It takes time to gather berries that yield only one fruit per plant. Again and again locals tell me what hard work it is, bending on arthritic knees to pick and rising and walking and bending again, all the while being devoured by pests. Because it takes time and the season is short, cloudberry picking is a family affair. The youngest to the oldest go together, often to ancestral islands in homage to mothers and fathers and grandparents who went before. Camps are made so that picking can continue over several days while the berries are at their peak. The effect of cutting root systems is to intensify berry propagation in denser areas, cutting down the work — the walking — cutting down the time it takes to harvest. Cutting down the need to journey to islands, to camp, to make fires for cooking fresh-caught fish, to tell stories, to look at stars, to walk and crouch together, while getting eaten alive.

**Land claims and Hydro Development**

In presenting this history of sedentarization and assimilation of Innu people, by no means do I intend to suggest that this process has been definitive or complete. Land claims and hydro projects in Nitassinan are examples of the 'colonial politics of recognition" that Coulthard situates in the aftermath of the 1969 White Paper and failed attempts to assimilate indigenous people. Since 1979 the Innu Nation has had an open Comprehensive Land Claim with the federal and provincial governments. This document outlines the main objectives of Attikamek and Montagnais groups in Québec, as presented first to the Minister of Indian Affairs and shortly after to Québec premiere René Lévesque. According to Paul Charest, (who acted as research advisor and/or director for the Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais (CAM) between 1976 and 1990) in his report "The Land Claims Negotiations of the Montagnais, or Innu, of the Province of Québec and the Management of Natural Resources", these include the following statements:

- We are opposed to any project for the exploitation of the resources on our lands by members of the dominant society as long as our rights are not acknowledged.
- We seek to control the future exploitation of our lands and our resources.

- We seek to prioritize the development of renewable resources over non-renewable resource development.
- We seek an economic base, stemming from our control over the exploitation of our lands, that ensures our economic, social and cultural well-being into future generations, as was the case before the invasion of our lands by merchants, colonizers and industrial enterprises (Conseil Attikamek-Montagnais 1979, 182). (Charest, Land Claims Negotiations 257)

The Innu Nation's statement of claim was not accepted by the government until 1991, after their submission of a land use and occupancy study that was "acceptable to the federal government" (Alcantara 57). A settlement proposal put forward by the government of Québec in 1994 was rejected by Atikamekw and Montagnais nations because Aboriginal self-government as exercised within its parameters entailed that management of forest and wildlife resources be harmonized with provincial regulations "in regard to principles of conservation and security (Québec 1994, 33-34)". (Charest, Land Claims Negotiations 264). According to Charest: "Among Montagnais leaders, it was the chief of Mashteuiatsh, Remy Kurtness, who was most insistent on control of natural resources:

> The Amerindians ... want larger territories with control of natural resources and complete self-government. The government's proposal ... speaks mainly of co-management [with the MRC] on some parts of the territory and the Government keeps all of the rights over mineral resources.
>
> ... Our goal is to obtain enough territory with full control of natural resources to ensure our economic, cultural and spiritual development. If there is no territory and control of resources, there is no self-government
>
> (L. Tremblay 1994). (Charest, Land Claims Negotiations 257)

It was thus not until 1996 that a framework agreement was completed. Since then, negotiations have seen little progress. According to Canadian political scientist Christopher Alcantara, the stalling of these negotiations is due to the so-called stubborn and unrealistic demands of the Innu for "sovereignty", which have consistently been rejected by federal and provincial governments. In his assessment: "This persistence is problematic because

Innu negotiators feel an obligation to undertake extensive public consultations with community members before any agreement can be signed. This obligation to negotiate stems from cultural norms, as opposed to being tied to the notion of Innu sovereignty. As a result, negotiators are constantly torn between satisfying federal and provincial demands that an agreement not recognize Innu sovereignty and satisfying community demands for recognition and protection of Innu sovereignty" (59). It is clear then, that if the Innu do not conform to the economy and ecology of the interlopers, their homeland will continue to be eroded.

Incompatible notions of territory and autonomy have made it impossible for all parties to reach an agreement, and the claim remains open. In the interim, Innu communities in other areas of Québec have signed ad hoc agreements with Hydro Québec in order to minimize losses and damages to land and resources as development ensues in the absence of protections for ancestral lands. An example of this occurred in the LNS community of Pakua Shipi, where the council settled for $1.5 million of their $10 million claim, in exchange for the "loss of access to this part of their territory and the loss of their traditional hunting and fishing activities" (Radio-Canada, Est du Québec, 16 October 2003). Furthermore, it has not been possible to come to an agreement on interim measures, thus development continues on contested territory. I will return to hydro development at the end of this chapter.

The Mamit Innuat Council (which includes the LNS communities of Unamen Shipu and Pakua Shipi) has asserted that any true development partnership is primarily political and thus must be included in any treaty between the province, state and First Nations. The position of the Mamit Innuat Council is that:

> an agreement with the provincial and federal governments on the comprehensive land claims, in which exclusive and shared jurisdictions of the Innu will be clearly defined, must be reached before negotiating any particular development project, and, more specifically, the future hydroelectric projects of Hydro-Québec in the area of Nitassinan on the Romaine and Little-Mecatina rivers. The failure to do so explains why the discussion between Hydro-Québec and the leaders of Mamit Innuat about these projects are still in their early stages. Moreover, according to Jean-Charles Piétacho, chief of the Mingan community, the three Innu communities of Mamit Innuat will not negotiate

> separately with Hydro-Québec, as was the case with the communities of Mamuitun. (Charest, More Dams for Nitassinan 276)

This position is clearly not being respected, as hydro development in the region continues on unceded land. In January of 2011, the Globe and Mail reported that: "A major legal hurdle that threatened to jeopardize Hydro-Québec's $6.5-billion La Romaine hydroelectric project has been cleared with the signing of an agreement in principle with Innu leaders". This so-called "agreement" however, remains contested, with Red Power Media reporting as recently as July 2015 that: "The gigantic Hydro-Québec project is now completely paralyzed by barricades erected by two Innu communities of the North Shore." Furthermore, La Presse recently reported that: "Les Innus de La Romaine réclament réparation auprès d'Hydro-Québec pour une entente conclue en 2008, mais jugée invalide". The Innu of Unamen Shipu is requesting a seat on Hydro Québec's administrative council, in order to participate at the planning and development stages of projects. As it stands, they report that Hydro Québec's idea of financial contributions to the community has included the donation of a yurt to facilitate discussion between Innu youth and Elders. This can be understood as another manifestation of what Cameron, Charest, Coulthard, and Samson have characterized as a diversion tactic, focusing on "cultural" recognition and ignoring more profound political and economic reform.

What is the difference between "cultural recognition" projects as diversion tactic and relational, dialogical art that brings together dominant and marginalized voices? One way to answer this would be to ask how well the project in question addresses the various perspectives on an issue of debate within the community. The Austrian artist collective WochenKlausur is well-known for bringing together the various stakeholders in a local argument and mediating discussions between them until they arrive at a mutually agreeable solution. For instance, in *Discussion platform for city political issues*, the artists organized meetings in a newly built housing development within an immigrant neighbourhood in the Hague that was undergoing gentrification and experiencing tensions resulting from divergent communities living together. In response, WochenKlausur established *City Talks,* with topics such as "Public Space: Who is allowed to use it, and does the new city planning improve its use?," to facilitate discussion between residents and

experts to address their conflicts. In this case the experts included an artist, urban planners responsible for the district, and the director of the Rotterdam Architecture Academy. In addition to the talks, the artists arranged for follow-up and continuation of the project by local artists and organizations. It might appear that Hydro Québec, by donating a yurt to facilitate sharing between youth and Elders is also engaging in a form of counter-storytelling, but that depends on whether the yurt has been used and whether this use addresses the issue at hand.

Another interesting example of artistic intervention in political disputes through dialogical art occurred in a project facilitated by the Danish artist collective SUPERFLEX. In *Guaranà Power*, they worked with Amizonian farmers to respond to two multinational companies that had driven the price of guaranà seeds down by 80%. Through this collaboration, the artists and farmers came up with a strategy to resist the corporate monopoly on the raw seed by creating a soft drink called Guaranà Power that could be sold in a different market. The artists explain that: "The intention with *Guaraná Power* is to use global brands and their strategies as raw material for a counter-economic position, and to reclaim the original use of the Maués guaraná plant as a powerful natural tonic, not just a symbol. *Guaraná Power* contains much more original Maués guaraná for energy and empowerment."[26] These two examples both show that bringing together dominant and minority voices on a particular issue can effectively enact social change, and furthermore, this can indeed happen through cultural projects. Key to both works though, is a commitment to relationships and accountability, priorities that have not historically been prominent in settler-Indigenous negotiations in this country, as we have seen.

It was dark by the time we went down to the dock, foggy, and the flesh-eaters were out in full force. We only waited 1.5 hours to get our car loaded onto the boat. While waiting, we sat in the car and set up the GoPro facing the ship, which could barely be made out in the fog. Its spotlights made it appear as a stage set, illuminating the actions of the workers on the dock through the darkness. The air conditioning on the boat was turned up full blast all night. I was too frozen to sleep, though Erik did manage to nap a bit in his seat, pulling his arms inside his sweater and wearing his toque to retain body heat.

[26] See: http://www.superflex.net/tools/guarana_power

The Innu of Uashat Mak Mani-Utenam, located near Sept-Îles, signed an agreement with the provincial government that "gives them a stake in all future natural resources development on their ancestral land. As part of the deal, the Quebec government agreed to "facilitate" talks with mining and forestry companies in ensuring that the Innu of Uashat Mak Mani-Utenam receive a share of the profits from future development of the land. According to the Innu, this was the key to forging the deal with Hydro-Québec… The lawyer representing the Innu community, Jean-François Bertrand, explained that the agreement only involves Hydro-Québec's 1,550 megawatt La Romaine power project" (Séguin).

Complexe La Romaine is an $8 billion hydroelectric project initiated by Jean Charest's Liberal government in 2009. By 2020, it will consist of four large hydroelectric dams and 500 culverts, with a total generating capacity of 1500 MW. "The four dams will flood 278km2 of virgin boreal forest. In addition, 227km of new roads will be built into the interior, providing access for forestry and mining companies, like Medallion Resources Limited who plan to mine the area for iron and titanium. In addition, over 500 kilometers of transmissions lines will be built, although their construction has not yet received environmental approval or permission from Innu communities" (Alliance Romaine). Meanwhile, this council also continues its pursuit of a land claims agreement and settlement of $2 billion in damages for ongoing, nonconsensual development on their lands.

Charest has written about the economic and political contexts in which hydro development on the large river La Romaine, located on the LNS, is being realized (Charest, Power Struggles, 255). He points out that: "a research project on use and occupancy by the Innu showed that the total superficies of the traditional and actual Innu territory, for which the recognition of a land title was claimed in Quebec and Labrador, was about 600,000 square kilometres". Because large hydroelectric and mining developments were carried out before the institution of land claims policies though, lands were appropriated without any consultation with the Innu. Furthermore, because the CAM dissolved in 1994, the Innu are without representation by a central political organization, leaving them with no legal recourse to contest such "developments". Overall, projects proceed on an ad hoc basis, facilitated by the division of the Innu into small "bands", segregated onto "reserves" administered by "councils" and headed by "chiefs" — all colonial frameworks imposed since the 1960s as means to further the Canadian government's assimilationist policies (Samson

27-39). Based on seven years of work as a human rights reporter in Innu communities within Labrador, Colin Samson writes that: "although Canada blindly assumes that the articulations of the Innu political bodies are embodiments of representative views, many Innu, including the leaders themselves, recognize the tangled web of inducements that place them in the contradictory position of being paid by their antagonists to 'represent' a people who have no tradition of representative authority. Yet… if the Innu do not step forward to fill these almost untenable positions, they risk having their land taken with impunity and their villages mired in endemic poverty" (Samson 38)[27].

In fact, Samson shows that the entire Land Claims process in itself is a colonial enterprise aimed at stratifying First Nations people and land to further *territorialization*. He describes the terms of engagement of the Innu in this process since 1991 to be like those of other nations in previous cases across the country. The government underwrites "expert" (read: non-Native) investigators to establish proof of Innu existence on the land through archaeological, occupancy and land use studies, which are to be used in support of their claim. The claim is then only accepted if the nation in question revokes their "title" in exchange for specified rights, financial settlements or tiny portions of their territories. If the parties do reach an "agreement", then the loans made to fund the land use studies must be repaid by the plaintiffs. Samson remarks that: "Because the process does not allow for any questioning of the legitimacy of the means by which they acquired the land in the first place, it is in the interests of the provincial government (which dispenses mining stakes) to sell off as much of the territory as possible, so that there is increasingly less land left on the table to negotiate over. Signifying that politicians and capitalist ventures work towards the same ends, industrial projects on Native land have been regarded by several government officials as a 'spur' to land claims settlements" (54).

From Charest's perspective on the other hand, "It is an open question, of course, whether this practice flows from a principle of 'divide to reign' or is the result of the division of the Quebec Innus into two separate political councils (Mamuitun and Mamit Innuat) and two autonomous communities who themselves are not negotiating" (Charest, More Dams for Nitassinan, 262). For many Innu, how this land came to be "owned" by outsiders is confounding. And reviewing the process through which the Innu were moved

[27] For more on this, see Samson (27-45).

onto reserves makes it difficult to understand apart from assimilation and eradication for the purposes of privatizing areas that were previously collective — the hallmark of settler colonialism, as we saw in Chapter II.

The negotiation of land claims is understood as deeply asymmetrical even within the Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples, as evidenced in the proceedings of this meeting held on 31 October 2006 to examine and report on the nature and status of the Government of Canada's specific claims policy. The discussion centered on the need to restructure the specific claims process especially within the province of Québec, which does not recognize federal policy on specific claims, refusing to sit at a negotiating table on specific claims with Canada and First Nations. During the exchange, Senator Sibbeston summed up the process this way:

> The specific claims process for grievances by First Nations dates back historically. First Nations take their claim to the federal government. The claim enters the system of the Department of Justice, which is there to protect the Crown's interest, and the department ultimately decides whether there is a legal case to be made.
>
> Aboriginal people in a claims situation are at a great disadvantage. We heard a number of witnesses from Manitoba and Saskatchewan who stated that we need to take the decision-making process away from the federal government and move towards an arm's length or independent body. At the moment, the federal government is the body against which a claim is made. Ultimately, the federal government is the judge. The government is asked, in a sense, to decide against itself. Thus, the government is reluctant and the process becomes difficult. As I said, First Nations and Aboriginal people are at a great disadvantage in this process.[28]

[28] See Issue 9 - Evidence - Meeting of October 31, 2006, Ottawa. The Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples met this day at 9:33 a.m. to examine and report on the nature and status of the Government of Canada's specific claims policy. http://www.parl.gc.ca/Content/SEN/Committee/391/abor/09eva-e.htm?comm_id=1&Language=E&Parl=39&Ses=1 (Accessed 19 August 2015)

**Partnerships and Other Ways Forward**

In order to rectify this disadvantage, Charest argues for equal partnerships between Canadian and First Nations (ie. recognition of claims as international negotiations rather than the alignment of one nation within the constitution of the dominant ruler): "The notion of partnership was further elaborated when the Assembly of First Nations of Quebec and Labrador (AFNQL), of which the Innu communities are members, adopted a strategy for sustainable development in 1997." He writes that: "The kind of partnership proposed by the Assembly is much more than just a business partnership. It is a partnership extended to all the political, social, and cultural levels of relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, who live together on the same territory. Under this type of partnership, there is an absolute equality of all the partners" (275). Charest supports a political partnership with the province within a treaty or land claims agreement. In light of consistent ignorance of Native proposals to share space however, he concedes that: "such a conclusion is highly unlikely, given that the process of negotiating project-by-project and community-by-community has been successful in establishing "business-only partnerships" with other Innu communities in the past ten years" (276).

Contentiously, Coulthard argues instead that anger and refusal are sometimes necessary and beneficial steps toward Indigenous empowerment and seizure of sovereignty on their own terms. "Forms of Indigenous resistance, such as blockading and other explicitly disruptive oppositional practices, are indeed reactive in the ways that some have critiqued, but they are also very important. Through these actions we physically say "no" to the degradation of our communities and to exploitation of the lands upon which we depend. But they also have ingrained within them a resounding "yes": they are the affirmative enactment of another modality of being, a different way of relating to and with the world" (169). In the last chapter of *Red Skin, White Masks*, he examines Idle No More as an example of an "affirmative enactment of another modality of being" — a movement led by Indigenous women that challenges patriarchy, racism and capitalism by grounding itself in the values of First Nations peoples. Mailhot also reports on such "affirmative" strategies in Sheshatshit, where the band council provides grants to people who decide to live in the bush for extended periods of time, thus encouraging Innu ways of life and well-being (153).


*Figure 23. Screenshot from Ntapueu: I am Telling the Truth (18mins 23 seconds into the film).*

During my fieldwork too, many of my interlocutors expressed interest in developing Indigenous-led economies, and often suggested these as ways to impart Innu epistemology and ontology to the youth. They expressed dissatisfaction with life on reserves. Procuring and preparing food are activities that are central to the preservation or interpretation of particular Innu values and relations. As we will see in Chapter V, some Innu are suspicious of products that are available at the local grocery store. Foods are sometimes described as cancerous, in contrast to those that are killed or harvested in the woods. The latter are understood to have medicinal qualities. Similarly, in *Ntapueu*, one participant declares that: "I can't say that I'm healthy because there are a lot of things that make me sick. I see the food in the store, what it's like. It makes me sick and unhealthy. Because the food being sold in the store has been there for a long time. It's making me unhealthy" (see Figure 23).

In *Ntapueu*, images of large-scale construction and overcrowded housing are juxtaposed with tranquil footage of canoeing and berry-picking.


*Figure 24. Screenshot from Ntapueu: I am Telling the Truth (29mins 31 seconds into the film).*

A narrator says: "Our way of life is coming to an end." We see footage of Voisey's Bay mining operations.


*Figure 25. Screenshot from Ntapueu: I am Telling the Truth.*

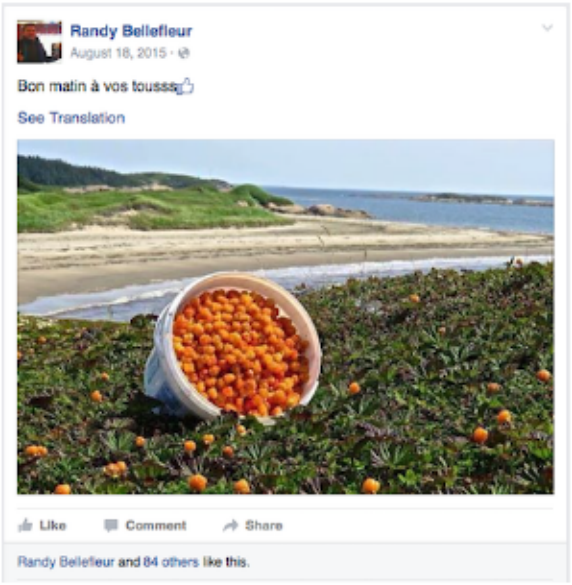


*Figure 26. Photo of cloudberry harvest posted to Facebook by Randy Bellefleur. August 2015.*

In the video there is talk about violence and abuse that is cyclical, funerary footage, personal testimonies of gas sniffing, images of children sniffing, talk of young girls having babies and dropping out of school. On the LNS, people told me that sometimes young people steal their parents' berry stores to sell in exchange for drugs. These are all results of colonial "development" on Innu lands that have devalued already established ways of living there.

Mailhot claims that: "Their territory is the Innu's entire heritage. It is all they possess, all they have been bequeathed by their ancestors. If they had complete control over it as before, they say, they would need nothing else. So successful were the generations before them in protecting and managing the territory that the parts of the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula that have been exclusively inhabited by the Innu are among North America's best preserved and most beautiful areas" (167). How can a film like *Ntapueu* or other artistic work affirm and encourage Innu forms of life and well-being while also taking into account the needs of non-Indigenous residents? Its life affirming elements are key. In the film, berry-picking is depicted as central to Innu vitality. And my research suggests that it is not a way of life that is coming to an end, but rather one that is thriving. For example, between Innu friends, Facebook is rife with photos of berries every August, where the season's loot is flaunted and compared (see Figure 26). In this space, the social capital of cloudberries becomes evident, and it seems to me that picking culture counts as one form of Indigenous survivance.

**Conclusion**

This chapter demonstrates that the establishment and endurance of borders between Innu and non-Indigenous communities on "the Lower North Shore" has served settler colonial interests in *territorialization*. Segregation of development funding between Anglophone, Francophone and Innu communities perpetuates this problem. As long as Innu are not involved in *development* plans, the cloudberrry, as a natural resource central to the history and culinary traditions of the LNS, as I will show in the next chapter, counts as a contested cultural symbol that is central to *territorialization* processes. Its recent subjection to scientific and economic testing is fraught, since these procedures mark its appropriation according to understandings of ownership that are in conflict with common Aboriginal notions of humans as stewards and protectors of the land, water, plants and wildlife. Is the implication of the cloudberry in the Innu's comprehensive land claim on the LNS being taken into account in marketing it as part of a place-branding strategy? Sustainable development of the cloudberry would entail consideration of its relevance to this land claim and more largely to the settler colonial history and present of this place. In the next chapter I will expand on what I mean by "sustainable development" in this case.

## CHAPTER V

## "In the Woods There Is a Heart": Political Economy / Ecology of Place

### Introduction

I struggled with the title of this chapter, being torn between "Political Economy of Place" or "Political Ecology of Place," eventually deciding to use both words, because to treat the home and its management separately is to imagine an abstract environment that is severed from the dynamic relations that sustain it. The word that most closely describes my aim is the Greek *oikos*, which captures both "economy" and "ecology" of place at once. Indeed, as Pearson College explains in its sustainability charter, titled "Oikos":

> Oikos is the Greek etymological root of both words 'economics' (oikonomia) and 'ecology' (oikologia). 'Oikos' means the 'household', 'home', or 'family' and in ancient Greece referred to and encompassed the land and labor that provided all the basic essentials for a healthy family... According to the above definition 'Ecology' refers to the study of the 'home' whereas 'Economics' is concerned with its management. Despite their having a common root, Ecology and Economics have diverged over time. What we have come to understand about the ecology of our surroundings (eg, carrying capacities, finite resources, importance of diversity, etc) has yet to be adequately reflected in the ways most economies are managed, specifically the way environmental and social costs are externalized, whether at the scale of a household, organization or national economy.[29]

[29] See https://pearsonoikos.wordpress.com/about/

As this charter points out, ecology is the study of the various relationships at play in the sustenance of everyday life in a given place. Economy refers to how these relationships are managed. Too often in contemporary usage, "economy," or the management of relationships, is framed strictly in terms of conventional capitalist notions of "development," in which determination of value and "sustainability" are understood only according to financial criteria. This is how "cloudberries" come to be imagined as discrete entities instead of as phenomena that are produced through a particular apparatus. In my fieldwork on the LNS, I have learned that social and environmental sustainability are key concerns for locals who are anxious not only about job creation, but also about the protection of their home and the relations that sustain it. Indeed, it is important to remember that what appears to some ("outsiders") as *terra nullius* — "undeveloped" land, has been home to others ("insiders") for a very long time.

**The ferry stayed miraculously on time and we arrived only half an hour late in Pakua Shipi. In what seems to be LNS fashion, we had to ask everyone and piece together info to figure out how we and our car would get to the other side of the river as it became clear that our host was not meeting us on this side. We were directed to join another couple who was waiting for the second passage of the hovercraft. Our car would be sent the next day.**

In this chapter, I will focus on current forms of well-being that I witnessed and heard about during my fieldwork. These are traditional or ancestral ways of managing relationships, performed by Innu and non-Indigenous locals as place-based ways of knowing, or what Coulthard would call *grounded normativity*. Drawing from my literature review, I will analyze how these ways of life are gradually being transformed through the imperative to "develop". Furthermore, I will evaluate how it is that land and practice are being converted into property and resources. In this chapter, I draw heavily from audio and video recordings of interviews that I conducted over the summers of 2013 and 2014 in the communities of Blanc Sablon, St-Paul's River, La Romaine, Unamen Shipu, St. Augustin, and Pakua Shipi. I do so in recognition of the many people who have contributed to this project and to

foreground their own words. I also quote from my field notes as a way of reflecting upon my own position within the economies/ecologies described.

**Current Economic Developments Using the Cloudberry**

Discourse surrounding current projects that employ the cloudberry for place-branding purposes depict LNS residents as lagging behind and struggling to develop against all odds. Promotion for the LNS Bioproducts Solidarity Cooperative's Wildberries project[30] in the municipality of Bonne-Espérance has been employing this narrative strategically for several years.[31] A 2010 article in Capital News Online appeared with the heading: "A tiny community on Québec's Lower North Shore is getting another chance to rebuild itself after the collapse of the cod fishery sent Bonne-Espérance into what seemed a terminal decline." [32] This survival story pictures the revival of dying LNS communities through the creative conversion of the natural environment into saleable products. The Co-op's efforts have been similarly applauded in other media, including CBC Radio's Breakaway in their May 23, 2012 edition of the Community Journal, in which hopes are raised that: "Lower North Shore berries can be at least part of the answer to energize the economy on the Coast. The idea behind the Wildberry Project is to develop a sustainable industry for an isolated region struggling from the fall of the cod stocks in the early 90's".[33] According to Capital News Online author, Christina Franc: "There is a market for the products not only locally across Québec, but internationally, particularly in Europe".[34] Does the development of cloudberry products through tourism and e-commerce carry the promise of economic sustainability while avoiding the pitfalls of environmental degradation through long distance travel? Or does it merely pose other environmental threats that result from domestication and large-scale manufacture of the berry? And what might be the impacts of domestication on social

[30] The Coasters Association is a non-profit organization made up of citizens representing fourteen of the communities of the LNS and supported by the Ministry of Canadian Heritage, as well as other government departments at local, provincial and federal levels, and through fundraising, donations and membership drives. In 2005 the Coasters Association received funding for a three-year project through the Public Health Agency of Canada, entitled "A Portrait of the Food Industry Relating to Residents of the Lower North Shore"; the Wildberry project grew out of this through education and health initiatives in schools and other institutions. Further expansion of The Wildberry Project is being supported through partnership between the Coasters Association and the Community Health and Social Services Network (CHSSN). In March 2015 the Coasters Association newsletter reported that the LNS Bioproducts Solidarity Cooperative had secured a three-year financial commitment from pharmaceutical company Arclay to support a Research Chair on the LNS with the Co-op and the University of Quebec-Three Rivers. <http://www.cedec.ca/blog/2012/05/wildberry-project/ >

[31] <http://bioproduits.weebly.com/uploads/6/6/2/9/6629780/coop_newsletter_november_2011.pdf >

[32] <http://www.capitalnews.ca/index.php/news/growing-into-a-new-market >

[33] < (http://www.cbc.ca/player/Radio/Local+Shows/ Québec /Breakaway/ID/2238682823/?page=8)>

[34] <http://www.capitalnews.ca/index.php/news/growing-into-a-new-market >

sustainability for all LNS communities? A discursive-relational approach to berry development would ask such questions, which remain to be addressed in current production plans.

The cloudberry has similarly been identified as one of the most valuable wild berries in Sweden and scientific testing has been conducted there over the same period, with a 2006 report noting that: "the ecology and physiology of the cloudberry are still mostly unknown, and more research is needed".[35] Finland, Norway, Scotland, North-West Russia and Latvia have also been conducting experiments in the domestication of cloudberries, aiming to increase consumption through improvement of growing and handling techniques and through promotion of the positive health attributes of the fruit. "A central focus of the project is the sustainable use of nature and the natural heritage of the area. Cloudberry and arctic bramble, for example, only grow in Northern areas and are thus exotic to the rest of the world. The berry products may be marketed with a Northern image of purity and healthiness".[36] I spoke with Line Lapointe, researcher and professor in plant physiology at l'Université Laval, and asked her about the differences between cultivation in Scandinavia and in Québec. She said:

> La différence c'est que ce produit là est beaucoup plus présent en les habitudes des gens des trois pays là — la Suède, la Norvège et la Finlande — donc, beaucoup de gens vont la récolter... Ils vont en tourbières la récolter. Donc, y en a plus dans les marchés publiques, les gens connaissent très bien le fruit. C'est beaucoup récolté dans le milieu naturel. Et en fait, surtout en Norvège (en Finlande le problématique est moins grande), ils ont plus une habitude de récolter des petits fruits, champignons et tout ça, donc c'est encore assez facile d'obtenir des produits qui viennent des milieux naturels. Mais en Norvège, déjà depuis plusieurs années les chercheurs disaient qu'il y avait de plus en plus de difficultés a subvenir à la demande du marché parce que les cueilleurs

We were pleased to learn that we narrowly escaped sleeping in our vehicle on the wharf. While chatting with the other couple, I explained the reason for this trip and was promptly shown a 3lb Tupperware full of bakeapples that they had picked for their father, who they are visiting in his nursing home in St. Augustin. I took a picture of them holding the container and did a quick audio recording of Harry talking about a doctor in Harrington Harbour who advocated the consumption of bakeapples for their high vitamin C content.

[35] <http://www.njf.nu/filebank/files/20070130$173700$fil$YJRRQi2M5OS9yA9Q8FDy.pdf>
[36] The Northernberries project is being conducted through the University of Kuopio, Finland, and could thus be an interesting precedent for the Concordia-LNS Partnership. <http://www.uku.fi/northernberries>

> se font plus vieux, et y a peu de relève. C'est pas très payant. Bon, la demande au Norvège est un peu particulier. Le niveau de vie est très, très élevée, là. Les salaires sont très élevés. Alors convaincre des gens d'aller cueillir la chicoutai c'est très difficil. Y a très peu d'gens qui veulent le faire. Et, compter sur toute la main d'oeuvre immigrante comme pour les autres petits fruits c'est impensable. On peut pas envoyer — comme nous içi là — les Mexicains sur la Côte-Nord là, cueillir la chicoutai — ça fait aucun sens! Leurs demander de récolter des fraises, oui, c'est quelque chose de possible, mais la chicoutai, faut qu'ç'a soit des gens localement qui l'fassent là, à cause des distances et tout ça. D'où l'intéret d'ailleurs d'essayer de développer une culture dans les tourbières à l'exploitation là, c'est que c'est un milieu qui est un peu plus facile d'accès physiquement. (Lapointe)

Lapointe points out that most people in Québec don't know about cloudberries; they are not part of the culture here. In order to increase demand, she explains that there would need to be increased knowledge about the berries. What is the role of my project in relation to cloudberry development then? Does it help to raise awareness of the fruit and thus make it more desirable? By showing audio and video recordings from my fieldwork, writing and talking about it in conferences, exhibitions and festivals I am perhaps contributing to demand for the berries. As we see in the quote above, because the growth of *rubus chamaemorus* is confined to very specific climactic conditions and produces very low yields, its berries and the people who pick them cannot be exploited in the same way as they are in other fruit industries. The hope then, is to achieve a degree of domestication that would allow for the cultivation of a greater number of plants in a denser area, making it faster and easier for locals to harvest the berries. Cloudberry products would then be marketed as luxury items.

The LNS Bioproducts Solidarity Co-op's Wildberry Project is aware of developments taking place in other northern countries and is drawing from experience in those places to connect local products with global markets. The northern image of purity and healthiness advocated above is being constructed through current place-branding efforts on the LNS, as can be seen, for instance, in the Co-op's labeling (see Figure 3), which features a vibrant arrangement of berries against a backdrop of clear water and forest. Will the domestication

of these berries for bio-products paradoxically damage bogs, forests, water and wildlife? Will there be environmental consequences associated with the production of monocultures, artificially climate-controlled hothouses and long-distance transportation? Perhaps these are insignificant concerns when compared with alternative forms of development in the region such as mining and hydro. But a more fundamental question is whether any form of conventional capitalist development is essential in this region? The Innu people with whom I spoke indicated either that they are not in favour of any *development* projects on their lands, or that they would like to see development that is led by Innu youth. Is there a way to reconcile the concerns of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous locals?

Through the Co-op, taste tests were carried out on and off the Shore with "organizations, individuals and chefs."[37] As a result, fruit purées are being developed for the Hotel Restaurant Institutions (HRI) market and fruit jellies for the retail market. The Co-op also developed eight types of processed products.[38] In addition, Biopterre (College Centre for Transfer Technology specializing in bio-products), hired by the Coaster's Association,[39] introduced remote sensing to increase efficiency and speed in tracking productive wildberry sites and is currently using mapping research methods to further identify potential harvest areas. Identifying highly productive sites is seen as crucial to meeting demand, and in this case, 'productivity' is dependent upon technologies at a distance. "Establishment of the Lower North Shore BioProducts Solidarity Co-op has generated employment for four people in the area of production. Before launching the initiative, none of the currently featured berries had been utilized commercially."[40] The work and technologies that go into identifying and transforming plants into products and practice

[37] <http://bioproduits.weebly.com/uploads/6/6/2/9/6629780/coop_newsletter_november_2011.pdf>
[38] These include fruit paste, purée, syrup, sorbet, fruit leather, butter, candied purée and chocolate, http://www.ruralnetwork.ca/fr/node/1082.
[39] This project was funded by The Québec Department of Municipal Affairs, Regions and Land Use.
[40] At the same time, three inventories of wildberries and other NTFP's were conducted in Bonne Esperance, Blanc Sablon and St. Augustine. These were funded by the Council of Mayors/ MRC du Golfe-du-Saint-Laurent, in partnership with the Municipality of Bonne Esperance under the Volet II program.
Additional funding in this period has been provided by financial partners including the CLD de la Basse-Côte-Nord, Emploi Québec, Young Canada Works and Service Canada (http://www.loveyourlocalbusiness.ca/entry/712768). The NTFP Coop Founding Committee was established with representation from the Coasters Association, Caisse Populaire Desjardins Blanc-Sablon, CLD Basse-Cote-Nord, MRC du Golfe-du-Saint-Laurent and the BerryLicious Committee, in 2011. The committee is coordinated by Tyler Buckle, NTFP Regional Development Agent (http://bioproduits.weebly.com/uploads/6/6/2/9/6629780/coop_newsletter_november_2011.pdf). Through this was founded the Coop Solidarité de Bioproduits Basse-Côte-Nord.

into labour means that the land is also transformed from "unproductive" or "undeveloped" (or more romantically as "pristine" and "untouched") into "productive".

The LNS Bioproducts Solidarity Co-op and local stakeholders began by opening a factory in La Pocatière (off the LNS) with semi-industrial equipment.[41] "Workers hired from the Lower North Shore received training from Biopterre, on production and packaging techniques in preparation for moving full production to the Coast, in 2012".[42] By March of 2015, funding was secured by the LNS Bio-products Solidarity Cooperative to put in place a Wildberry factory in the Municipality of Bonne Espérance. In addition, there is a proposal under development to institute a Research Chair at the Université du Québec-Trois Rivières to aid in development of bio-products on the LNS. The American Pharmaceutical Company Arclay has made a three-year commitment of financial and technical support for the development of this Research Chair. So Concordia is not the only university involved in community partnerships with the LNS. If the development of this Research Chair is proceeding without the participation of Unamen Shipu and Pakua Shipi, it is also a settler-colonial project and should be submitted to postcolonial critique.

**Management of Home: Regulation in Conflict with Freedom**

In addition to marketing bioproducts, the mandate of the LNS Bioproducts Solidarity Cooperative is to promote education, aiming to protect the land and its natural resources. Ida Jones, taking Griffin's place as the Co-op's Wildberry Coordinator in 2013, says:

> Because we are the ones that are kind of benefitting from the resources, so I need to make sure that that benefit is sustainable in 100 years. It is working with all the communities to make sure that we have some kind of plan put in place. By-laws, or monitors, people put in place to — you know hiring on people to drive the road or go around the islands to make sure that they are not...

and Griffin continues:

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[41] http://www.ruralnetwork.ca/fr/node/1082).

[42] <http://bioproduits.weebly.com/uploads/6/6/2/9/6629780/coop_newsletter_november_2011.pdf>

> That no garbage is left behind and that — when I would put out the e-newsletters, that is what I would always say, you know — we had a fun year picking berries, but please don't leave your garbage behind, don't take your dogs out on the marshes — it was always a message that we were putting out there. Cause I really see the Co-op board of directors, they are just there to make sure that things run properly for the population and for its members. I mean, they have that mandate to preserve and protect. That is the mindset that they have, right.
> (Griffin and Jones with Gilbert)

This concern for educating local populations in sustainability is echoed by Ashley Morency, Bio-Food Development Officer at the Local Development Centre in Blanc Sablon. This Centre offers support for local entrepreneurs, and the LNS Bioproducts Solidarity Cooperative is one of Morency's files. Morency is one of many locals I spoke with who described the negative impact of all-terrain vehicles (ATVs) on the land. In her opinion, ATV trails should be expanded and maintained, to allow access to berry marshes or "barrens". She argues that fines should be implemented for driving outside of those trails, since ATVs are currently responsible for the destruction of large berry patches and beach areas. Morency is also in favour of permits, similar to fishing permits, which would help to define areas in which picking can take place. She perceives there to be a gap in local understanding of individuals' environmental impact, which could be addressed by such measures. She illustrates this lack of understanding by explaining that a basic recycling program is just being introduced for the first time, on a voluntary basis. In her own words:

> You know, it's ok to say we're gonna set up an ATV trail, but right now, just in regards to the berry fields... they're just like... Like yesterday I went over to Old Fort just to check out the trail that they had up there, 'cause back in 2000 when the fishery closed, they had two projects: one in Blanc Sablon and one in Bonne Espérance for a ATV trail to give access to the berry picking grounds. It was probably a make-work project, you know, for the fishermen to work on, probably. But it was never ever really maintained. So right now, there are all these four-wheelers, but it's a free-for-all. There's no rules or regulations. They're just everywhere! But it's berry season, so they're out in the

> bog, they're just flying their mud right up over their bikes and they're just destroying everything. So it's ok to say you're going to put in place the ATV trail, but have things put in place to... 'Cause we're trying to develop our resources, so have things put in place to try to protect and try to conserve our resources. Like, I'm totally ok with having access to all the Lower North Shore, but like, in the proper way, and the proper rules and regulations. (Morency)

Morency's views are contested by other locals, however, who express disagreement with having to pay for access to berries on their own land. A precedent has already been set in relation to fishing, regulation of which is affecting both livelihoods and family traditions. Such government restrictions are contested by locals, but are ostensibly implemented as a result of over-fishing. In my field notes, I write about a conversation with one resident of St. Paul's River in which they "complained about Québec's governmental regulations and the direction of its funding, since these are controlled by 'people sitting at desks in offices,' who have no experience with the realities of life here, including fishing and harvesting practices" (Field Notes, 8 August 2013). In another exchange in that town, I write that: "Before I could explain my project, sign consent forms or take out my video camera to record, I was ushered into the living room to talk more about this elusive berry. The couple spoke enthusiastically about the nature of bakeapples, about who picks them and how they are used here. They feel that government funding for the development of a bakeapple industry has been misdirected toward inventories and feasibility studies, leaving no funds for an establishment to house bakeapple productions, the machinery required to do the output and for the purchase of berry stocks and their storage for years like this one, with poor growth" (Field Notes, 8 August 2013). Off the record, people talked about the problem of "people in Ottawa" deciding on the dates for fishing, hunting and gathering seasons. If weather patterns affect migration, for instance, animals or plants may not be available during the arbitrary dates set out by bureaucrats within which locals must catch their quotas. Furthermore, many residents do not believe that fishing restrictions truly exist due to species endangerment. As a result, many people simply ignore the rules. Some locals confided that catching welks is prohibited, though their families continue the practice nonetheless. I was served a plate of them as an appetizer by a local who took me to "his

island" for berry picking one afternoon. It was also explained that in some cases, fishing, hunting and gathering practices are important to the health of local ecosystems — something that purportedly cannot be understood by decision-makers who are unfamiliar with the place. A couple in Blanc Sablon "talked about the strict fishing regulations placed on locals, and insisted that these were intentionally pushing fishermen out of business to make way for large commercial operations. They claimed that cod are abundant in the waters here, and that the moratorium is simply a way to keep locals out of the market" (Field Notes, 10 August 2013). I heard similar claims from Innu people with regard to other species too, such as salmon, which are illegal to catch on the coast. All of these testaments suggest acute anxieties about private and public encroachment on traditional ways of managing human – nonhuman relationships on the coast. Social, economic and environmental sustainability all seem to be in conflict as this place faces the imperative to "develop".

Understandings of sustainability, it seems, cannot be disentangled from notions of autonomy. While some residents are resentful of regulations for impinging on freedom of travel and sustenance, others understand regulations to be the result of unsustainable practices that indicate a need to change behaviours. Griffin describes family outings in the past that consisted of harvesting scallops and cooking them on nearby island beaches. The family has recently adapted this practice for clamming, since it is now illegal to collect scallops.

> Some of those traditions aren't quite the same anymore, because regulations came in with the fishery, and because there are so many different species being developed that we can't do a lot of those things anymore. But I mean, I grew up, and when my kids were young, we would go — you know my husband had a little net and he'd go and we'd drag it along the bottom and we'd get maybe ten scallops and we'd go off on the shore, pull up on a beach somewhere, put a fire in, cook them in the shells and have our lunch, and then go for a ride somewhere else. You know that was — 'cause we didn't go on holiday to Florida or anywhere else. That was our times in the summer we could go do those things. But we can't do those things anymore. It's illegal now to go do that, you know. But we can go still dig some clams, and you know... Our tradition was every summer we would go to our cottage and when we could do scallops we

> would make a scallop pie for our Saturday lunch. And in our little area where we have our summer cottage, there was my husband's, there was three or four in the family had cottages. So we would all come together and eat you know, at the same place. And now since we can't do scallops, we do clams and we make clam pots. (Griffin, personal interview)

When I asked locals how they would describe the Lower North Shore, they consistently responded with a quick: "freedom" — before launching into descriptions of the "great outdoors," using words like "unique," "rare," "pure," "natural" and "wild". I was surprised by the consistency of these responses and wondered about the origins of this narrative that connects a span of Québec's coastline with ideas of freedom or autonomy. This question is particularly pertinent as local development centres on the LNS partner with various educational institutions to brand the region for outside markets. Arriving at a tiny island off the coast of Unamen Shipu for berry picking, my Innu host and guide Théo Mark breathed in deeply and proclaimed, "*this* is freedom".

Tour guide, storyteller, trapper and historian Garland Nadeau explains that for him, berry picking is "a source of freedom". From his perspective: "you're makin' a few dollars and it's just bein' free over the hills, where you can just feel that freedom. And anybody you talk to on the coast, if you ask 'em why they like the coast, it's always because of freedom. Even though they probably can't answer the question why they think they're so free back here, but that's something to think: bakeapple, I just feel free" (Nadeau). He adds that part of this freedom comes from the "pleasure of being in the wild, open fresh air" and "getting away from the rat race". Other residents of St. Paul's River and Blanc Sablon expressed fear of losing such freedoms, which is one reason why locals sell berries to outsiders, rather than to the Co-op.

> In the years past, it was always cash. People came up, they paid cash. Now, you see more cheque form for bakeapples, but everyone enjoyed the cash... For me, if I can sell for cash, it makes all the difference in the world... I feel there's something about us on the coast that we don't like too many constraints. You know, we're more or less a people that grew up with freedom, and constraints and restrictions really, you know, make us feel like, kind of, a little anxiety. (Nadeau)

The cloudberry as a symbol of economic autonomy for locals is thus complicated by potential restrictions around harvesting practices. There is also some disagreement about the value of regulating labour and remuneration for "pickers". It seems that, for some people, autonomy entails the ability to pick when and where and as much as they want, and the choice to sell, for cash or not, to whomever they wish. For others, long-term economic and environmental autonomy depends upon the regulation of labour and land.

In my field notes, I reflect upon my own experiences of "freedom" in traveling through this place. I ask myself: "When is it (has it been during this trip) easier or more difficult to camp? To cook and eat outside? How have these experiences been mediated and regulated?" And responding to my own questions, I write: "Through admissions charges, fishing permits, access to equipment, weather, local 'turf' assertions, access to commodities such as toilets and showers, ice and water, 'insider' knowledge such as where ATVs like to roam, access to electricity for charging camera batteries, access to WiFi, campfire pits, wood, garbage cans, privacy, shelter from wind and rain and sun, knowledge of local wildlife and plants and which to avoid, hiking permits, picking permits" (13 August 2013). My experiences sleeping outside along the LNS were in stark contrast to those in the other places where I had camped on the way there. All along the South Shore of Québec, through New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and along the West Coast of Newfoundland, as I made my way to the ferry crossing from Saint Barbe to Blanc Sablon, I had paid about $45 per night to camp in provincial and federal parks. On the LNS on the other hand, it was a "free for all" as locals say. I could pitch a tent and make a fire anywhere, with only the wind, rain, sun, tide, and temperature to direct me. And one night I moved my tent after being suddenly surrounded by ATVs and realizing that I had settled directly on the local party spot. This is the "wilderness camping" experience advertised by Tourism Lower North Shore:

> Looking to experience nature in all of its splendour? Searching for peaceful, scenic locations to set up tent or park your recreational vehicle? The Lower North Shore provides endless opportunities to rest, explore and camp in one of the most beautiful parts of the country. No need to worry about camping fees, having enough space, or finding the "best spot," since there are no designated campgrounds. Set up tent next to riveting waterfalls, in a secluded corner along a sandy beach, or overlooking the

> natural beauty of one of the Coast's charming communities. (Tourism Lower North Shore)

I was an outlier in taking up this advice, as camping of any kind is rare according to what I witnessed and heard from locals. However, if efforts to develop a "wilderness" economy[43] in the area are successful, public and private regulation will certainly impact on the very qualities that make the place "pure" to begin with — no fees, no designated camping spots, and seclusion.

Aside from the impact that these tourism activities may potentially have on local practices, development of bioproducts is already gradually transforming ways of life on the coast. Biopterre[44] supports private companies in the development of bioproducts derived from agricultural and agroforestry activities. The LNS Bioproducts Solidarity Cooperative hired Biopterre to develop its first array of wildberry products, and to provide training to enable LNS locals to take over this production. I spoke with the project manager, Maxim Tardif, who described his vision for the development of an image or brand for the LNS:

> Moi, je voudrais pour eux que ça soit une source de fierté, premièrement. Qu'on arrête, encore une fois, de juste aller ceuillir des fruits et donner ça en dessous de la table à quelqu'un ni connu, qu'on se fait cinq dollars dans les poches, pis on reste, tu sais, le petit ceuilleur — mais que ça soit reconnu, qu'on ait des gens qui sont payé à une valeur équitable, qu'on ait des gens qui soient fiers. Tu sais, quand on vend un produit non transformé, cru, comme ça, ça s'en va dans la congélateur de qu'elqu'un, ou d'une entreprise et c'est eux qui font le produit, et pis c'est eux qui font 'wow, good stuff', tu sais? Mais ça serait le fun si, quand tu regardes le produit, que tu vois 'Basse-Côte Nord'? Wow, hein? Rivière St. Paul, wow ! Tu sais? Ça serait le fun qu'il y ait une entreprise locale qui reçoive les bénifices, pis qu'y ait ultimement des familles qui,

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[43] Tourism Lower North Shore also lists: Kayaking, hiking, cruises and boat tours, wildberries picking, hunting and fishing, whale watching, iceberg viewing, bird watching, and All-Terrain Vehicles under its "Great Outdoors" offerings http://tourismlowernorthshore.com/wilderness.asp.

[44] Biopterre is a non-profit organization founded by the Institut de technologie agroalimentaire in La Pocatière, Québec, the Cégep de La Pocatière and the Centre de développement bioalimentaire du Québec. « College centres for technology transfer (CCTT) are research centres for Quebec colleges and cegeps. As such, CCTT's receive financial support from the ministère du Développement économique, de l'Innovation et de l'Exportation (ministry of economic development, innovation and export) and the ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport (ministry of education, recreation and sports). There are approximately 40 such research centres throughout Quebec. Through its affiliation with the ITA, Biopterre is also the recipient of a $2.3M grant from the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada for the years 2009-2013. (http://www.biopterre.com/en/qui-sommes-nous/history/)

> t'sais, qui décident de s'installer là parce qu'il y a une co-opérative, t'sais? On engage des ceuilleurs içi à droite et à gauche, souvent des retraités, et un jour que la coopérative part et qu'il y ait, je n'sais pas, ou une biologiste qui es engagé ou une spécialiste en marketing, pour développer l'image et pis qui s'installe a Rivière St. Paul — wow, une famille reste, à cause d'une entreprise locale. Fais qu' vraiment — une identité, en faite, et redonner un p'tit peu confiance à la Basse-Côte Nord, parce qu'ils l'ont besoin — Ils ont vraiment été — Ils ont perdu leurs mode de vie là, tous ces gens là étaient des pêcheurs, il y a vingt ans, pis y en a plus — Ils sont tous devenus des itinérants, t'sais? Qui vont au gré des vents, et qui vont guider pour du caribou, parce qu'il y a du job — Ils vont à Fort McMurray, travailler sur des champs d'construction parce qu'il y a des hommes qui ont beaucoup d'connaissances, mais ils sont pas reconnus, ils sont juste des 'jobbers' t'sais? Et après ça ils reviennent à la maison. T'sais, ils étaient des *pêcheurs de la Basse-Côte Nord* ! Mais aujourd'hui ils ont plus cette fierté — Alors, si ça pourrait ramener un peu d'fierté, et un peu d'espoir. (Tardif)

For Tardif then, hope and pride are attached to stable, regulated work on the LNS. Specifically, this entails the elimination of under-the-table berry sales. For him, regulation of picking practices is a prerequisite for the region's economic autonomy. Is it possible to achieve this in a way that is also appealing to the Innu?

Many of my Innu interlocutors described economies based on trade, rather than currency. For instance, according to former chief of Pakua Shipi Christiane Lalo, it is common for people in that community to exchange cloudberries for lobster from Unamen Shipu. Berries are also commonly brought to people who are too sick or otherwise unable to pick. How would these informal economies be affected by state regulation and privatization? Are there ways to reconcile formal and informal economies to meet the varying needs of all community members?

In addition to the difficulties of managing human behaviours, there are significant complications to regulating the cloudberry due to the defiant nature of the berry itself. One local I stayed with in St. Paul's River described the berry as "fickle", due to the numerous variables at play in its growth. In 2013, everyone in the communities I visited was talking about what a bad season it was. There was much speculation about what led to the low yield, including lightning, heavy rains, light snowfall, late frost and heavy winds. Although there was much debate about which of these factors was the true culprit, there was widespread agreement that ATVs are to blame for massive devastation of marshes, or 'meshes' or 'barrens,' where cloudberries grow. Many also blame global warming. Because of the unpredictable nature of the berry, its price fluctuates, with locals in 2013 able to find outside buyers who will pay up to twelve dollars per pound, as opposed to the five to seven that the Co-op can offer. This makes it a challenge for the Co-op to invest in a surplus that will serve as security in lean years like this one.

> This morning, our host made us eggs and toast. There were two kayakers also staying here, at the end of the journey that we've been contemplating along the coast. They did not paddle from place to place as we've been thinking, but got on the same ship we did in Natashquan (one stop before us) and traveled all the way through to St. Augustin. Then they began paddling from island to island off the coast, but gave up after four days. Even with dry suits and mosquito net hats, they were eaten alive, eyes swollen shut. They spent their last four nights here and headed back today. It's rainy so we stayed in today, recovering from the trip on the ferry.

Furthermore, standardizing harvesters' labour is complicated by the short, three- to four-week season and the fact that it is predominantly the retired population that continues to pick. Many of the people I spoke with claimed that youth no longer like wild foods, including fish and cloudberries. Apparently, their preference is fast, imported food, and they are unconcerned with "tearing up the land" with their ATVs (Burke). Whether this is accurate remains a question. The practicalities of picking make it difficult for working populations to do so with any consistency, since this requires a careful monitoring of the plants and repeat visits as the berries ripen at different rates. The people I encountered who were continuing the tradition of stocking up for the winter were indeed all retired. Furthermore, the 30th annual Bakeapple Folk Festival that I attended across the border, in Forteau, Labrador, was organized by the 50+ Club and youth attendance at the opening dinner was low (see Figure

27). If tastes really are changing, what are the factors leading to this shift, and what are the implications for understandings of food sovereignty and autonomy for younger generations? These are questions to be pursued in future fieldwork.

*Figure 27. 30th Annual Bakeapple Folk Festival, Forteau, Labrador. Photo by the author.*

**Economic Sustainability**

One of the two plant biologists with whom I spoke about the sustainability of cloudberry domestication had this to say in an email exchange:

> The real question to ask is 'to what extent is wildcrafting cloudberries more sustainable than domestication'. If the market price of cloudberries continues to rise the demand for cloudberries will be- and is already - so great that people are destroying large areas of peat lands to get at the cloudberries with all terrain vehicles. Domesticating cloudberries could relieve the pressure on natural boglands but the bog where the domestication occurs will be changed into basically a field of cloudberries pretty much like a commercial cranberry bog.
>
> To continue where I left off on the question of whether or not domestication is sustainable you might consider various scenarios. 1: everyone picks what they need to satisfy their own needs- this has been going on forever and seems to be sustainable for most species, the passenger pigeon being a notable exception and there are probably others. 2: Some families pick more than their needs and sell the excess. This is our present situation with respect to cloudberries which at 12 bucks a pound may

> be getting out of hand. On the other hand, even without picking cloudberries people are destroying peatlands with ATVs so the two problems may be unrelated. Interestingly enough, as early as the 1950's there is mention in the literature of greedy pickers destroying the resource by clean picking, leaving nothing to regenerate new genetically diverse cloudberry clones. 3: Semi-domestication. This might be something the community you are talking about might be interested in- it can be sustainable or not depending on how its done... 4: the last scenario is domestication, in other words treating the cloudberry like any other horticultural berry crop - developing varieties which are more productive, controlling water levels, using snow fences and pollinating insects. My feeling is that if one can increase yields substantially through domestication then one can take aside a small area of bogland in order to spare a much larger area the traffic required to harvest in areas where yields are poor. *If you need economic development then domestication is perhaps the way to go. Or forget cloudberries and go for mining instead, or maybe other crops, livestock, caribou.* The point is sustainability is relative. Which scenario is best for the community in question depends on what they need in terms of yields and what they are willing to accept in terms of changes to the landscape. In Finland where you can sell cloudberries to restaurants for a buck a piece at Christmas time it might be profitable to grow them in pots in the greenhouse but that is probably not true anywhere in north America.
> (Kristine Naess, Personal Correspondence, emphasis mine)

I quote Kristine Naess of Centre de Recherche Les Buissons at length because she has been experimenting with cloudberry domestication on the North and Lower North Shores for over twenty years, has worked with both Innu and non-Indigenous communities and points to many of the contradictions inherent in the concept of "sustainable" development, namely the paradoxical relationship between economic, environmental and social sustainabilities. I emphasize two sentences in the quote above, because they point to the crux of my argument. Efforts to keep youth on the LNS and to sustain livelihoods there are beginning from the assumption that "economic development" is inevitable. Several of my Innu interlocutors expressed anti-development positions, thus challenging this assumption in

favour of communal, subsistence and trade-based models. How can this different perspective be recognized but not appropriated through non-Indigenous discourse? In Chapter IV I showed how land claims negotiations, including the current case on the LNS, become another way to transform traditional practices into forms that are conducive to colonial-capitalism. How might more co-operative, communal ways of managing human-nonhuman life be entertained while avoiding the co-optation of Innu practices? The Bioproducts Solidarity Cooperative is putting forth a promising model for Anglophone communities, though it does not represent the interests of all LNS communities. It should be possible to create different models to address the divergent needs of the region's various members. In the case of land claims, Coulthard argues that: "for the state, recognizing and accommodating 'the cultural' through the negotiation of land claims would not involve the recognition of alternative Indigenous economies and forms of political authority... instead, the state insisted that any institutionalized accommodation of Indigenous cultural difference be reconcilable with one political formation—namely, colonial sovereignty—and one mode of production—namely, capitalism" (Red Skin 66). In my interviews it becomes clear that cultural practices on the LNS are gradually being made to reconcile themselves with capitalist modes of production and shaped by colonial sovereignty, which here implies *territorialization* through permits, quotas, moratoria, and managed hunting and gathering seasons. Although these restrictions are affecting all communities on the LNS, public and private funding directed toward non-Indigenous communities is driving these developments.

Another important point that Naess makes is that cloudberry developments present alternatives to the far more destructive industries of mining and hydro, some of which I refer to in Chapter IV. Indeed, if all sixteen communities along the LNS were to become involved in the LNS Bioproducts Solidarity Cooperative and other collaborative alternatives this may create a significant foundation from which to counter current controversial damming and other projects. Capitalist development as an inevitable imperative though, forecloses opportunities for communal management of human-nonhuman relations while instigating an imaginative range of territorializing projects in which land is conceived as property instead of relationship. In an article for Canadian Geographic, journalist Christopher Frey quotes the mayor of the LNS community La Tabatière:

> Give the coast 425 kilometres of road, Jones believes, and the area will be open for business. And there's more. Jones and his fellow mayors are pushing the potential for tourism, uranium and iron ore mining, retirement communities, adventure races, harvesting water from icebergs, hydroelectric projects -- even, controversially, a nuclear waste disposal site. Although not keen on the latter, Jones says that as someone charged with ensuring the long-term viability of his region, he has to leave all options on the table. (Frey 5)

This is evidence of the degree to which neoliberal discourse of "productivity" has been internalized by some on the LNS. Jones believes that the only way to remain "viable" is to sell the coast to outside markets. From this perspective, economic "sustainability" is divorced from social and environmental longevity. The notion that mining, hydroelectric projects and nuclear waste disposal make a place "viable" depends on rendering certain relationships imperceptible. For instance, a tourism industry that depends on the illusion of a "wild", "pristine" coast would have to take great care in sequestering its nuclear waste disposal site. Alternatively, La Tabatière could adopt philosopher Timothy Morton's "dark ecological" approach, publicly embracing the waste for which it is responsible.

> Deep green notions such as Nuclear Guardianship (advocated by Joanna Macy) assert that substances like the plutonium whose release of poisoned light takes tens of thousands of years to cease, should be stored above ground in monitored retrievable storage; moreover, that a culture, indeed a spirituality, would have to grow up around the tending of this abject substance.
>
> Nuclear Guardianship politicizes spirituality as not an escape from, but a taking care of, the abject... The bourgeois subject would rule forever if fascination and horror always resulted in spitting out the disgusting object. Ecological art is duty bound to hold the slimy in view. (Morton 159)

But the expansion of colonial-capitalism depends on limiting the realm of the sensible to justify its claims over ever new territories. Audra Simpson traces this strategy back to Captain Cook's possession of land in Australia under the doctrine of *terra nullius* or "empty

land" based on his assessment of Indigenous people there as "uncivilized" and without any system of land tenure (Simpson 100). She shows too that political scientists such as John Locke perpetuated this doctrine, for instance in his book *On Property*, where he famously argues: "the origins of property reside in that which is mixed with labor. Thus, that which does not appear to have been mixed with labor is alienable." However, Simpson points out,

> only certain forms of labor, those which are perceptible to certain viewers, matter... This would be labor in the fields, labor in gardens—labor in a manner that moved these spaces out of 'the commons' and into the realm of the private. His foil for this argumentation was 'the wild Indian' of then-'America,' who 'knew no enclosure' (and thus had no private property) (111). This foil helped to define property as only that which was mixed with labor and belonged to those who perceived it, in contradistinction to the living histories of Indigenous peoples in those places who labored, but in different ways (Moreton-Robinson 2000). (101)

Many of the Innu people with whom I spoke are anti-development. They expressed a desire to be "left alone" so that they can practice their own forms of labour — hunting, fishing, gathering, camping and education, without interference. Others said they would be interested in development that is Innu-led, that would create jobs for Innu-youth, and that would promote Innu values and practices. None of my Innu interlocutors seemed interested in partnerships with non-Indigenous communities. For instance, Elder Etien Munen and translator Marie-Agathe Munen described a range of traditional knowledge and practices that would be of value in an Innu enterprise led by Innu youth. As it stands though, they explained that current tours focus only on non-Indigenous culture. "Quand le bateau arrive y a beaucoup de touristes qui descendent, qui visitent le village. Ils cherchent des informations, des données ou bien des affaires, là. Tout c'qui font c'est la visite à l'église. C'est tout" (Marie-Agathe Munen avec Etien Munen).

In the meantime, their land is being parceled out and privatized without their consultation. Community organizer in Pakua Shipi Christiane Lalo told me that:

> Near the airport, there is a spot where cloudberries grow, but now they want to develop a road there. The Conseil did not accept this because we wanted to keep it for Innu practices. Non-Indigenous people are the ones developing but we want to keep

> our lands and natural products that grow in the earth. If non-Indigenous people are making a commerce out of berries, at some point we won't have any left because they will begin regulating activities on the land. It's very different here in Pakua Shipi than in other communities. We used to pick blueberries. Then people started coming to tell us that picking is prohibited. We have to care for things. We pick just enough for ourselves, not to sell. If we said yes, then at a certain point we will be asked to pay for permits. For me, I think that chicoutai today, they will develop for the government and Innu will be regulated. (Lalo, translated by the author)

This anti-development sentiment was echoed by others. For instance, hunter Théo Mark explained that :

> Si on a la route, toutes les choses qui poussent vont aller dans le fond. Ils vont mettrent des cochoneries — des roches, l'asphalte... On ne marche pas de même. On va perdre nos enfants... Il va avoir la pollution — le cancer, les tumeurs, on va gratter partout dans le corps. Ils [le gouvernement] écoutent pas [les autochtones]. À Montréal, on voit pas la terre. Toute la rue c'est tout l'ashphalte. Si tu veux voir la terre tu t'en vas au sud, au nord. C'est là tu vois la terre. À Montréal en ville, y a pas d'terre. (Théo Mark)

Colonial-capitalist development is thus displacing both cultural and spiritual forms of well-being that have been long established in Nitassinan[45]. "We need to use things well and eat natural foods," Lalo explains. "The Creator gave us things, not to develop with chemicals" (Lalo). She talks about the chicoutai liqueur produced by the Société des alcools du Québec (SAQ) and her worry about chemicals that go into products like this. "This is not our lifestyle," she says. "In the end this kills us and leads to suicide." In our conversation, she described the conflict that this caused for her personally when she served as chief for Pakua Shipi.

> I went to see an Elder who was telling me that mentalities change a lot here with new lifestyles. Now we have no choice but to live on reserves. Youth now go to school and don't have the opportunity to learn in the woods. When I was chief I didn't want to sign a deal with Hydro Québec to build dams. I was told by an Elder that in the future, youth will not be able to live in the woods, as we lived. Today, children go to schools

[45] Nitassinan means "our land" in Innu-aimun and refers to the ancestral homeland of the Innu — what is now referred to as the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula.

> that teach another mode of life. They are blocking the rivers. In the woods to the North, there is a heart. If you block all the rivers, the heart in the North will be blocked. It will have a heart attack, will be sick, because its arteries will be blocked. The Elder had tears in his eyes when he said this. (Lalo)

Cultural, spiritual, physiological and social healths are all intertwined in this perspective. Lalo explains that in the past, there were no diseases like heart attacks and cancers. People were in good shape because they were working outside, doing exercise, an idea that was echoed by Rachel Mark from Unamen Shipu. It is something I heard from other Innu too. For instance Jean Mark, a trapper from Pakua Shipi, who expresses his suspicion of industrial products and the dependence that is created for items available at the local grocery:

> When they do cultivation, they grow on their own. It doesn't grow in the earth, they do it on their own. They do whatever, them, in agriculture... Those people analyze it, when they grow the cultures, they take samples and experiment to make them grow. It's no good. They'll do anything. Like the meat that we eat over there [gesturing to the local grocery]. We don't like that. We get all our food from the woods. Even cloudberries and other things that grow here. Maybe it's because of that, the sickness — When we buy products from over there at the corner store. They sell meat that's... That's why there's so much illness. Cancer, whatever. Here, what grows from the earth is the best. I've never seen a person get sick from that.
>
> Me, I'm a trapper. When I stay here in the summer, I get sick. When I go into the woods, north of my property, when I eat anything out there, fruits, red berries, beaver that I kill, then I'm in good health. Same thing with the Elders. There are many Elders here who are sick. When they go out there on the land, when they go hunting they eat whatever — porcupine, beaver, hare. This is what gives long life. They're in good health and have never had any illnesses...
>
> Everything we do here, we do it like the ancestors did before. I do not want to lose my traditions. As my father ate before, I eat all that. (Jean Mark)

Indeed, it is uncommon for Innu people to sell cloudberries because the berries fit into an economy of trade and gifting that defies reduction to capital. Rather than being seen as

products, the berries are part of a healthy ecosystem. In fact, cloudberries are understood to be medicine. As former chief of Unamen Shipu Jean Baptiste Lalo explains: "Dans la culture Innu, il dit lorsqu'il y a beacoup de chicoutais les Innus sont bien satisfaient qu'ils puissent avoir le provisionnement, la subsistence, et ils disent aussi que... Ce qu'il a entendu des anciens c'est que la chicoutai est quand même aussi une sorte de médication qui lave l'estomac... pour améliorer l'intestin.. Ça aide au système digestif" (Jean Baptiste Lalo). Théo Mark summed up what Innu people want, from his perspective : "J'ai besoin la paix. Arrête de toucher nos terres. Arrête de briser notre terre" (Théo Mark).

Other studies have also shown food that is hunted and foraged to be central to emplacement, or *grounded normativity* and to act as medicine for the Innu. For instance, the Ashkui Project aimed to document places of particular interest to both Innu and state scientists. Through a partnership between the Innu Nation, Environment Canada, the Gorsebrook Institute of Saint Mary's University and Natural Resources Canada, attempts have been made to connect Innu knowledge and western science. This project undertook a study of *ashkui* — lakes and estuaries that Innu elders refer to as their "supermarkets and pharmacies". The stories that emerged are similar to those that I recorded on the LNS, in that "The *tshishennuat* [Innu elders] commonly speak of their ancestral lands, *Nitassinan*, as medicine. They often complain of the mental and physical sickness that has afflicted them since government settlement programmes in the 1960s isolated them from their traditional lands. The food they eat is no longer 'medicine' because it does not come from the land. Even the animals they used to hunt are confused and sick, and do not always follow predictable migration routes" (Sable et al. 111). The researchers explain that asking:

> 'What do people do when they camp at ashkui in the springtime?' opened up a description of a way of life that involved a web of relationships between people, animals, and the landscape. These descriptions involved the worldview and personal histories of Innu families. These histories are embedded in the landscape where Innu have camped and lived for generations. Sites associated with legends throughout the landscape further attest to the inseparability between the Innu psyche and the land. It is for this reason that Innu speak of the land as 'medicine', and liken ashkui to supermarkets and pharmacies, where you can get everything you need. (Sable et al. 111)

The focus of these descriptions and personal histories is similar to those that I collected on the LNS. These records are valuable for transmission to youth and more broadly to Canadians who are unaware of Indigenous histories, especially within the province of Québec, where disputes around nationalism are understood primarily according to Francophone colonial interests.

In Chapter IV, I traced some of the processes through which Innu people have come to live on reserves, being gradually "settled" and thus separated from ancestral hunting, harvesting and culinary practices, while being segregated into increasingly smaller social groupings. This evidently has an impact on emplacement or *grounded normativity* and on the ability to draw from the medicinal bounty of the land. Indeed, what is wide open land for some, for others is increasingly confined space. During our interview in Unamen Shipu, Elder Etien Munen points outside his kitchen window and says that "even here, behind there were plains, people used to pick cloudberries there." And pointing in another direction: "You see the hill over there? They used to pick cloudberries there too. Now there are houses there" (Munen). Inverting the story of unproductive wilderness that requires development to prosper, it could be said then that settlement has rendered this land barren, making food sovereignty increasingly difficult.

Community projects in this region should analyze the conflict in these two oppositional narratives. When I ask Griffin and Jones "What is the image that you'd like to project of this region?" Jones responds: "rich in tradition, rich in resources. I think just that we are a unique area and we have a unique offering." Griffin follows this with: "We are very pristine... We're a jewel in a lot of rough out there... Everybody kind of does their own thing." Ida adds "natural" and Priscilla repeats "it's natural..." The problem is that, as Harris, Kosek, O'Brian, Braun, Cronon, Anderson, Desbiens and Simpson point out (see Chapter II), naturalizing a pristine wilderness landscape effaces Indigenous presence, rendering the land open to capital encroachment. According to Griffin, she has invited the communities of Unamen Shipu and Pakua Shipi to participate in the LNS Bioproducts Solidarity Co-op, and has received positive feedback, but invitations to join in discussion have remained unanswered. Educational institutions involved in wild berry and other developments on the LNS have an ethical responsibility to ensure that their projects do not interfere with Innu

forms of well-being. Indeed, this is in the spirit of the recommendations released by Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 2015:

> We call upon federal, provincial, territorial, and municipal governments to provide education to public servants on the history of Aboriginal peoples, including the history and legacy of residential schools, the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, Treaties and Aboriginal rights, Indigenous law, and Aboriginal–Crown relations. This will require skills- based training in intercultural competency, conflict resolution, human rights, and anti-racism.

The recommendations similarly call for the mandatory education of church members and their congregations, as well as school children from Kindergarten through Grade Twelve about residential schools, treaties and Indigenous contributions past and present to this country. The Commission has clearly asserted that the ongoing advancement of settler colonialism as a result of ignorance is no excuse.

**Conclusion: Social Sustainability**

In the summer of 2014, Randy Bellefleur of the Conseil Innu d'Unamen Shipu introduces me to Soeur Armande Dumas, explaining that she has lived in the community since before he was born and knows a lot about how it has changed over time. He suggests that she would be a good person for me to talk with.

> When I knock on the door, I am greeted by an older lady who directs me to Armande's office, beside the church a few doors down. She is waiting for me there and I set up in a beautifully-lit room with big front windows overlooking the beach. A member of the community for forty years, Soeur Armande is a wonderful interviewee, providing insight on the makeup of the community, its history and development, as well as its joys and challenges. Having learned the Innu language by living with a family long ago, she is able to reflect upon Innu culture from the perspective of an informed outsider. (Field Notes, 3 August 2014)

Our conversation leads me to wonder how the boundaries of "insider" and "outsider" are drawn in this place. As a member of the clergy who has lived closely with the Innu community since the 1960s, Soeur Armande occupies an ambivalent position. She represents the authority of the Catholic Church, which sent missionaries to assimilate First Nations people by replacing their "hedonistic" and "savage" practices with its "civilized" and "enlightened" teachings. At the same time, Unamen Shipu has become her home, and she knows its history and holds many of the same anxieties as its Innu population when it comes to "development". She says:

> I believe it's a terrible upheaval. To think, in a certain way... We want to have a road for example. Let's take the example of the road. We'd like the road to be extended here faster, but at the same time there are people who don't want the road. They say it will tear everything apart. And it's true that in the past we picked berries, cloudberries much closer. Because there is a road now out to the airport. They ripped up trees. It's not the same anymore. So I believe that people are torn between wanting the outside to come to us and that we have access to the outside, and remaining protected. To protect ourselves. We're being invaded. (Dumas, translation by the author)

In this passage it is evident that the idea of "home" is connected to feelings of safety and being protected from outsiders — private corporations, the state through infrastructural projects, and tourists. Soeur Armande is one of many of my interlocutors who expressed this desire to safeguard what seems to be an endangered place. Griffin comments that: "There aren't many places in the world where you can go to sleep and not lock your door" (Griffin, personal interview) and Christiane Lalo speaks about watching out for other peoples' children in the streets and taking care of each other. Chatting with Ida Jones, Griffin muses: "I think there's not too many people who's not related!" They both laugh, and conversation ensues between the two about how they might be related, explaining to me that they belong to close-knit communities who help each other.

Audra Simpson also analyzes the complex practices of managing belonging in her home community of *Kahnawà:ke*. According to her, locals engage in "placing" people by figuring out where they come from. These are ways of discerning *Kahnawa'kehró:non* from outsiders on the reserve:

> People come and go and come back again... Kahnawa'kehró:non are not always immediately discernible because of this; the webs of kinship have to be made material through dialogue and discourse. . . These processes also bring into question how to proceed as a nation if the right to determine the terms of legal belonging, the crucial component of sovereignty, has been dictated by a foreign government. The question emerges of how to do this—procedurally, ethically, if the certainty of its means are opaque or hidden and you are also viewed not as a people with a governmental system, a philosophical order, but as a remnant, a 'culture,' a minority within an ethnocultural mosaic of differences. This speaks of settler manageability in biopolitical states of care, or abandonment on land reserved for your 'use and benefit,' with regulation on how you use that land, who gets to use it, what the terms of that use are. This does not speak of sovereign political orders with authority over land and life. (Simpson 10)

In this passage, Simpson unpacks some of the tensions between traditional and state-sanctioned management of relationships on reserves. On the ground, lineage is important and the divisions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people is clear. There is not much interaction between the two groups on the LNS. Barriers to communication are cultural, linguistic, geographic, economic and socio-political, complicating efforts to "develop" respectfully alongside one another. The presence of academics in these places is also fraught as there is a long history of researchers arriving to gather data that is neither solicited by nor shared with the Innu. Maori professor of Indigenous Education Linda Tuhiwai Smith argues that: "Research is one of the ways in which the underlying code of imperialism and colonialism is both regulated and realized. It is regulated through the formal rules of individual scholarly disciplines and scientific paradigms, and the institutions that support them (including the state). It is realized in the myriad of representations and ideological constructions of the Other in scholarly and 'popular' works, and in the principles which help to select and recontextualize those constructions in such things as the media, official histories and school curricula" (Tuhiwai Smith 7-8). My own out-of-placeness is foremost in my mind-body throughout this fieldwork and I am acutely aware of the

ambivalent position that I occupy as both researcher and independent investigator. My travel is self-funded and my aim is to bring Innu voices into dialogues about developments that directly affect their everyday lives and of which they are unaware. I am an outsider, a stranger, a tourist, an academic — all cause for suspicion, though my hosts are gracious.

On the 1st of August 2014, I am invited to spend the day picking berries and making recordings on three small islands about half an hour by boat off the coast of La Romaine with an Innu family, in exchange for gas. I chat about berries with Théo, Rachel and Marita Mark, along with Rachel's husband Lionel Hervieux, and another brother-in-law, while squatting low amongst the blackflies, mosquitoes and other flesh-eaters. Our hosts/guides share bannock and salmon, while my partner Erik and I introduce the group to avocadoes, trail mix and quinoa cookies that we brought from Montréal. Over lunch, the main interviewee is me. Marita, the eldest sister, is particularly curious about where Erik and I each come from, who my parents are, where I live and go to school.

*Figure 28. Berry-picking with Rachel Mark, 1 August 2014. Photo by the author.*

*Figure 29. Théo Mark builds a fire for lunch, 1 August 2014. Photo by the author.*

It is an honour to be included in this outing to the family's ancestral islands. This experience contributes to my understanding that gathering berries is just one practice in a network of intertwined performances including boating and walking, through which relationships are formed and reformed. In describing berry picking, I am told repeatedly: "we used to *walk* the land". Jean and Théo Mark, Etien Munen, Jean-Baptiste Lalo, and Charles Mark all say the same thing. As we saw in Chapter IV, Canadian anthropologist José Mailhot outlines the importance of walking long distances in groups to the formation and reformation of kinship ties for Innu across Nitassinan. Similarly, Cree educator Herman Michell writes that:

> Gathering berries brings family together. Any sense of alienation and isolation quickly dissipates as people actively engage in simple talk. Getting in touch with the earth fosters an overall sense of *interconnectedness*...
>
> It is through berry picking and prolonged periods of time *out on the land* that we bond with the natural world.
>
> Different types of berries can be seen as the diverse knowledge systems that exist in Aboriginal communities across the country...
>
> Once a site is selected, researchers need to prepare to go through the boreal forest, up and down the hills, valleys, and rocky terrain with their berry pails. (Michell)

While it is not my intention to essentialize or romanticize traditional activities, I point out the connections between harvesting, cooking, eating and other cultural practices like walking to show that place is relational and dynamic. To restrict one of these practices, such as berry picking, is to affect all associated forms of human-nonhuman connection. The traditions themselves will inevitably adapt over time with the introduction of new technologies, such as ATVs, but the point I am trying to make is that all those affected by these new developments should be part of the dialogue around how changes will be effected. Théo Mark, Etien Munen and Jean-Baptiste Lalo explain that real education happens through observation and practice in everyday life, and that learning is

intergenerational, with children learning from their parents and grandparents in the woods. Mark says that in school, they'll teach you how to pick berries and where they grow, they don't show you the route "en chaloupe", which is more important. "L'éducation au Québec... on va vous donner l'argent pour montrer aux enfants les chicoutais à ramasser, où ils poussent, comment ça pousse, où il y a moins, l'hiver. Ils nous montrent pas les chemins, en chaloupe — le plus important" (Théo Mark).

In this chapter I have tried to advance the various positions I have heard on the topic of cloudberry developments on the LNS by drawing directly from a range of interviews that I conducted there in 2013 and 2014. In doing so, I have also demonstrated the tensions between local, private and public management of human-nonhuman relationships. In Chapter VI I will describe artistic strategies that I have developed to reflect what I have witnessed, and to bring these divergent voices into conversation.

## CHAPTER VI

## Performing Place: *Rubus Chamaemorus* as Relational Nexus

> *European-Australian history [had] two inter-related themes: first: 'man against nature,' the pioneer heroic, and secondly the building of 'civilisation in the wilderness,' a new 'Britannia' in the Promised Land built free of evils and injustices of the mother country. The Aborigines were never on centre stage in this drama, they remained little more than part of the wild, savage backdrop of the nation-building actions of the Europeans. Land, trees, animals and Aborigines suffered in common. (Allen 83 qtd in Wilson 47).*

### Introduction

Throughout its settler colonial history, the LNS has been depicted as a harsh, desolate, and barren landscape on which only the most rugged of pioneers could survive. This narrative has been perpetuated through popular media — national radio, newspapers, books, songs, websites and tourist brochures. These mainstream representations have overlooked myriad forms of life, both human and nonhuman, that simply do not conform to conventional colonial or capitalist understandings of vitality. They are thus essentially colonial, perpetuating as they do historical myths of "nature" and "wilderness" that were outlined in Chapters II and IV. In this chapter, I will begin by analyzing three examples of popular representations that have propagated the myth of the heroic vanquishing of Canada's wild Eastern coast. I will then draw from Jacques Rancière's notion of *dissensus* to show that intentionally or not, this profound *not seeing* or sensing or recognizing in any way Innu life and land is a wholesale dismissal of non-colonial and non-capitalist ontologies and epistemologies. This is akin to Audra Simpson's argument about inattentional blindness, discussed in Chapter I, which explains how anything [read: Indigenous] that escaped the ethnologic [read: European] eye was/is dismissed. This points to the problem of "recognizing" Indigenous cultures, when the terms of recognition are shaped by non-Indigenous sensoria. So how else can non-dominant interests be accounted for in plans for "developing" a place? I will then discuss the interactive installation *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams* as a foil to dominant representations of the LNS, arguing that it creates a

redistribution of sensoria to enable perception of what is dismissed in these dominant representations. I argue that it does so by making space for antagonistic perspectives to co-exist, while also making apparent the limitations imposed by the researcher's (my own in this case) onto-epistemological boundaries.

Next, expanding on ideas by Karen Barad and Bruno Latour that were introduced in Chapters II and III, I will show the utility of performance and storytelling in creating or manifesting underlying relationships — antagonistic, symbiotic, sympathetic — that are otherwise expunged through representational apparatuses. This is perhaps the difference between (data) visualization, and what sensory anthropologist Sarah Pink calls "visualising emplacement" (an idea that I introduced in Chapter III). I will cite three examples of artworks that manifest non-colonial, non-capitalist onto-epistemologies. Finally, I will return to the three themes stressed in Chapter III: community and relationships; dialogical aesthetics; and land-based performance. These themes will help me to explain the methodologies that I use in *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams* to address relationships and practices that are currently invisible/ inaudible/ intangible in the various initiatives that are being undertaken to "develop" the LNS.

**Dominant and Innu Representations of the LNS**

*Voix d'un Silence* is a history/memoir of the LNS by Catholic priest Gabriel Dionne O.M.I. (Oblates of Mary Immaculate). The introduction to Dionne's book is written by Gérard Pelletier, ex-ambassador of Canada in France and the United Nations. In reference to the book's title, Pelletier writes : "En quelques années, grâce à l'action résolue des leaders locaux, dont l'auteur de ce livre, les femmes et les hommes de la Basse Côte Nord allaient rompre le silence qui les étouffait, briser les chaînes de leur isolement, prendre leur sort en main pour enfin conquérir de haute lutte leur place au soleil. Ce combat, replacé dans le contexte historique, culturel, folklorique, économique et social de la Basse Côte Nord, fait l'objet du livre qu'on va lire" (8). The dramatic romance of this survival story is conveyed through florid language that captures the intrepidness of men and women who break the suffocating silence imposed by chains of isolation, confronting their lot as conquerors to take their rightful place in the sun. This narrative glorifies the enterprising settler who

*conquers* silence and isolation — the ultimate battle. It should be remembered though, that silence and isolation are both relative, and depend on the particular sensory phenomena to which one is attuned.

Compare this for example, with Innu poet Joséphine Bacon's description of the same place, in this poem inspired by stories told to her by Elders as a way to transmit their knowledge of the land :

ma richesse s'appelle
saumon
ma maison s'appelle
caribou
mon feu s'appelle
épinette noire
mon canot s'appelle
boulot
ma robe s'appelle
lichen
ma coiffe s'appelle
aigle
mon chant s'appelle
tambour
moi je m'appelle
humain[46]

This harmony of human and nonhuman life belies a healthy *oikos*, not a sacrificial wasteland. As we saw in Chapter V, *oikos* refers to the various relationships at play in the sustenance of everyday life in a given place, and Bacon conjures these by substituting parts of the human body with local animals and plants. Drawing from stories told by her Elders, Bacon's poem evokes the sensuous interrelationship of body-mind-environment in a way that recalls the paradigm of "emplacement" described in Chapter III. Contrary to the

[46] https://humanrights.ca/blog/poetry-josephine-bacon (Accessed 29 September 2015)

narrative of a harsh, silent and isolated land in Dionne's text, Bacon portrays a living place in which humans and environment are inseparable and lively.

> This is very different from the essentialized "noble savage" in Dionne's account:
> Horriblement décimés, mais glorieux et fiers, les Montagnais continueront de mener, en paix maintenant, le mode de vie qui'ils ont toujours adoré, celui de chasseurs et de trappeurs nomades. Dispersés, pour les exigences de la chasse, sur un territoire s'étendant de la mer jusqu'au pays des Cris et des Naskapis, ils garderont cependant entre eux, tout au cours de l'année, un contact ininterrompu, se transmettant en leur écriture syllabique, sur de blanches écorces de bouleau, à la vue dans les portages, de subtils messages habilement personnalisés, toujours pratiques, souvent émouvants, parfois galants, que seuls les intéressés pourront interpréter au passage.
> On les retrouvera partout dans ce royaume féérique de leur fabuleuse conquête, affrontant lacs et rapides, mornes et portages, équipés de leur grand canot d'écorce au profil de goéland: une autre merveille d'ingéniosité et d'art, chef-d'oeuvre accompli de ces irréductibles amants de la nature, fervents admirateurs d'une vie frugale, impassibles héritiers d'une séduisante pauvreté. (26)

Unlike Bacon's poem, Dionne creates a representation of Indigenous presence in a landscape that belongs to a stagnant past characterized by poverty and quaint resourcefulness. While acknowledging longstanding Innu presence on the coast, Dionne romanticizes their existence as part of a monolithic woodsy past portrayed as a "magical kingdom" of primitive syllabic writing on birch bark, canoeing through rapids, nature loving and "seductive poverty". This is typical of *wilderness* imagery, in which Indigenous presence is either obliterated or fused with an ancient, irrelevant past. Although the trope of the noble savage has been the subject of countless critiques, it is important to identify it, as it continues to hold sway in contemporary imaginaries, as I will show in the following two dominant representations below. First though, consider the difference in this depiction of Innu territory from the perspective of young Innu poet Natasha Kanapé Fontaine:

> Dites-moi qui je suis si je n'ai pas la voix de la Terre. Si mon corps n'émet plus aucun bruit. Si le territoire ne peut plus chanter. Dites-moi qui je suis si je ne suis pas le chant de la Terre. Si mon corps n'a aucune vibration. Si le territoire n'émet plus aucun

son. Autre celui des machines et des barrages et des mines et du pétrole qui coule sur mon corps.[47]

Here the author personifies the Earth. Human and Land are inseparable, but this does not mean that Indigenous people are essentialized as "natural". The posthuman hybrid of this poem is infused by machines and dams and mines and oil — a contaminated contemporary body.

> Just came back from our first foray across the river to Pakua Shipi from St. Augustin. We walked around for about an hour, talked to the cops who were circling to explain that we were looking for a way to organize a public screening of our work in progress. As expected, nothing was open since, as one officer jokingly put it, "c'est le jour du seigneur".

This more sober depiction of a place reduced to resource economy is not conducive to folklore and tourist brochures, Christmas cards and gift shop memorabilia though. Canadiana sells and it depends on the maintenance of a *wilderness* imaginary. The story of "Jos." Hébert is one popular example of Québécois lore with all the trappings of pioneering values. Joseph Hébert was an iconic fisherman and seal hunter on the LNS. Later in his life, he became the first postal carrier along the stretch of coast from Havre-Saint-Pierre to Blanc Sablon and was touted for his epic biannual journeys by qamutiik (the Inuit word for dog sled). He made the return trip every winter and summer for thirty-nine years, often bedding down in the snow with his dogs along the way. Hébert has been memorialized by the Québécois folk star Gilles Vigneault in his famous song "Jos Hébert," remastered in 2010. In April 2013, Marie Beauchamp, presumably a fan, posted the song on Youtube as a soundtrack to "beautiful images of Tête-à-la-Baleine," on the LNS[48]. The pairing of these photographs of settlements along the coast — snowy landscapes dotted with churches and houses — attest to the frontier mythology that structures imaginations of this region. In this and the following example, "men" and nature are pitted against each other. The land and climate are forces to be overcome through bravery and industry. The force of this narrative can be seen through its continuity in contemporary

[47] Excerpt from "Si je ne suis pas Terre", by Natasha Kanapé Fontaine, 13 March 2015<https://natashakanapefontaine.wordpress.com> (Accessed 29 September 2015)

[48] See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aipHacnpMKg (accessed 29 September 2015) for Youtube posting of Gilles Vigneault's "Jos Hébert" with accompanying slideshow. In his lyrics, Vigneault recounts the story of Hébert's heroic travels to bring "love letter" and news to remote villages along the coast.

efforts to sell the LNS through tourism ventures. The colonial tropes of untouched nature and barren wilderness are used to promote a six-day off-road trip along the coast, evoking the myth of Jos Hébert to lure the adventure tourist (see Figure 30). Here we can see the role of representation in encouraging colonial-capital expansion through tourism into "uncharted" territories. The sales pitch for this trip romanticizes the exploitation of both land and Indigenous people by promising a taste of the "semi-nordic" lifestyle of LNS villages and Indigenous communities (see Figure 30).


*Figure 30. Sur Les Traces de Jos Hébert, Voyages Coste.*

The third example of this dominant narrative structure is from an article published in Canadian Geographic in 2008 by journalist Christopher Frey. The essay opens with a rich description of the "raw, roadless beauty of the Lower North Shore," with Frey appraising the region as "a remnant of an early version of Canada" marked by a growing number of abandoned villages (Frey 2). Frey reports that: "Even those who continue to make their home on the coast tend to live like vagabonds. Since the moratorium on the Atlantic cod fishery in 1993, the area's active workforce has had to rely increasingly on seasonal employment" (3). Rather than attribute this to a failure of colonial-capitalism though, it appears from Frey's account that locals believe it is a people's failure to thrive due to inadequate state and capital intervention. According to his article, Coasters call themselves "the Forgotten People" and many see their future success as dependent on the extension of

Highway 138 from Kegashka to Blanc Sablon. Indeed, I heard this narrative from several Anglophone residents in the villages I visited too. This is an indication of how deeply non-Indigenous LNS locals have internalized notions of productivity, success, vitality, relevance and longevity as dependent upon conventional capital "development". If the stories that link these ideas continue to go unchallenged, it will be impossible to imagine other ways of living and thriving in this place.

I have contrasted the narratives of Gabriel Dionne, Jos Hébert and Christopher Frey with contemporary Indigenous poems to show the difference between colonial representations that perpetuate myths of "wilderness" and "nature" that ultimately justify the displacement of First Nations people in the interest of economic growth and aesthetic forms that depict the latter as vibrant and emplaced. The colonial narratives described above can be understood as contributing to *territorialization* as described by Wainwright in Chapter II, by in effect claiming First Nations land as a lonely frontier that is available for settlement. Representations are not benign, since they play an active role in shaping the national imagination as shown by Harris in his history of how Canada's reserves were drawn, described also in Chapter II. Below I will argue for performance and storytelling as methodologies that can challenge colonial representations by evoking the relational character of place and making the constructedness of any representation apparent. This is especially important for social practice projects, which are usually involved in some form of community engagement.

**Aesthetics and Sharing of the Sensible**

Artists and researchers engaged in community partnerships have a responsibility to search beyond the apparent consensus presented by well-intentioned groups seeking institutional and financial support for their projects. As touched upon in Chapter III, antagonism is crucial to any democratic space and dialogue. In this sense, "antagonism" does not refer to violence or contempt, but rather to a healthy maintenance of difference within a group. In cooperative models, an appearance of consensus is often projected as a means to gain support for a cause. As an antidote to this tendency, French philosopher Jacques Rancière proposes the notion of "dissensus". He argues that: "The essence of

politics is *dissensus*. Dissensus is not a confrontation between interests or opinions. It is the demonstration (*manifestation*) of a gap in the sensible itself. Political demonstration makes visible that which had no reason to be seen; it places one world in another – for instance, the world where the factory is a public space in that where it is considered private, the world where workers speak, and speak about the community, in that where their voices are mere cries expressing pain" (38). For Rancière, politics and aesthetics play the same role in "manifesting a gap in the sensible". This means creating spaces and opportunities in which disappeared and silenced stakeholders in a given situation can become manifest. This process involves artists/researchers analyzing what Karen Barad calls an "apparatus" (see Chapter II) to expand the ways in which a given phenomena can be thought, felt and perceived.

When Rancière writes that : "As self-education art is the formation of a new sensorium — one which signifies, in actuality, a new ethos" (119), what he means is that art disentangles and makes perceptible the divergent and irreconcilable interests at play where previously the image of a unified front was projected. "Consensus" means to "feel together"; "dissensus" on the other hand is to "feel apart". The latter is valuable because incompatible perspectives on an issue allow for a greater range of approaches to a problem that can then be explored. Furthermore, dissensus is respectful of minority stories — those that are disappeared in the telling of official tales by dominant interests.

An example of dissensus appears in the installation *singing our bones home* by Métis/Anishnawbe artist Julie Nagam. This multimedia work consists of a wigwam built of willow saplings covered with white fabric on which is projected landscape imagery. The ground inside the wigwam is covered in cedar branches and as visitors move through its interior space, they trigger audio recordings composed of ambient sounds and four different honour songs in Iroquois, Cree, Anishinaabemowin, and French/Métis. Nagam writes that this piece is an "homage to the buried bodies in the Markham Ossuary" and the honour songs are to "begin to sing those bodies back home to the spirit world or, at the very least, give them some form of peace" (Land/Slide 131-132). This was a site-specific work for the exhibition Land/Slide in Markham, Ontario in the fall of 2013. Located at the 25-acre open-air Markham Museum, *singing our bones home* was erected adjacent to 30 pioneer buildings and other historical artifacts. This could be called "contrapuntal" storytelling,

wherein the "voices" of colonizer and colonized are sounded together as independent melodic lines. Nagam writes that: "The power of seeing becomes a tool to keep particular histories and stories buried and others above ground, thus erasing the genocidal, colonial, and violent historical scars on the land we now know as Canada" (Land/Slide 132). In bringing Indigenous voices into a "settled" space, Nagam creates *dissensus*—manifesting its actual disunity.

**Performance vs Representationalism**

Like *singing our bones home*, my project also aims to challenge the very notion of "settled" space. For reasons expanded upon in Chapter II, any representation of "wilderness", or seemingly untouched, uninhabited land, should be suspect for artists/researchers confronting it in the course of their work. On the other hand, apparently "settled" spaces that are depicted as cohesive, harmonious wholes also demand further investigation on the part of those wishing to develop projects there. Places should be understood and approached as dynamic, dissensual relationships that include human and nonhuman residents and other organic life, as well as inorganic elements. The artist/researcher is of course also part of the apparatus through which they represent their object of study. Adopting a relational approach to the discursive-materiality of "the cloudberry" brings these relationships into perceptibility. Barad calls this a "performative approach," arguing that: "It is possible to develop coherent philosophical positions that deny the basic premises of representationalism. A performative understanding of naturalcultural practices is one alternative. Performative approaches call into question representationalism's claim that there are representations, on the one hand, and ontologically separate entities awaiting representation, on the other, and focus inquiry on the practices or performances of representing, as well as the productive effects of those practices and the conditions for their efficacy" (49). Any project that involves the representation of a community has an ethical responsibility to analyze the practices and performances of representing that are being engaged, and to ask who benefits from these

particular practices and furthermore, who is potentially being excluded from the field of representation.

This is no easy task because real engagement with communities takes time and depends upon support in the forms of people, tools and funding. It is imperative that institutions view this kind of oversight as valuable and essential to any community partnership. This was a problem in my own fieldwork as I was only able to visit the LNS for two short periods covering the three-week berry season in August (in 2013 and 2014), since the trips were self-funded and travel to these communities is very expensive. Another challenge for this kind of project lies in facing the historical precedents of researchers approaching communities as objects of study. Linda Tuhiwai Smith opens her book *Decolonizing Methodologies* with these words: "From the vantage point of the colonized, a position from which I write, and choose to privilege, the term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism" (1). To offer an example from my own experience of the impact of these histories on current research: about halfway through my fieldwork, as I was seeking interviewees in Unamen Shipu, I was informed by a member of the band council that researchers often enter Innu communities to gather data, but never return with their results. Because of this, interviews now come with a fee[49]. Although it had not occurred to me before then to pay people for their time, this request seemed fair to me, so I complied. Because I had to pay from my personal funds though, I had to more carefully consider the scope of my interviewees from that point on. Later, in conversation with another researcher in a different Innu community, I learned that she had encountered a similar situation, but had decided that because some people had by then already granted her free interviews, it would only be fair to consult others who were willing to speak without charge. This is an example of just one ethical issue affecting which phenomena are produced through acts of representation, and which others become excluded. The solution arrived at by the artist/researcher affects the nature of that representation and which stories are told. How might a relational or performative approach acknowledge such limitations imposed by the very apparatus employed to measure, assess or represent the

[49] See Colin Samson, who argues that as Innu have witnessed settlers charge for everything, their communities have likewise become increasingly monetized. For example, he cites one Innu who "charged a $5 fee for every person who entered her tent, which was strategically located on the shore near where a cruise ship full of foreign tourists was docked." And another, who "requested $250 from an Innu Nation researcher simply to enter his tent and exchange greetings" (A Way of Life That Does Not Exist, 154). These are clear examples of the privatization of formerly communal places.

situation in a given place? One strategy that I have used in *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams* is non-linear storytelling, in which videos are cut into 30-90 second fragments and triggered at random by the viewer, to emphasize the inevitable incompleteness of the narrative. Another advantage of this approach is that it allows for different voices to be heard alongside each other each time the videos are played, thus highlighting different conflicts or resonances.

**Imagining the World Otherwise**

In this section I will describe three areas of focus in a relational methodology that challenges representationalism. *Community and relationships*, *dialogical aesthetics* and *land-based performance* were already outlined in Chapter III. Here I will explain how these strategies have informed my own work on the installation *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams* and more largely in this thesis project. The two primary goals of this methodology are: to address minority voices (in this case, those that are not involved in current development plans), and to include *dissensus*.

**Community and Relationships**:

In Chapters II and III, I described the importance of relational theory from both Indigenous and non-Indigenous research perspectives. Of primary concern in IRM is that communities identify research goals based on their own needs. In this project, the research goal did not come about in this way but rather as a result of my introduction to a community-university project that appeared to affect Innu people and was not yet taking them into account in the process. In this case, I identified a need to discover whether or not Innu communities on the LNS are indeed involved in economic development projects using cloudberries there. I then identified key stakeholders and found out which locals are involved in cloudberry developments, while also seeking out those who are potentially affected by these decisions but not taking part. Over the summers of 2013 and 2014, I conducted semi-structured interviews with forty-two people. Thirty-two of these are LNS

locals; two are former residents; two are cloudberry researchers from other parts of Québec; one is a communications consultant specializing in the area of sustainable development for agriculture and rural communities who has been employed by the Coasters Association to assist in wild berry development projects; one is project manager for Biopterre; one is a Concordia professor involved in early plans for the LNS-Concordia Partnership initiative; and two own a store specializing in cloudberry products on the North Shore of Québec. The ages of my interlocutors range from twenty-something to seventy-something. The locals that I spoke with live in: La Romaine, Unamen Shipu, Pakua Shipi, St. Augustin, St. Paul's River, Lourdes-de-Blanc Sablon and Blanc Sablon, which make up about half the villages in the region. The scope of participants in this project is meant to reflect *dissensus* in what might otherwise appear to be an innocuous plan to sell the LNS (or whatever its uplifting new name may come to be) as a "wilderness" destination, with the cloudberry serving as a symbol of that wildness and purity. I have tried to analyze the apparatus through which "the cloudberry" as a phenomenon emerges: as an engine of economic development, or a "non-timber forest product" that is separate from non-colonial-capitalist social practices such as hunting and living on the land. So although Innu communities did not identify this research goal, my intent has been to make their voices, as LNS residents, perceptible.

My interview questions were designed to find out: who cares about cloudberries on the LNS; what other practices are associated with picking; and who is involved and potentially affected by their development as a "value-added product", tourism attraction and brand? My questions focused on cloudberry development, harvesting, and culinary practices. Some sample questions include: "What do cloudberries mean for people on the Lower North Shore?"; "Who harvests cloudberries and how are they harvested?"; "How does one learn where and when to pick?"; "Are you involved in cloudberry developments? If so, how?" I also asked participants to suggest questions they felt should be addressed in other interviews, and I added those to my repertoire. I used snowball sampling to help identify key interviewees. Often these suggestions were made before I had a chance to ask. Responding to these recommendations was an attempt to respect community concerns and values and to ensure that these are reflected in this thesis.

Also discussed in Chapter III is the importance of accountability in IRM. Although it is uncommon for people on the LNS to communicate via email or social media (due to lack of internet access), I have kept in touch with a few of my interlocutors online since we met. I also collected mailing addresses for those who requested copies of video and/or photos for review before publication. My consent forms offer these options: to be identified by a real name; recorded voice; and recorded visual images. I have already shared photos and videos with those who expressed an interest, if they are included in *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams*. As I complete my thesis I am also in the midst of preparing audio-visual outcomes to share with other participants. This includes translating and adding subtitles to video and exporting to file formats that will be widely accessible. During my fieldwork I inquired with participants about how my research could be of use to them. What I heard from Innu communities is that the video interviews would be valuable to the band council as community records that will preserve stories from Elders and serve in sharing traditions with younger generations. On 13 August 2014, I showed work in progress (videos) at the band council in Pakua Shipi. I invited people to attend by announcing the date, place and time on the local radio the day before. Seven people attended. Because I did not have a translator I had only a restricted discussion of the project with those who attended, but given my limited resources, I think this was nevertheless an important first step toward sharing research results. In our discussion, the Elders voiced their concern that if a wild berry economy were to be developed by "whites", eventually Innu people would be forced to buy chicoutai in stores, with expensive products replacing the practices of picking in the plains. I have also been in communication with Wapikoni Mobile[50] in an attempt to make contacts in Pakua Shipi and Unamen Shipu who can assist in bringing *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams* back to these communities. As will be recalled from Chapter III, accountability is an important component of caring for community and relationships. Involving community members in the research process and sharing results is part of recognizing that place is performed and dynamic, rather than a static representation.

[50] Wapikoni Mobile is an organization that travels to First Nations communities across Canada to train youth and offer tools to create their own films. See www.wapikoni.ca.

**Dialogical Aesthetics**:

If, in the case of development projects on the LNS, we are beginning with the premise that the region is dying and in need of economic revitalization, it is useful to look first for already existing forms of life and vitality there. Going back to Christopher Frey's article from *Canadian Geographic*, in the first paragraph, he writes:

> Little remains of Wolf Bay. A wharf, some sheds and some shuttered houses. The Jones family cemetary... A multitude of paw prints, fox and hare, radiates from beneath the bright red roof. The corner of a lobster trap pokes out from a snowdrift like an ancient relic savaged by winds. These are the remains of a community that fished for cod, lobster and salmon for more than a century. (Frey 1)

Notice that in this passage, there are both signs of death *and* life. Notably, the signs of death are all associated with settler communities that have disappeared due to the expiry of small fisheries. The signs of life include animal prints in the snow. The lobster trap, which once signaled mortality for the lobster, now empty means its predator has gone. To interpret the passing of colonial-capitalism as complete absence of existence is to forget the apparatus through which the phenomenon of "death" is being produced. Instead we might ask, in the absence of settler communities and a fishing industry, what survives? What other stories and performances become apparent through the demise of the "frontier"? As we saw in Chapter I (under the heading "Recognition"), non-Indigenous communities are just becoming aware of the range of local plants and their uses. Coordinators of the Co-op are interested in developing these in ways that are both economically and environmentally sustainable. The eradication of small-scale fishing practices due to rampant destruction by commercial operations has been a difficult lesson for non-Indigenous locals. The co-operative model, with a focus on "sustainable eco-products" and "eco-tourism" are motivated by a commitment to avoid the mistakes of the past. These are hopeful steps toward grassroots, community enterprise, but depend upon the involvement of all LNS villages for their success.

According to some of my non-Indigenous interlocutors, Innu people already know the uses of local plants. In their "Submission from the Council of the Innu of Unamen Shipu to the Joint Review Panel of the Proposed Lower Churchill Hydroelectric Generation Project

Public Hearings," the Council explains that: "Certain activities continue to play an important role in the lives of the Innu of Unamen Shipu, such as lobster fishing along the shore, the gathering of wild berries, ice fishing in winter and wildfowl and caribou hunting" (7). In that document, various significant impacts on hunting activities are noted as a result of large-scale colonial-capitalist developments, specifically hydro in this case, that interfere with or destroy animal populations. The document elucidates a long history of living with/from the land, while stressing the point that a large proportion of Innu people continue to rely on wild plants and animals for survival. This is further testament to a vibrant, living place.

In my project, I have used storytelling to attest to this vibrancy. The work of Kester, Cohen-Cruz, and Bishop described in Chapter III help to explain the value of bringing antagonistic voices and concerns into a common space. The stories I have gathered both in this text and in *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams* bring various voices into dialogue, thus highlighting the character of cloudberries as relational, rather than as unified symbols. The following stories by Innu locals challenge dominant narratives of the LNS as dying, depressed, or empty:

Pakua Shipi grandmother Agnes Mestenapue explains that: "When someone gets sick, they should be treated with chicoutai." She learned from her grandmother that if someone is having stomach or chest pain, or problems with blood circulation, berry consumption could be the cure. In Mestenapue's account, like those heard in previous chapters by hunter Théo Mark, community leader Christiane Lalo, and in the film *Ntapueu,* berries are described as healing. This is very different from colonial-capitalist representations that treat the berry as a product or "natural resource". Its value for these Innu interlocutors is social, rather than economic. The same emphasis on the health and social value of berries can be gleaned from this story by Rachel Mark, which also contradicts other claims about youth losing interest in cloudberries and other wild foods:

> Moi, j'peux pas dire que les jeunes sont lâches. Moi aussi, quand j'était jeune j'était lâche! [laughs] J'ramassais pas les chicoutais. J'était trop lâche, mais un jour je me suis dit: 'Qui va me ramasser des chicoutais?' Y faut j'ramasse moi même. On fait des tartes, du confiture, du beurre au chicoutai, c'est trop bon!

> Ma mère ramassait des chicoutais aussi dur comme ça, là. Y avait son seau, qui ramassait les très mûres, et elle avait un genre de sac, et mettait ces très dures chicoutais. Quand elle arrivait chez nous, elle enlevait tout ça. Pis elle les laissait mûrir...
>
> De tout les baies sauvages qu'on a, les chicoutais sont les meilleures. Y a plein, plein d'vitamines dedans... Quelqu'un qui n'a pas l'appétit, qui est très malade, on aime ça, on peut le manger juste comme ça là, et ça peut donner beaucoup d'énergie...Pis, ça digère bien ça...
>
> Mon père nous amenait içi avec son gros chaloupe, et on marchait une heure. Ah c'était long le marche! J'était p'tite moi, j'avait cinq ans, et un moment donné j'ai dit: 'Maman, j'en peut plus!" J'pleurait. Mon père me montait sur son dos. Il était fort, mon père. Il portait deux seaux de chicoutais, mon père. Des gros seaux, comme ça. Ay, j'te dit, mon père, y'était fort. Avec un sac, un pac-sac, pis je montait sur son dos avec les deux seaux. Ay! j'trouvait ça l'fun! (Rachel Mark)

Mark tells me stories like this one while picking berries. For her, traveling to islands and harvesting berries are acts of remembrance. They are performances of family traditions taught to her by her parents and lived alongside her siblings and their spouses, who travel together. The berry is not a static symbol; it is part of a relational knot. And the following story by twenty-something Brian Mestokosho attests to the ongoing participation of youth in these events:

> It's my grandparents who initiated me in this cultural activity [picking cloudberries]. Before that, I didn't like eating cloudberries. But after tasting my grandmother's recipes, I liked it. Like pies, and cakes, and sometimes she would make a kind of sundae mixed with vanilla ice cream and cloudberries. It's good.
>
> It's mostly during big celebrations that we eat cloudberries. Like Christmas, or birthdays, when we have cultural activities, when we go in the woods. We make cloudberry pies or cloudberry desserts that we can bring in the woods when we do traditional activities like hunting and fishing. (Mestokosho)

Again, we see that cloudberries are inseparable from important family gatherings and celebrations. Learning about harvesting and culinary practices gives us insight into social

organization. The link that Mestokosho makes between the fruit and hunting and fishing recalls comments that I heard from Elders Etien Munen and Jean-Baptiste Lalo, as well as Théo and Jean Mark, who all describe traditional Innu education as inter-generational and learned in the woods, through observation and practice. It is emplaced learning requiring the entrainment of the human body with its surroundings. Former chief of Pakua Shipi Charles Mark, for instance, talks about cloudberry picking as a seasonal activity that he learned from his parents for subsistence, and is coordinated with other local berries and fish so that there is something available to eat throughout the year. According to Charles Mark, "the old people" talked about cloudberries as a medicine that would keep you strong. "White man" likes them too. He says they used to come and "can them up" and sell them through the Hudson Bay Company (Charles Mark).

*Figure 31. Innu Elder Charles Mark with portion of cloudberry harvest to be preserved for winter. 11 August 2014. Photo by the author.*

Indeed, the berries have become as significant for non-Indigenous communities along the coast. Sandra Organ, proprietor of the Korner Kafe in Blanc Sablon, recounted a touching story about her early bakeapple harvesting with her father. Speaking of the hard work that is involved in picking the berries, she described the heat, the blackflies and mosquitoes, the pressure on knees and back as it is necessary to squat very low to the ground to pick. It was a time when Tenderflake shortening used to come in big, three gallon metal tubs. Her father would set out with one of those buckets, sometimes towing little Sandra up and over the hills for hours, collecting bakeapples. Getting hot and impatient,

Sandra would complain that her father picked even the "kernels" — the small, unripe beginnings of berries. At the end of the day, they would come home with Dad lugging twelve litres of bakeapples, and Sandra with her child-sized harvest. "Now that he's not with us anymore," says Sandra, "I pick the kernels too, for him" (Organ).

Blanc Sablon local Eddy Jones has been picking cloudberries for over fifty years. He was raised on bakeapples, and bakeapple jam, though he says the young ones don't like it or pick it any more. As kids, he says, they had to help with the harvest; it was the only thing that was preserved. In those days before fridges, they would boil the jam down and keep it in a bottle with wax on top. These would be used throughout the winter in pies, tarts, with boiled veggies in "doughboys", on toast, upside down cakes, cheesecake, or served as is with sugar and milk or cream (Jones). Even as I chatted with Jones in his kitchen, he had just returned from a day's harvest, and was boiling down some berries for jam, which he generously shared with me. Stories like his attest to long histories on the land, which is paradoxically imagined as untouched.

Notice this same contradiction in the following narrative by Johnny Burke, tour guide at the Visitor Information Centre in Blanc Sablon. Burke has high hopes for cloudberries in promoting the LNS, explaining that the berries "bring a lot of people to our doorstep." He says that: "Every time we stop on the bus tour, it's the first thing people are going to look for." However, he also asserts that: "freedom is number one," celebrating the fact that he can " pick up and go inland without permits ... get on an ATV or boat and go." As noted in Chapter V, there is tension between this desire to gain economic independence through wilderness tourism, and a commitment to unregulated activity on the land. Burke describes *wilderness* as: "the freedom to go wherever you want, whenever you want... Wilderness to me means uncharted land by anybody else. You go there, you look around you, and you see *absolutely nothing*. That is number one for me for sure, because we

I had a feeling that although our host asked us to be ready for 8:30am, he would be here to get us at 8:00am. I was wrong. He arrived at 7:45am. By 8:10 we were at the dock and loading into his boat. During our stay here our host has given us a big salmon — the most delicious fish I can remember, which lasted us for three meals. Today he took us to his island, where his father settled his camp and where he, his son and his brother have all built summer homes. From this protected area there is a view to the ocean and had we been there a few weeks earlier, we might have seen the whales that perform there in the mornings.

tend to do that a lot. And so, there are ATV trails a little bit everywhere, and that's pretty much the only marker that lets you know that someone's been there before, because the land is unspoiled. There are no buildings. There are no cottages. There's nothing" (Burke). While Burke values his freedom of movement along the coast, his adoption of *wilderness* discourse renders other presences there imperceptible. Juxtaposing his story alongside others creates a counterpoint that manifests these antagonisms.

**Land-based performance**:

How should an artist/researcher go about soliciting these varied perspectives? As outlined in Chapter III, place-based research, from an Indigenous perspective, involves a holistic approach to culture and geography, meaning that concepts, memories, ideas, relationships, histories and identities are bound to particular landscapes. Using place-based research to learn about cloudberries on the LNS, it is crucial to experience picking with locals. My fieldwork involved day trips with families for berry picking and learning about harvesting and cooking practices and locations, while recording these activities. As science educator Pauline Chinn notes: "Indigenous knowledge as a total knowledge system describes and explains nature in culturally powerful ways". At the same time, there is increasing recognition within Western academia that sensory experience is central to processes of knowledge-making in the social sciences (Classen 1993, Howes 1991, Pink 2009). Sensory ethnography is compatible with Indigenous research in that both approaches are context-based, reflexive, relational, interdisciplinary, and understand theory and practice as integrated. Anthropological and geographic studies in aboriginal land use over time have been important in demonstrating the link between the landscape

When we arrived at this peaceful place, there was coffee brewing in the kitchen, which opened up onto the long front porch and exuded the homey scent of pies baking. We had coffee and then set out all together for cloudberry picking on one of their favourite islands. I collected images while Erik picked berries. We both ate a few too:) After picking and chatting for a while, we headed back to the house for lunch, an incredible feast that culminated in cloudberry and blackberry tarts topped with Miracle Whip. Erik and I agreed that the taste of cloudberries is more like lemon or grapefruit than apricot, as some people say.

and cultural practice. Such studies and mapping projects have contributed to negotiations in land use and development (Basso 1996, Braun 2002, Wainwright 2008).

**Visualization Versus Visualising Emplacement**

Dominant scientific and commercial representation of cloudberries can perhaps be characterized as a kind of data visualization. Instead of cloudberries being conceived as part of lived networks connecting practices of walking, eating, picking, camping, cooking, insects, islands, water, families, fires, fishing, et cetera, they are reduced to 'natural resources'. This is part of Barad's "cut", which results from observing the berry separately from the apparatus that is used to measure or represent it. Barad's analysis reminds us that data visualization produces signs, or discursive forms that are divorced from the materiality of the thing itself. In *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams* I use storytelling as a strategy for contributing evidence of the cultural and historical value of food and its connections to place, while challenging dominant techniques of visualization. I do this by trying to make evident the inadequacy inherent to representation due to its failure to acknowledge *dissensus*.

*Figure 32. Visitors inside Manifest Cloudberry Dreams. Installation at Espace Cercle Carré, October 2015. Photo by Kendra Besanger.*

The 16-foot dome used in *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams* creates an immersive environment, placing the viewer at the center of projections that reach almost 360 degrees around, with the exception of the doorway (See Figure 18). It is not possible to take in the entire moving image at once, as one must turn around to see different parts of the projection. The vantage

point is also always changing. In some scenes, the viewer is placed in first person perspective, while others impose a more detached, third person view. The narrative, in combination with the images, unsettles any attempt to grasp a totalized understanding of place. For instance in one scene, the narrator introduces Rear-Admiral Henry Wolsey Bayfield's survey and sailing directions for the river and Gulf of St. Lawrence, in which Bayfield describes the nearly inaccessible "Washeecoutai Bay", located not far from the contemporary La Romaine Complex. In this scene, the viewer is surrounded by a continuous, uniform row of seating on a boat traveling over water with a seemingly endless horizon. The narrative ends like this: "Presumably, 'Wash-sheecoutai Bay' was named for the berries that grow in abundance there each summer. 'Wash-Sheecoutai', 'Chicoutai', 'Shikuteu', known alternately as 'cloudberry', 'bakeapple', or 'plaquebière'. On the Lower North Shore, berries, names, places and stories are intertwined. These berries and stories are inaccessible though, as long as one remains on the boat" (Manifest Cloudberry Dreams, script). Like the explorer (Bayfield) who wrote the sailing directions, or the artist who captured the footage (me), the viewer is made aware of the limitations on their own access to any deep understanding of this place, restricted as they are to fragmentary representations.

This foregrounding of its incompleteness distinguishes a performative approach from what could be called data visualization, which presents a seemingly complete, cohesive or totalizing view of a place, such as we often see in the form of graphs and tables. Data visualization is a preferred method in academia, as it facilitates synthesis, comparison and measurement. Research objectives and outcomes are more easily summarized by data visualization and thus assessed for funding and other resource allocation. However, in this thesis I am advocating the value of unsettling representations of place. In distinction to data visualization, this approach might be understood according to what Sarah Pink calls "visualising emplacement". Pink describes three different ways in which activities and encounters that are video recorded can be interpreted as place-making:

> In the first instance, place is made through the coming together of social, material and sensorial encounters that constitute the research event. However, additionally, place is simultaneously remade as it is recorded in the camera. As such it is remade as a representation of that phenomenological reality. Place can indeed be said to be

> remade on a third level when viewers of those (audio)visual recordings — including, of course, the ethnographer — use their imaginations to create personal/cultural understandings of the representations. Thus ethnographic uses of audiovisual media can be understood as both a research technique and as practices that becomes co-constituent of an ethnographic place. (101)

I believe that all of these aspects of place-making are relevant in *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams*, but also that a fourth kind of place-making is also being established. The installation creates a social space that is conducive to talking and even to play. The work was installed at Montréal gallery Espace Cercle Carré in October 2015. On opening night people gathered in groups inside the dome and it became a game as repeated attempts were made and turns taken to correctly pronounce the Innu word for cloudberry, "shikuteu" — in order to trigger videos to play. This activity then becomes a kind of ice-breaker, encouraging questions and discussions about the content of the media presented. Viewers thus become participants who engage in performative (re)imaginings of the LNS. *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams* is furthermore a dialogical structure that could potentially be brought to the LNS as a way of sharing "research results" and recorded stories between communities, while creating a social space in which to discuss these recordings.

**Conclusion**

As we saw in Chapter III, Della Pollock has suggested that oral history can challenge top-down approaches to community development. This has been my goal in this thesis project. I have done so in my role as researcher by soliciting stories by a range of stakeholders who are both involved and excluded from cloudberry developments currently taking place on the LNS. I have brought these together in this text. I have also contextualized these divergent perspectives by tracing both a colonial history and contemporary overview of the political economy and ecology of the LNS. In each component of this thesis, I have assembled accounts of the harvesting and culinary practices associated with cloudberries, as well as attendant cultural performances such as walking, camping and boating that draw attention to "cloudberries" as material-discursive formations.

In *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams*, I have created a form that allows for non-linear storytelling, as a way of avoiding monolithic, teleological narratives. Its form also allows for a polyphony of dominant and minority voices to be held together, complicating any simplistic representation of place. In the piece, I have also included segments of my own reflections, drawn from my field notes, as a means of acknowledging my participation in these constructions of place. The visitor is required to participate in the installation, as their repetition of the Innu word for cloudberry — *shikuteu* — aloud triggers the various audio-visual stories to play. The form of this installation is appropriate not only to this particular project, but its various components can also be adapted for other dialogical art works. Concordia's Mobile Media Lab (MML) invested financially in a 16' projection dome, the development of voice recognition software and multimedia equipment so that other members of the Lab can use these components in future projects. In its research mandate, the MML writes that it is committed to "fostering new linkages at Concordia to those working on the social, physical, geographical, virtual and cultural aspects of mobility and movement, including researchers in geography, oral history and art education"[51]. The lab organizes a range of socially-engaged seminars, art events and research projects focusing on mobility, accessibility, ageing and disability studies. The technologies created for *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams* will be useful in MML community projects, with the physical structure of the dome serving as an accessible social space for a variety of events. Furthermore, the voice recognition software has potential for any number of language learning applications, including further development as a tool to pass on Innu-aimun to younger generations.

The goal of my project is not to speculate on "development" solutions for the LNS, though it does point to the need to address Innu and non-Indigenous goals separately and in tandem. A crucial role for artists and researchers in community projects is rather to ensure that the various (antagonistic even) stakeholders in a project contribute to the consultations and negotiations of such plans. Artists and researchers can provide context through place-based research, so that "development" projects do not proceed in ignorance of the divergent interests at stake in a given environment. These are the intentions of this thesis project.

[51] See http://www.mobilities.ca/mandate/

## CHAPTER VII

## Sinking the Ship: "A System of Reciprocal Relations"

*Figure 33. Wreck of the Bernier, grounded in 1966 on Saddle Island, Labrador. Photo by the author, 2013.*

*Two problems emerge when we try and apply the nation-to-nation framework ... to the power relations we face today. First, they assume a moral equivalency between the colonizer and the colonized that simply doesn't exist. And second, they assume the legitimacy of the ship -- of the state's economic, legal and political institutions that have destroyed the river and eroded the riverbank. Under such conditions, "recognizing" the legitimacy of the colonial ship's right of travel is an impossibility and we need to start orienting our struggles toward a different goal. The conceptions of reciprocity that inform many Indigenous peoples' understanding of land and relationship cannot be established with, or mediated through, the coercive institutions of state and capital. These constitutive features of Canada need to be radically transformed for an authentic relationship of peace, reciprocity and respect to take root. In order to build a truly decolonized set of relationships grounded in respect and reciprocity we need to sink the ship.*
*(Coulthard with Walia)*

**Settler Colonialism, Wilderness, Development and Territorialization**

Jacques Cartier's ship was not the first to grace the North Atlantic shores of what is now called Canada. Basque whaling ships had "discovered" the area long before his arrival, and were deep into its exploitation when he arrived. Indeed, the *heroic* tales of overseas adventure all feature grand vessels, built to dominate furious waters, high-pitched winds, international trade and menacing sea monsters. For four-hundred years on the Atlantic, right whales and bowheads were favourite catches there, especially as calves. The slow-moving babies were more easily speared, with the added bonus of attracting the mother, who would also be harpooned when coming to the defense of her young.

Once these two species were decimated, advances in explosive harpoons and steam-powered whaling ships allowed for the harvesting of blue whales, fin whales and humpbacks. By the time these were depleted, the hunting of sei whales surged from 1950 to 1980. For seven hundred years, these marine mammals moved Vikings, Basque, French, Portuguese, Scottish and British humans across the Atlantic. On the Gulf of St. Lawrence, a certain groundfish held a similar prestige until the closing of the fish plants in the early 1990s. The decimation of cod due to unsustainable resource extraction is thus part of a long history of colonial capitalism in this part of the world.

When Cartier arrived, his perception of the coast was limited by his understanding of what counts as 'treasure'. But now that resources from the sea have been depleted and attention has turned to a "new" type of gold, the question becomes whether the same old colonial ship will pass. Wild berries don't hold the same heroic cache as whaling ships, oil tankers, hydroelectric dams, highways or mines. On the LNS, they offer the promise of modest employment for female, aging, and youth populations, based on a co-operative economic model controlled by locals. This is an opportunity to take a different course, based on grassroots community building that respects the various ways of life and forms of well-being on the coast. As universities in Québec become partners in these developments, it is crucial that professors and students adopt a decolonial approach to their involvement.

The trope of Canada as a barren *wilderness* has been used to promote waves of Western European immigration and displacement of First Nations people. Furthermore, it has advanced a myth that large swaths of ancestral lands are unpeopled and thus available for economic development. Wainwright (see Chapter II) uses the word *territorialization* to refer to processes that lead to the segregation of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people and space and the privatization of communal land. This transformation of the commons is also the hallmark of settler colonialism as Wolfe explains (see also Chapter II), and occurs through disappearance by genocide, abduction, renaming places, and assimilation.

Disappearance is the base on which Cartier's tale of discovery is founded. Other pioneering narratives follow in its wake. Some examples of the persistence this myth has held over time were introduced in Chapter II and include: the "cartographic fictions" of Innu land created by non-Native advisors for Innu Nation during their land claims negotiations in Labrador; Canada's reservation system as described by Cole Harris in the context of British Columbia; logging company MacMillan Bloedel's construction of the "normal forest," which treats the forest as a factory for trees as "natural resources"; artistic renditions (most iconically by the Group of Seven) of Canadian landscapes. What all of these representations have in common is that they depict vast tracts of Native land as fallow and unpeopled.

Current uses of cloudberries as symbols of wilderness and purity for promotion of a tourism economy on the LNS perpetuate this same colonial narrative. Far more than innocuous images — logos, brands, tourist scripts — these representations have real effects in the world. Communal lands and democratic social organization are replaced by liberal individualism and private ownership, justified through the myth of *terra nullius*. Indigenous onto-epistemologies are thus superceded by the acquisitive force of capitalism.

**Inattentional Blindness and Recognition**

Discourse around "recognition" of First Nations' occupation of land has been instrumental most notably in recent publicity surrounding the report by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, which aims to redress the country's colonial violence by acknowledging acts of dispossession, torture, abduction and genocide. "Recognition" of First Nations' land "rights" has also been an important element of land claims negotiations,

as we saw in Chapter IV. Indigenous scholars such as Glen Coulthard and Audra Simpson have shown the language of "recognition" to be assimilationist in itself though. Rather than respecting Native self-determination, it entails definition that is commensurate with the dominant structures of state and capitalism. Simpson argues that liberal values of freedom, justice, equality, individualism, distribution and free trade have served to effect disappearance by supplanting collective rights with individual rights (14). Bearing this in mind, how are development initiatives like those described in this thesis to proceed? The LNS-Concordia University Partnership Initiative, as well as the institution of a Research Chair in development on the LNS at Université du Québec are colonial projects. How should these partnerships proceed in respect of the Innu as first inhabitants of this land? I have argued that representations of the LNS as a barren wilderness serve as a pretext for colonial-capital incursion in the name of "development", but on the other hand, would including First Nations not entail just another form of assimilation?

Coulthard argues against "the increasingly commonplace idea that the colonial relationship between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian state can be adequately transformed via such a politics of recognition" (3). He notes a growing resistance to the assimilative tendencies of discourse around "recognition", proposing anger and refusal as Indigenous alternatives. Likewise, Simpson suggests that: "There is a political alternative to 'recognition,' the much sought-after and presumed 'good' of multicultural politics. This alternative is 'refusal'" (11). Where does this leave non-Indigenous academics who are called upon to work on *development* projects on unceded Native land? Is it best to respect the wishes of some Indigenous people to be left alone, as expressed for example by Théo Mark and Christiane Lalo in Chapter V? If so, this should imply steering clear of

The intervention of our host was invaluable in figuring out how we would get across the river to where the Bella comes in. All afternoon, we had been making repeated phone calls to Relais Nordik and Société Transport Québec, and walked down twice to speak with workers at the dock. Relais Nordik insisted that STQ would phone us when they knew what time the ferry would arrive to do the crossing, but STQ assured us that they would do no such thing, placing that responsibility on Relais Nordik. This is what it's been like traveling with Relais Nordik. Our host, fortunately, worked it all out with just one mysterious phone call, and we made it home. After finally getting on the boat at 2am, we were off. After a series of further delays, we arrived in Kegaska only about 15 hours late and started driving home.

involvement with any non-Indigenous plans too, if these in any way impact Native access to ancestral land, air, water or "natural resources", as would happen for example if cloudberry picking were to become regulated. Another option would be to support Innu-led economic development projects, as suggested by Marie-Agathe and Etien Munen, Alexis Lalo and Jean-Baptiste Lalo. This might be a possibility if resources could be secured toward ventures that are defined and executed by Native people — a challenge for university-funded projects that begin with pre-determined objectives and outcomes. A third possibility would be to negotiate a project that suits both Indigenous and non-Indigenous interests. Here again the problem becomes how to articulate Indigenous goals outside of the dominant discourse?

While refusal is a valid option for Native people, non-Indigenous people must look for other solutions, in order to radically transform "the coercive institutions of state and capital" referred to by Coulthard in the quote that opens this chapter. Inattentional blindness, or proceding in ignorance of Indigenous presence has allowed ongoing violence and injustice, as I have shown throughout this text. Settlers should instead become educated about Indigenous history and presence in this country. Conquergood's position, introduced in Chapter III, is notable in this regard, as he has shown through his own social practice how an ethnographic approach to performance can provide ways to engage cross-culturally and open avenues for adopting the methodologies of marginalized communities. This is just one way of starting a conversation, as fraught a process as that may be. Accountability to Indigenous communities is crucial in this process. In this project, I have moved in this direction by recording divergent local perspectives, thus complicating current work that has involved only Anglophone populations.

**Representation, Performance, Storytelling and Land-Based Practice**

*In the 1860s, 1880s...People would travel — on the coast there was always one or two people that had a movie projector and they would travel the coast showing movies. So they would go and they'd set up on somebody's stage or somebody's shed or store and people would pay twenty-five cents or whatever to come in and watch that movie. The people that didn't have twenty-five cents would bring a bottle of bakeapples, and that's how they would get into the movie. You know, so, so much of our history and so much of our culture is tied within that.*

*- Priscilla Griffin*

*Founding Member, Berrylicious Committee and Biosolidarity Co-op, St. Paul's River*

This story, recounted to me during my first visit to the LNS, is about the exchange of food and stories. In it, the conversion of stories (in the form of movies) into abstract exchange value (twenty-five cents) is countered by a more intimate, un-alienated kind of trade — those without money bringing instead the literal fruits of their labour to gain access to the film. The centrality of berries to trade and gift economies along the coast is also evident in Innu practices of exchanging salmon for cloudberries, as described to me by Christiane Lalo, Agnes Mestenapue and others. It is also common practice to bring portions of one's harvest to the ill and elderly. Sharing berries and stories about them is so widespread that everywhere you go along the coast in August, chatter can be overheard about secret harvesting spots, their comparative yields and picking conditions. Evidence can often be produced on the spot. For example, I ran into Harry Jones and Jocelyne Roy on the midnight hovercraft from Pakua Shipi to St. Augustin and we got talking about my research. They pulled a Tupperware container of berries from the luggage that they were bringing to Harry's father, in his nursing home (see Figure 34).

*Figure 34. Harry Jones and Jocelyne Roy with bakeapples for Dad. 7 August 2014. Photo by the author.*

The harvesting and culinary stories that I have recorded in this text and in *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams* attest to forms of well-being that do not conform to colonial-capitalist

notions of *development*. Their emphasis is on social and environmental harmony, and land-based practice. Coulthard uses the term "grounded normativity" to describe Indigenous understandings of land as a "system of reciprocal relations and obligations" that require an ethics of care. These relations and obligations refer both to plant and animal (including human) life. When LNS locals describe tourists who harvest cloudberries by cutting their stems with scissors or pulling their shucks, thereby damaging the plant, they are calling out irreverent behaviour that treats the berry as a discreet object. "Grounded normativity" is a way of understanding the cloudberry rather as inseparable from its environment and the lives of people who inhabit that place.

Static images of the cloudberry as a symbol of a wild place do not acknowledge these relations in all their incongruity and antagonism. The cloudberry is in fact a contested "object" — a point of intersection marking the conflicting aspirations of institutions like Université du Québec, LNS Community Learning Centers, the Coasters Association and the LNS Biosolidarity Co-Op and Innu, Anglophone and Francophone populations. It is also entangled in ritual social activities like walking and boating that require large, unregulated expanses of land and water. According to Barad, a performative account, unlike representationalism, does not separate people from the world that they purport to depict. In this text and in *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams*, antagonism, or dialogical aesthetics in the service of difference has been crucial to communicating the vitality of the LNS, in opposition to dominant representations of the region as depressed or unproductive. In this way, I hope to have unsettled a colonial legacy that justifies its expansion through its own fabrication of this place as barren, composed of nothing but "stones and horrible rugged rocks".

## EPILOGUE

While the completion and defence of this thesis marks the conclusion of a first phase of work, this is merely the end of a beginning. There are many possible ways to pursue the project initiated here, by myself and/or others. When, how and by whom next steps are performed will depend upon the opportunities presented through arts/research funding and/or collaboration, so the interest of others in the project is important. In these final pages I will outline some potential ways forward. These strategies are meant to balance the cooperative efforts of Anglophone communities to develop a small-scale NTFP industry with the goal of creating jobs for locals, with being mindful of the issues of social, environmental and economic sustainability discussed in previous chapters. Social sustainability implies recognizing that the region known as the LNS is inscribed over Innu land. This recognition in turn entails honouring (not interfering with) ways of life that are incommensurable with colonial-capitalist notions of property. While current development plans offer significant opportunities for non-Indigenous populations, the Innu have not been party to these conversations. The projects described below seek to address some of their unmet needs.

As noted in Chapter III, the maintenance of relationships and accountability is a guiding principle in my methodology. To respect this, I asked my Innu interlocutors how my work could be of use to them. They invariably told me that they would like to have the recordings that I made of Elders at the Band Council. This is a complex task on which I am currently working. The interviews require transcription and then translation and subtitles, so as to be understood in both Pakua Shipi and Unamen Shipu. Most people in those communities speak either English or French as a second language, not both. My interviews were conducted in one or the other depending on the place.

In all of the communities that I visited, locals told me that they want to create opportunities for youth to stay on the LNS, and they want youth to learn about and continue berry-picking practices. This is true of Anglophone, Francophone and Innu communities. With this in mind, I envision a continuation of this project that involves engaging with youth in various villages. This could involve offering workshops in local schools to teach interviewing and recording techniques, and sending youth out to interview their

grandparents about harvesting and cooking with cloudberries. I have spoken with Institut Tshakapesh[52] about this, and was told that my idea aligns with their mandate but would have to be proposed by the school principal in Unamen Shipu or Pakua Shipi. Potential partners for the loan of audio-visual equipment for the youth to use include Concordia's Mobile Media Lab, the Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling, or Wapikoni Mobile. This intergenerational project might also be of interest to non-Indigenous communities and respond to concerns expressed by the local people that youth are losing any taste for wild foods. Sharing the students' work between LNS villages would also serve as a means of communicating the forms of well-being valued by the various communities and would open opportunities for dialogue about development plans in each place.

As discussed in Chapter III with regard to my methodology, it is imperative to share research results with the communities where I conducted my fieldwork. Sharing my recordings responds to needs expressed by the communities, but exchanging between them would have the added benefit of communicating the divergent plans and values of Anglophone, Francophone and Innu populations amongst all locals. To this end, I propose bringing the multimedia installation *Manifest Cloudberry Dreams* to the LNS. The structure is rain, snow and wind resistant, and with portable, battery-operated audio-visual equipment, could be set up outside. It could be used to sleep in while traveling from village to village and to attract locals. While the images projected on the surface of the dome are visible both inside and out, its interior could serve as a social space for dialogue about the project and its implications. If this experiment is pursued, it would be interesting to situate it within the history of traveling projectionists visiting the coast to exchange stories and cloudberries, as referenced in a quote by Priscilla Griffin in the Conclusion to this thesis.

In addition to sharing my recordings with LNS communities, disseminating my research amongst urban audiences in other parts of Québec could serve as a reminder that, as consumers of hydro-electricity and other resources, we are deeply implicated in settler colonial relations with the northern parts of this province. Thus, I propose further circulation of this work through publication/performance/exhibition across the province and beyond. Making it public outside of Québec has the added advantage of comparison

[52] Institut Tshakapesh is an Innu organization that was founded in 1978 with the goal of preserving and interpreting Innu language and culture through pedagogical tools. The Band Council of Unamen Shipu suggested that I propose this idea to them and put me in contact with someone there.

with development challenges facing other fishing communities around the world. To address this last objective, I plan to pursue publication of independent chapters of this thesis as journal articles and to rework its contents into book form, perhaps as an artist book. The production of an online video is also a possibility. Dissemination in various forms means that divergent audiences can be reached: LNS locals, southern Québécois, Canadian, First Nations, academic and popular.

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