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Behind the Exhibit: Exploring the Processes of Indigenous Rights Representation at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights

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Abstract

Focusing on the representation of Indigenous human rights at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR) in Winnipeg, Manitoba, this study examines how museums can represent, educate, and advocate for Indigenous human rights. The study is based on ethnographic fieldwork carried out at the museum in July 2019 and the literature on anthropology and human rights, decolonizing museum practices, and museums as spaces for human rights dialogue. The study shows how museums can change their history of racist and inaccurate representation of Indigenous people. Through extensive and "deep collaboration" between Indigenous partners and museum staff, Indigenous culture, history, and rights can be portrayed more accurately, ethically, and meaningfully. CMHR staff work closely with Indigenous partners to present personal accounts of Indigenous rights struggles and experiences as part of Canadian shared history. The thesis provides a case study of possible approaches to the representation of Indigenous human rights in museums.

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Chapter One: Introduction

At the intersection of the Red River and the Assiniboine River in Winnipeg, Manitoba, sits the Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR). This site, The Forks, is extremely important for the Indigenous peoples of the area, including the Anishinaabeg, Cree, Dakota, Dene, Métis, and Oji-Cree Nations. The large museum showcases human rights victories and struggles inside of and outside of Canada. While many museums feature human rights topics, few focus specifically on human rights. The late 1900s saw human rights museums opening across the globe (Duffy 2001). In the 21st century, this trend has continued as more human rights museums emerge (Purbrick 2011). Museums focusing on human rights topics often strive to promote action that upholds human rights (International Coalition of Sites of Consciousness 2020; Duffy 2001) and act as "custodians" of a "human rights culture" (Duffy 2001). The Canadian Museum for Human Rights is dedicated to raising awareness of human rights and encouraging respect for others around the world.

Study Overview

This study has used museum ethnography to examine the processes by which the Canadian Museum for Human Rights represents, educates, and advocates for Indigenous human rights. Research at the museum was carried out in 2019, and consisted of exhibit analysis and semi-structured interviews with staff.

This has been carried out within the frameworks of critical museology, decolonizing theory, and appropriate practice. Through a review of the current literature on the subject, this study also explores the nature of the relationship between anthropology and human rights,

museum representation of Indigenous peoples, and how museum representation is used and can be used to educate and advocate for Indigenous human rights.

During the time in between my visit to Winnipeg over July 2019 and the final write-up of my study, much has changed in the world. 2020 has been an eventful year, filled with tragedy and loss, but also of innovation and progress. The global political climate has changed significantly. In the wake of George Floyd's death in police custody, there have been global protests and unrest. Statues are being torn down (The New York Times 2020). Government structures are being challenged (Powell 2020). Museums are being held to a higher standard (Powell 2020). Because of this change, studies like mine are even more significant. The appropriate portrayal of Indigenous human rights is an extremely important topic, which is gaining more attention during the current sociopolitical climate. Museums are being watched more carefully than ever before, reinforcing the need to accurately, ethically, and meaningfully portray Indigenous-focused topics, especially human rights.

As museum scholar and anthropologist Jennifer Shannon notes, "[a]lthough stereotypical images of Native Americans are prevalent in popular culture, Native Americans themselves are virtually absent from contemporary national media and politics" (2014, xi). The portrayal of Indigenous peoples in museums follows this trend, and has generally been biased toward a Western colonial perspective since the invention of Western museums (Ames 1992; Lonetree 2012; Shannon 2014). While this has improved with the decolonizing movement in museums, there are still few museums which portray Indigenous peoples as contemporary, dynamic, and equal peoples, a fact that has been continuously denounced by Indigenous peoples (Galla 1996; Lonetree 2012).

Even in a museum explicitly dedicated to representing human rights, Indigenous rights are still not represented at the CMHR to the satisfaction of some Indigenous people; groups such as Shoal Lake 40 First Nation have protested the lack of representation of current issues to their community (Lehrer 2015; Shoal Lake 40 n.d.). In addition, several scholars have noted an overly

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optimistic tone to Indigenous-focused exhibits at the CMHR (Busby in Levin 2016; Robertson 2019). While it is not possible to satisfy the wants and needs of all groups, the Canadian Museum for Human Rights works closely with Indigenous collaborators and advisors in order to create accurate exhibits grounded in lived experiences and Indigenous perspectives. In addition, the museum also follows the council of the Standing Indigenous Advisory Council (SIAC) consisting of Inuit, Métis, and First Nations advisors. SIAC advisors provide council for content and practices throughout the entire museum, not just the Indigenous-focused content.

There has been little research specifically on the creation of Indigenous human rights exhibits at the CMHR thus far. This thesis contributes to the growing integration of the fields of anthropology and human rights, and aims to illuminate ways in which Indigenous rights can be represented at other institutions ethically, appropriately, and collaboratively. The three research questions that I focused on during this study are as follows:

1. What are the processes behind the creation of the Indigenous human rights content at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights?

2. How can museums represent, educate, and advocate for Indigenous human rights? How does the CMHR do this?

3. How does Indigenous human rights representation fit into the greater dialogue between anthropology and human rights?

My research has illuminated some answers to these questions, briefly described below.

1. Throughout this study, I present and discuss processes by which Indigenous rights content is created at the CMHR. Curator for Indigenous Content Dr. Karine Duhamel (Anishinaabe-Métis) utilizes deep, community-based collaboration with Indigenous partners during exhibit development, with personal stories and perspectives driving the exhibit. I focus on the processes used by staff working at the museum in July 2019, due to my opportunity to interview these people.

2. As institutions oriented toward public education and entertainment, museums are excellent vehicles to educate and advocate for human rights (Sandell 2017). Western museums have a long history of inaccurate and harmful representations of Indigenous peoples. Through decolonizing methodologies and portraying the hard truths of settler colonialism, museums are becoming spaces for truth-telling, which acts as advocacy in a settler-colonial society where Indigenous peoples are largely unseen (Lonetree 2012; Shannon 2014).

3. Using the Canadian Museum for Human Rights' example of presenting Indigenous rights side by side non-Indigenous rights shows us that Indigenous rights are not separate, but instead are interwoven with non-Indigenous rights in North America. The representation of Indigenous rights are inseparable from the representation of colonialism, as well as the fields of anthropology and human rights, and vice versa.

My hopes for this study are that my findings will act as a guide for others in representing Indigenous rights.

Canadian Museum for Human Rights

The Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR) is an "idea-based" museum that opened in 2014 with the explicit mandate to "explore the subject of human rights, with special but not exclusive reference to Canada, in order to enhance the public's understanding of human rights, to promote respect for others, and to encourage reflection and dialogue" (CMHR (2) n.d.)

As an idea-based museum, exhibits present concepts rather than artifacts. Former CMHR president Stuart Murray explains,

> An 'idea' museum means that we will not be presenting single interpretive panels for each issue but will, instead, present many perspectives and points of view. Our objective is to foster a better understanding of human rights – the challenges, the triumphs, the common links between seemingly diverse situations and people. We believe we can achieve this through strong research and curatorial work, use of technology, and deep and rich partnerships with human rights organizations and experts in the field (Murray 2009).

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Their lack of object-based collections has opened up more possibilities of Indigenous partnerships (Curle 2019). Unlike many Western museums, the CMHR does not have unethically acquired collections or a history of difficult repatriations (Curle 2019). However, the CMHR does have collections, with a growing collection of oral histories, commissioned artwork, and personal objects donated to the museum (Bidzinski 2019; Curle 2019). As Vice President Dr. Clint Curle stated, "We *are* a collecting museum. We collect stories" (Curle 2019).

The CMHR was first founded as a private institution, and was criticized because as such, the creator could have a dramatic influence on how human rights are portrayed (Robertson 2019, 150-154). Soon, the CMHR became a federal museum, largely due to the necessary funding that the government provided, and the media "switched their target from fear over creator Israel Asper's interference to fear over federal government interference," with the museum's representation of rights (Robertson 2019, 154). While skeptics are no longer worried about Asper's influence, there is now concern about the government's influence. This is a major concern, involving issues such as the use of the term "genocide." Several staff members explained that the museum operates at a distance from the federal government (Duhamel 2019; Curle 2019). However, any concern about the government's interference with the representation of human rights, especially Indigenous human rights, is worth exploring.

There have been several controversies surrounding their portrayal of Indigenous peoples (Shermatova 2017). The two controversies addressed in this study are the CMHR's usage of the term "genocide" in reference to the settler Canadian state's treatment of the Indigenous peoples of Canada, and the lack of acknowledgement to clean water for the community of Shoal Lake 40 First Nation. Despite these controversies, their museology is commendable, and involves deep collaboration, investment in Indigenous partners, and decolonizing methodologies. The CMHR can act as a model for other institutions on how to accurately, ethically, and meaningfully represent Indigenous human rights within a museum setting.

Findings

During July 2019, I visited the CMHR repeatedly, analyzing exhibits, interviewing staff members, and reviewing exhibits as I learned more about them. Throughout this process, I learned how the museum has changed during the short time that it has been open to better fit the needs of the Indigenous communities they serve.

Far from perfect, the CMHR has had missteps in their representation of Indigenous content. The museum has been heavily criticized for hesitating to label the treatment of Indigenous peoples by Euro-Canadian colonizers as genocide, as well as failing to represent ongoing human rights violations facing Indigenous communities, namely Shoal Lake 40 First Nation. While there are exhibits on a variety of atrocities, past and present, affecting Indigenous peoples, the larger story of settler-colonial genocide against Inuit, Métis, and First Nations peoples is not clear. Despite these shortcomings, the CMHR does have decolonizing museological practices which can serve as models for other institutions aiming to represent Indigenous human rights appropriately, ethically, and meaningfully.

Recent exhibits which have been made in the past few years feature Indigenous partners driving the content and focus. This type of extensive collaboration often involves Indigenous partners and co-curators telling their own stories and providing personal artifacts for display in exhibits. In this study, I am referring to this type of collaboration as "deep collaboration", which I define as collaboration which involves complex, enduring collaboration between museum staff and outside collaborator(s). Indigenous rights issues are often exhibited as shared history, not delegated solely to Indigenous-focused content. Topics such as forced relocation and the Indian Residential School system are portrayed as part of the history of the Canadian state. Indigenous-focused content can be found in every gallery in the museum, not only in the *Indigenous Perspectives* gallery. In these exhibits, Indigenous voices are prioritized, with many firsthand stories of present-day issues. These elements highlight the decolonizing approach the CMHR takes in representing Indigenous rights.

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Appropriate representation of Indigenous rights issues requires, above all, extensive collaboration with Indigenous partners. Other elements of the Canadian Museum for Human Rights' decolonizing methodology, such as merging Western and Indigenous practices and respecting cultural safety, add to the larger picture of the museum investing in their relationships with Indigenous partners. Despite undeniable drawbacks, the museum is improving their practices and learning how to best represent Indigenous human rights.

Notes on Terminology

Canada recognizes three distinct Indigenous groups in Canada; Inuit, Métis, and First Nations. According to the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami:

> Inuit are an Indigenous people living primarily in Inuit Nunangat. The majority of our population lives in 51 communities spread across Inuit Nunangat, the Inuit homeland encompassing 35 percent of Canada's landmass and 50 percent of its coastline. We have lived in our homeland since time immemorial. Our communities are among the most culturally resilient in North America (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami n.d.).

According to the Métis Nation:

> The advent of the fur trade in west central North America during the 18th century was accompanied by a growing number of mixed offspring of Indian women and European fur traders. As this population established distinct communities separate from those of Indians and Europeans and married among themselves, a new Aboriginal people emerged – the Métis people – with their own unique culture, traditions, language (Michif), way of life, collective consciousness and nationhood.
>
> Distinct Métis communities developed along the routes of the fur trade and across the Northwest within the Métis Nation Homeland. This Homeland includes the three Prairie provinces (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta), as well as, parts of Ontario, British Columbia, the Northwest Territories and the Northern United States (Métis Nation n.d.).

According to the Assembly of First Nations:

> There are 634 First Nations communities (also known as reserves) in Canada, with First Nation governments. First Nations are part of unique larger linguistic and cultural groups that vary across the country. In fact, there are over 50 distinct nations and language groups across the country (Assembly of First Nations n.d.).

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Within this study, the term "Indigenous" is generally used as a collective to include "Native American," "American Indian," "First Nations," "Métis," "Inuit," "Aboriginal," and other peoples Indigenous to North America, in the attempt to encompass names used in Canada and the continental United States. This is done in order to be inclusive, with the understanding that the US/Canadian border was established recently, in terms of the length of time that Indigenous peoples have inhabited the land now known as North America. This study avoids using the terms "Native Canadian" and "Native American" because the cultures and peoples of these areas predate these countries and terms by millennia, and did not consent to the creation of the settler-colonial nations of Canada or the United States of America.

This is done while acknowledging the problematic nature of grouping distinctive, autonomous peoples that have different experiences with colonialism (Tuhiwai Smith 2012). In no way does this intend to present the peoples indigenous to North America as homogenous or pan tribal, although I acknowledge that in using a term like "Indigenous," I am contributing to the homogenization of "immensely different histories, languages, traditional beliefs, and rich cultural practices" of the different peoples encompassed (Desmond and Emirbayer 2009, 336). "Native American" people did not exist before non-Native peoples came to the Americas; "Choctaws, Crows, Iroquois, Hopis, Dakotas, Yakimas, Utes" and hundreds of other peoples did, **and still do** (Desmond and Emirbayer 2009, 336). This terminology is not to exclude Indigenous peoples of other areas, but to refer to only the groups within the scope of this study. More specific terms and tribal affiliations are used whenever possible.

The word "Indigenous" is capitalized to show respect to these communities, and to follow the examples set by many Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars (Trask 1996, 906). Indigenous Hawaiian scholar Haunani-Kay Trask notes:

> It is characteristic of American ideology to reiterate that "we are all immigrants." Capitalizing the word *Native* reminds the reader that some of us are not immigrants (Trask 1996, 906).

However, it should be noted that the terms "Native" and "Indigenous" are colonial in origin (Trask 1996, 906). Additionally, it should be acknowledged that there are limitations for discussing Indigenous perspectives in English as opposed to Indigenous languages.

The Canadian Museum for Human Rights sits on Treaty 1 territory. In Canada, Indigenous groups are sometimes referred to by the numbered treaty that pertains to their land rights. Treaty 1 was the first treaty signed by Indigenous groups and the state of Canada, signed in 1871 (The Winnipeg Foundation n.d.). Treaty 1 territory includes the Baaskaandibewi-ziibiing (Brokenhead), Zaagiing (Sagkeeng), Gaa-ginooshkodeyaag (Long Plain), Oshki-ishkonigan (Peguis), Okwewanashko-ziibiing (Roseau River), Gaa-wiikwedaawangaag (Sandy Bay), and Gaa-biskigamaag (Swan Lake) Nations (The Winnipeg Foundation n.d.; Manitoba First Nations Education Resource Centre 2009).

The term "postcolonial" is commonly used to represent "a continuing process of resistance and reconstruction" (Kreps 2011, 71). In this study, I use the term "decolonizing" instead of "postcolonial" to emphasize the on-going process of acknowledging and altering Eurocentric ideology and integrating "diverse voices and multiple perspectives" into representations (Kreps 2011, 72). Furthermore, this term is used with the knowledge that, like many have pointed out, there is no "post"-colonial, and it is impossible to completely decolonize.

Throughout this study, I use the term "Western" to refer to European settler-colonial ideas and institutions, specifically in the U.S. and Canada. I would like to point out that using such terms as "Western" for this region, and "Eastern" for Asiatic regions, centers Europe both literally and figuratively (Kahaleole Hall 2009, 19-20). I continue to use the term as a way to refer to imposed settler ideals in North America, and not to validate this centering. I use the term "settler" to reference European settlers of North America and their ancestors.

> It ["settler"] is a critical term that denaturalizes and politicizes the presence of non-Indigenous people in Indigenous lands, but can also disrupt the comfort of non-Indigenous people by bringing ongoing colonial power relations into their consciousness (Flowers 2015, 33).

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The term "settler" is used in order to evoke the contrast between settlers and Indigenous peoples in North America.

The Canadian Museum for Human Rights uses the term "exhibition" to refer to major projects, such as the traveling exhibition *Rights of Passage*, and the term "exhibit" to refer to smaller projects such as components of a gallery (Duhamel 2020). I use this language to remain consistent with the CMHR's internal terminology.

Finally, the term "human rights" is defined as rights which are "held by individuals simply because they are part of the human species" (Ishay 2008, 3). Different understandings of human rights are elaborated on further in the Background section.

Chapter Two: Museums and the Representation of Indigenous Peoples

Western Museums

The first public museums were established in Western Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Ames 1992, 17). These were largely based on *cabinets of curiosities*, a name for collections of "exotic" artifacts collected by the wealthy and placed behind glass (Ames 1992, 17; Lonetree 2012, 9). Collections were owned privately by a few elites, and were largely personal (Ames 1992, 22). As nations became interested in museums, collections gradually became public, and the interpretation and understanding of the collections shifted meaningfully (Ames 1992, 21).

> When others viewed a private collection they were not expected to identify with it, to see it as *their* collection; nor were they expected to accept the collector's view of the world or of himself. It was understood that the collection represented a personal statement, a personal passion (Ames 1992, 20-21, emphasis in original).

This understanding of collections has shifted, and museums are now thought of as trustworthy institutions presenting factual information (Falk and Dierking 2000).

As public access to museums grew, so too did public control of museums, which was "founded on the expectation that publicly owned collections would be made meaningful to that public" (Ames 1992, 21). Museums could no longer just present information to the elite; exhibitions had to be understandable and relatable to the general public.

> The public… came to believe that they had the right to expect that the collections would present and interpret the world in some way consistent with the values they held to be good, with the collective representations they held to be appropriate, and with the view of social reality they held to be true (Ames 1992, 21).

This change in meaning for collections had widespread implications for the portrayal of national ideals. Public institutions are now used to validate and encourage settler-colonial ideals while disparaging Indigenous cultures and perspectives. This practice continues to the present, although some museums such as the Canadian Museum for Human Rights are altering this status quo.

While private collections have existed for centuries, publicly accessible cultural institutions authenticating secular values have only existed for a few hundred years (Ames 1992, 22). In placing natural and historic artifacts behind glass, museums "control and subordinate both to contemporary definitions of social reality" (Ames 1992, 23). Museum curators have an enormous amount of control over how artifacts are presented, and thus understood by visitors.

> These values, collective representations, and models of social reality reflected the interests of the educated classes, of course – those people who, since the beginning and to this day, control and patronize the great museums of the world. Museums are products of the establishment and represent the assumptions and definitions of that establishment, just as do most other major institutional complexes in large-scale societies (Ames 1992, 21).

Museums are no longer solely for the upper class, but they are still influenced greatly by dominant culture and ideas, and problems can arise when they dictate how other cultures are presented. There is now a movement to decolonize museums, so as to give control of representation to the represented.

Museums are now public-oriented institutions that attract visitors for their unique offerings of both entertainment and education (Falk and Dierking 2000). They are also institutions uniquely situated to influence "the ways we think about other cultures" (Ames 1992, 49). Studies of museum visitors reveal that visitors remember parts of what they saw, months and even years after visiting a museum (Falk and Dierking 2000). Because of this, museums need to be more cautious and intentional with their representations, especially of marginalized populations.

Museums are seen as trustworthy sources of information by the public (Falk and Dierking 2000, 2). The trust that is placed in museums makes their representation of societal values even

more important. However, museums are flawed institutions that reflect the biases of their staff,

donors, visitors, and the greater society in which they exist.

Museums and Colonization

> Museums have played a major role in dispossessing and misrepresenting Native Americans, and this has been a critical part of the identity of Euro-Americans (Lonetree 2012, 9).

For hundreds of years, Europeans have colonized North, Central, and South America.

While many of the European powers are no longer in control of American countries, North

America is predominantly controlled by settler colonialists. Euro-Americans regularly represent

the colonization of the country with images of "intrepid white men who bravely conquered the Wild

West," while ignoring the ongoing nature of the process (Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill 2013, 12).

Settler colonialism is a "structure not an event" (Wolfe 2006) which "cannot be reduced to, as

many nationalist ideologies would have it, the merely unfortunate birth pangs of its establishment

that remain in the distant past" (Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill 2013, 12). Settler colonialism is defined

by Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill as follows:

> **Settler colonialism is a persistent social and political formation in which newcomers/colonizers/settlers come to a place, claim it as their own, and do whatever it takes to disappear the Indigenous peoples that are there. Within settler colonialism, it is exploitation of land that yields supreme value. In order for settlers to usurp the land and extract its value, Indigenous peoples must be destroyed, removed, and made into ghosts.** Extracting value from the land also often requires systems of slavery and other forms of labor exploitation. These simultaneous processes of taking over the land (by killing and erasing the peoples with previous relationships to that land) and importing forced labor (to work the land as chattel slaves to yield high profit margins for the landowners) produced the wealth upon which the U.S. nation's world power is founded. Profit is obtained by making property out of the land, as well as out of the body of the slave. The triad relationship among the industrious settler, the erased/invisibilized Native, and the own' able and murderable slave is evident in the ways in which the United States continues to exploit Indigenous, black, and other peoples deemed "illegal" (or otherwise threatening and usurping) immigrants, which is why we describe settler colonialism as a persistent structure.
>
> Strategies employed against Indigenous peoples to establish and maintain the U.S. settler colonial nation-state have included: genocide, the designation of land reserves, the bestowal of land (only) to Alaska Native corporations, and the laws of blood quantum designed to diminish the recognition of Indigenous claims to land over generations… **Embedded in the racial construction of Indigenous**

peoples in the United States is a eugenic idea, one that has never been effectively undone: that the destiny of First Peoples is to become Native (thus, less empowered to make land claims) over generations. Within this racial construction, over time, Indigenous claims are diluted and settlers indeed become the native owners of a place. **Thus, settler colonialism must be understood as a multi-fronted project of making the First Peoples of a place extinct; it is a relentless structure, not contained in a period of time** (Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill 2013, 12-13, emphasis added).

The United States and Canada were founded upon racism and violence against Indigenous people. This continues on in different forms, including institutionalized racism and sexual violence against Indigenous women.

Racial bias can be seen in the representation of Indigenous peoples through time. Museums in North America and Europe, most often staffed primarily by white Westerners, have been guilty of stereotyping and portraying non-Western peoples through an extremely ethnocentric lens (Ames 1992).

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, collectors attempted to classify artifacts "according to what at the time were thought to be universal themes, such as race or evolutionary stage" in which white European, Euro-Canadian, and Euro-American peoples were considered to be at the top (Ames 1992, 17). This Eurocentric organization remains evident in some museums even today. For example, the Denver Museum of Nature and Science (DMNS) features exhibits on dinosaurs, wildlife, outer space, minerals, and Native Americans (Denver Museum of Nature and Science n.d.). In order to reach the DMNS exhibit *North American Indian Cultures*, visitors must pass through various wildlife exhibits, filled with taxidermized animals (DMNS n.d.). This is illustrative of how museums have treated Indigenous cultures – as "natural" and animalistic, and as classifiable alongside extinct animals and outer space (Hill 2000). Anthropologists and museum professionals have debated the appropriateness of exhibiting Indigenous cultures and other non-Western cultures in natural history museums since the early 1900s, yet these exhibits still exist today (Kreps 2020).

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During the eighteen and nineteenth centuries, "many anthropologists made their careers on systematically collecting American Indian material culture" (Lonetree 2012, 9). This attempt to salvage or extract the "most authentic" cultural objects from Indigenous peoples coincided with extremely harmful assimilation tactics by the United States and Canada aimed at erasing "the very ways of life that produced these objects and that the objects reflect" (Lonetree 2012, 10-11). This process influenced the exhibits themselves, "which in turn influenced the public's understanding of Native culture through the way that museums presented the objects" (Lonetree 2012, 10). The largest North American museums' Indigenous collections were established during this time period, and many of these objects have never returned (Lonetree 2012, 10). While these early exhibits may have been rich in material displays, they arguably "convey as much about the collectors themselves as the cultures they propose to represent," making exhibits incredibly vulnerable to the biases of collectors and curators (Lonetree 2012, 10).

While some objects were voluntarily sold or gifted to non-Indigenous collectors, Ho-Chunk museum scholar Amy Lonetree notes:

> Extreme poverty and ongoing colonial oppression permeated tribal life at the time, as it does for many Native people today. These brutal realities should never go unacknowledged, especially since questions over the ownership of cultural objects have not ended. The ongoing struggles over repatriation are a case in point (Lonetree 2012, 12).

Some collecting was never voluntary. During this time period, anthropologists and other scientists "dramatically increased" their collection of Indigenous skeletal remains and funerary objects (Lonetree 2012, 12). Eugenic studies were performed in an attempt to scientifically validate white supremacy (Lonetree 2012, 13). Franz Boas, widely considered to be the father of American anthropology, "robbed graves after dark," collecting about 100 complete skeletons and 200 human skulls of the Kwakwaka'wakw and Coast Salish peoples, which he later *sold* to major museums (Lonetree 2012, 13). In 1990, "scholars estimate that museums, federal agencies, and

private collectors held anywhere between 300,000 to 2.5 million Native American bodies and untold millions of cultural objects" (Lonetree 2012, 14).

While repatriation is occurring in the United States and Canada, museums still house Indigenous remains and unethically sourced collections. Objects are often presented behind glass or dioramas. These types of exhibits keep Indigenous people "frozen in time," – the world changes, while the people exhibited do not (Hill 2000). Into the 21st century, these types of exhibits continue to be seen.

> The museum is where you would go to compare your own private perceptions of reality with that was the accepted and approved, and therefore 'objective,' view of reality, enshrined within the museum (Ames 1992, 21).

One can imagine the extent of the influence of these exhibits on public perceptions of Indigenous peoples.

Museums and Decolonization

> What a great irony that places inextricably linked to the colonization process are also the sites where the difficult aspects of our history can and must be most clearly and forcefully told. Only by doing so can we address the legacies of historical unresolved grief (Lonetree 2012, 9).

The decolonizing movement, which has been impacting museums since the mid to late 20th century, privileges the voice of the represented, and challenges the Western voice that has historically dominated museum representation (Lonetree 2012, 171). This is an important change in museums because of the central role museums played and continue to play in colonization (Ames 1992). Museums were at the heart of colonial conflict by displaying Native American artwork and objects, as well as human remains, as curiosities of a lost culture (Lonetree 2012, 10-16). This relationship has shifted dramatically over the second half of the 20th century (Simpson 1996, 71), to the point where community involvement and collaboration with source groups and other affected communities is now a cornerstone of museums with anthropological collections (Lonetree 2012, 16-17). This is largely due to Indigenous activists that have been fighting for repatriation of artifacts and human remains since museums and anthropologists began stealing them (Kreps 2020; Colwell 2017). The American Indian Civil Rights Movement,

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beginning in the 1960s, saw even more activism for repatriation, more equitable representation, and the inclusion of Indigenous perspectives in museums (Lonetree 2012, 17; Message 2013, 126–48). This continued activism led to the 1990 U.S. Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) being passed (Lonetree 2012, 14). A crucial step towards decolonizing museums, NAGPRA provides a legal pathway for the return of Indigenous human remains and sacred objects to the Indigenous communities that they came from and belong to. While NAGPRA is not a perfect law, the Act has greatly increased the repatriation of Indigenous remains and sacred objects. Although voluntary repatriation does happen in Canada, there is no equivalent legislation in the country (Dekker 2018).

Working with the communities that are represented is now an ethical standard in museums (Ambrose and Paine 1993, 16). The shift towards collaboration in curation during the 1990s has been incredibly beneficial to not only the communities being represented, but the museum audience in general, as the museum is transformed into a vehicle for social change (Phillips 2003, 157-158). As this change gave museums greater social agency, there was also a shift in mentality from museum professionals. Moral activism is now seen in museums; "do no harm" is no longer the ethical standard to strive for – it is now generally expected that museums attempt to actively do some good (Marstine 2011, 12; Fluehr-Lobban 2013, 51–52).

Community collaboration is integral to any decolonizing museum practice. Acting to redress inequal power dynamics between representors and the represented, community collaboration holds people's lived experiences as expertise. This type of collaboration can lead to exhibits which are particularly reflective of collaborators' experiences and perspectives.

Throughout the history of museums, non-Indigenous scholars and museum practitioners have represented Indigenous cultures with little to no collaboration or discussion with the peoples being represented. Representations of Indigenous cultures in museums were wholly unrelated to the actual lived experiences and ancestral or traditional knowledge systems of indigenous peoples. These inaccurate representations have disempowered Indigenous peoples.

Many scholars argue that community consultation and community-curated exhibits can, therefore, be empowering to communities, aiding in goals of self-determination and ensuring proper representation (Lonetree 2012). Decolonizing practices, therefore, rely on collaboration and full participation of communities in the development and production of exhibits meant to represent them (Phillips 2011; Lonetree 2012). Lonetree has referred to consultation as the current museum "best practice," as Indigenous people continue to demand to be involved in their own representation (Lonetree 2012, 16). This change is largely a result of Indigenous activism that demanded community consultation (Lonetree 2012).

The Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR) is part of the decolonizing movement, which includes the movement to decolonize museums as well as other elements such as decolonizing education and #decolonizethisplace. The CMHR's decolonizing methodology has developed substantially during the short time since they opened in 2014, in no small part due to Curator for Indigenous Content Dr. Karine Duhamel (Anishinaabe-Métis) and her predecessor. They are constantly adjusting their approach, and collaborating with partners more closely as they develop new Indigenous-focused content. In particular, their community-centric collaboration has created exhibits which present the lived experiences of their collaborators.

Many museum professionals, myself included, believe that museums can never be decolonized because they will always be Western institutions (Shannon 2014). This does not negate the importance of decolonizing work. Museums can and should repatriate Indigenous human remains, sacred objects, and other objects that Indigenous people would like returned. Museums can and should make sure that collections items have been acquired ethically, and take action to return them when they are not. Museums can and should include Indigenous communities in all aspects of museum work, especially their own representation. This is done through group consultation and actively seeking and incorporating Indigenous perspectives. While this can be costly and may seem unnecessary, decolonizing work is crucial in ensuring equitable practices are being maintained. These are goals that may never be completely reached, but that does not mean that museums cannot also positively contribute to decolonization. By

working to minimize the harm and maximize the benefits of museum work, museums can help to positively change the representation of Indigenous peoples.

Representation of Human Rights in Museums

While many museums include human rights content, there are relatively few museums dedicated solely to the representation of human rights. Through their presentation of "human experience[s]," in both suffering and peace, human rights museums act to educate about and protect human rights (Duffy 2001). Many museums which focus on human rights representation are sites of consciousness which use past events to promote respect and justice in the present – presenting the "worst moments" in human history in the hopes that this knowledge will prevent further atrocities and advance human rights (International Coalition of Sites of Consciousness 2020; Duffy 2001, 16). Human rights museums are characterized by a somber, reflective tone, with content generally focusing on stories rather than objects (Shermatova 2017). Some museums, such as the United States Holocaust Museum and the National Museum of African American History and Culture, are dedicated to specifically exhibiting one group, which include telling their difficult histories and human rights violations against them. Exhibiting group-specific rights is easier for museums, because they have less varied stakeholders and a more unified objective.

Any museum can represent human rights issues (Sandell 2017). Although the representation of rights in museums is increasing, many museums still feel that they can and should remain neutral on political and controversial topics (Sandell 2017, 161). This is problematic because in not addressing issues such as human rights in museums, institutions are risking "complicity with forces of domination and oppression" (Sandell 2017, 161). To many, the well-being of human beings is more important than trying not to alienate some stakeholders. Therefore, according to authors such as Shermatova, museums focused on human rights are not the all-encompassing centers of truth that they strive to be, but instead are better described as indicators of the social and political climate surrounding the representation of human rights today

(2018, 87). Because museums rely so much on public funding and donations, they struggle to maintain control of their content while still appealing to their funders. This is a difficult position; however, if institutions are not willing to tell difficult truths, change cannot occur.

This project centers around a case study of the Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR), a national museum that exhibits human rights issues loosely focused on Canada (CMHR (3) n.d.). Because of the CMHR's focus on educating the public on human rights and fostering respect for others, the museum fits the description of a "human rights museum" (Duffy 2001). The Canadian Museum for Human Rights' extensive presentation of atrocities and human rights abuses across the globe situates the museum as a guardian or custodian of human rights information (Purbrick 2011). Though the museum does have collections, it is idea-based and does not center around objects (Gurian 2006, 50). Many of their collections are oral histories rather than physical objects (Curle 2019; Duhamel 2019), making the museum a storehouse for firsthand accounts of human rights violations and feats.

In the museum's aim to represent Indigenous rights, the Canadian Museum for Human Rights is challenged with decolonizing its own work and positively impacting Indigenous communities (Busby, Muller, and Woolford 2015, 11). Like other settler-colonial nations, where colonizers never left, Indigenous peoples have suffered greatly at the hands of European colonizers, and tensions still exist between settlers and Indigenous people (United Nations 2007; Busby, Muller, and Woolford 2015, 11).

Some museum professionals and Indigenous scholars like Amy Lonetree believe that museums can be changed from being tools of the oppressors to tools of the oppressed, to tell the difficult histories of colonization in order to promote Indigenous healing, as well as strengthening community bonds (2012, 9). This change is occurring at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights, as they develop their decolonizing methodologies and collaborate more closely with Indigenous partners outside of the museum.

It is imperative that the CMHR continue to make this change, especially because of its location in Winnipeg, the Canadian city with the largest Indigenous population and high rates of

Indigenous poverty (Busby, Muller, and Woolford 2015, 11). Lehrer has criticized the CMHR's "primarily aesthetic treatment of Canada's Indigenous populations," and feels that the museum has not accurately represented the ongoing suffering of the Indigenous peoples of what is now Canada, even as the effects of settler colonialism and genocide "are still unfolding on its very doorstep" (2015, 1210). The museum has changed some content since this scholar's review, expanding on Indigenous genocide and firsthand accounts of atrocities committed by the Canadian state on Indigenous communities.

Currently, the CMHR is decolonizing its museology, with important changes taking place due in no small part to the former Head of Collections Heather Bidzinski and the current Curator for Indigenous Content Dr. Karine Duhamel working to merge Western and Indigenous practices within the museum, and have Indigenous collaborators tell their own story in exhibits. However, the museum still fails to connect individual stories of Indigenous rights violations with the wide-scale ongoing effects of settler colonialism and genocide.

Canadian Museum for Human Rights

The Canadian Museum for Human Rights sits on Treaty 1 First Nations territory, which includes the Baaskaandibewi-ziibiing (Brokenhead), Zaagiing (Sagkeeng), Gaa-ginooshkodeyaag (Long Plain), Oshki-ishkonigan (Peguis), Okwewanashko-ziibiing (Roseau River), Gaa-wiikwedaawangaag (Sandy Bay), and Gaa-biskigamaag (Swan Lake) Nations (The Winnipeg Foundation n.d.; Manitoba First Nations Education Resource Centre 2009). Treaty 1 was signed in 1871 by the British Crown, Anishinaabe, and Cree leaders, and predates the formation of the Canadian state (Busby, Muller, and Woolford 2015, 4). Winnipeg is "the birthplace of the Métis Nation," and in the homeland of the Métis Nation, and also within the traditional lands of the Anishinaabe, Cree, Oji-Cree, Dene, and Dakota peoples, including many nations that were not included in Treaty 1 (The Winnipeg Foundation n.d.; Library and Archives Canada 2020).

Acknowledging the traditional inhabitants of the lands on which the CMHR sits is extremely important not only for situating the museum physically within settler colonialism and

dispossession, but also to combat erasure of these Nations and their original names. The CMHR does not acknowledge the names of these peoples in their land acknowledgement, in an effort to include peoples who resided on the land before these nations, whose names are no longer associated with the site. However, the CMHR is well aware that it sits on Treaty 1 territory, as much of the Indigenous content in the museum comes from collaboration with Treaty 1 communities and elders, out of respect for this place (Duhamel 2019).

The CMHR is the first Crown Corporation museum, or federal museum, to be built outside of Ottawa (Murray 2009). The decision to build the museum in Winnipeg was made for several reasons. First, and most significantly, Winnipeg-based philanthropist Israel Asper was the person to envision a human rights-based museum, modeling the museum after the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington D.C. (Busby, Muller, and Woolford 2015), Asper saw the museum in the central Winnipeg location of The Forks (The Asper Foundation (2) n.d.). Second, the museum was intended to attract tourists, and thus stimulate the economy as one of the few large museums in Winnipeg (CMHR (2) 2018). The implications of using a human rights museum to stimulate the economy are complex, including the aim to profit from the exhibition of human rights violations. The land was donated by The Forks Renewal Corporation for the museum, which has an interest in the site being developed for commerce (The Asper Foundation n.d.). Many people are unhappy that the land is being developed and see irony with such a controversial museum being on this important land.

The Forks area has been used by European settlers for several hundred years, and by Indigenous groups for at least 6,000 years (Lamontagne 2014).

> Unlike many national historic sites…The Forks is not commemorated for one specific period in history. It is commemorated for its role as witness and meeting place for so many events and periods in history and for its strategic location at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine rivers…The Canadian Museum for Human Rights is situated at this historic junction because it is an important meeting place and starting point for new journeys. The Museum honours this tradition by inviting visitors to participate in a journey of their own on the subject of human rights (Lamontagne 2014, 18).

The Forks and the CMHR "quickly adopted the rhetoric of a meeting place," stressing the historical importance of the site itself for Indigenous groups (The Forks 2020; Robertson 2019, 154). In her book *Tear Gas Epiphanies: Protest, Culture, Museums*, Kristy Robertson states that while the recognition of place is a step towards acknowledging the settler-colonial history of the area, this rhetoric continues the erasure of Indigenous peoples, lands, presence, resistance, and oppression (2019, 154-155). The Forks area of Winnipeg has also been "a key site for the imposition of a settler-colonial state" as the area was appropriated by Euro-American settlers for colonial development (Robertson 2019, 154-155). This erasure is continued through the "rebranding of the site of violent colonization as a space of tourism and harmony – a historic "meeting place"' (Robertson 2019, 155). By failing to truly engage with the colonial history of the land it sits on, the CMHR is furthering strategic settler-colonial amnesia.

Construction of the CMHR was delayed for nearly a year for an archaeological investigation of the site on The Forks (Busby, Muller, and Woolford 2015, 4). The dig examined only 2-3% of the site (Wong 2014), twice the amount required by the province of Manitoba (Busby, Muller, and Woolford 2015, 4). According to scholars who were involved with the CMHR years before its opening, the museum "consulted with the Province of Manitoba, Indigenous groups, and the management entity of The Forks before undertaking the dig" (Busby, Muller, and Woolford 2015, 4). Despite exceeding the requirement for the archaeological investigation of the site, the museum has been criticized for this archaeological work by Indigenous and non-Indigenous people for not being thorough enough because only a small percentage was examined of the extremely significant site (Busby, Muller, and Woolford 2015; Wong 2014).

Nearly 600,000 artifacts were found, and three "sacred bundles" (Busby, Muller, and Woolford 2015; Curle 2019). According to museum staff, CMHR defines sacred bundles as:

> those living entities that belong to indigenous nations and that have and continue to be exhibited in museums. While often these are referred to as objects or artifacts, this is a misrepresentation: according to indigenous knowledge systems, these sacred bundles are alive (Grafton and Peristerakis 2014, 230).

They also specify that the museum does not collect or display sacred bundles (Grafton and Peristerakis 2014, 230). The artifacts are housed at the Province of Manitoba Historic Resources Branch, which is located in Winnipeg (Curle 2019). Staff members at the CMHR helped in making the decision to keep the artifacts in Winnipeg, as opposed to being taken to the capital city of Ottawa, which is over 1000 miles away from their origins (Curle 2019; Distance Calculator 2020). The sacred bundles were immediately repatriated to Elders Circle Seven, a group which includes members from Treaty territories 1,2,3, and 5 (Curle 2019). Before the excavation, a meeting was held with Thunderbird House Elders and archaeological project directors (Quaternary Consultants Ltd. 2013), and local Treaty 1 First Nations Elders held a three-pipe blessing ceremony and blessing of the site (Lamontagne 2014; Quaternary Consultants Ltd. 2013; Curle 2019).

  Canadian archaeologist E. Leigh Syms "faulted the museum for spending too little time and money on its archaeological review" (Busby, Muller, and Woolford 2015, 4). In response, CMHR Director of Communications Angela Cassie noted that the CMHR had complied with all local and federal requirements; that Indigenous stakeholders had been involved; and that Elders had advised on the care of artifacts, and had ceremonially deposited "medicine bags in holes dug for the museum's pilings and caissons" (Busby, Muller, and Woolford 2015, 4). Syms argued that "legally, they're absolutely right, but ethically and morally, they had a responsibility to do much more" (Syms in Blackburn 2011). This hearkens back to the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) – the law only requires the bare minimum of artifacts and remains be returned, while there is an ethical responsibility to repatriate all human remains and unethically acquired collections. Author Kimlee Wong (Sagkeeng First Nation) agrees, and sees the museum, which sits on top of thousands of now inaccessible artifacts, as "attempt to literally stamp out evidence of generations of Indigenous nationhood" (2014). Not only is the museum literally covering up thousands of years of historic Indigenous use of the site, but it has also been criticized for downplaying the impact of colonization on Indigenous peoples.

  The body of 15-year-old Tina Fontaine (Sagkeen First Nation) was found in the Red River less than a month before the CMHR's opening in September 2014 (Robertson 2019, 145;

Macdonald 2015). This tragedy underlines the discrepancy between the $351 million dollar museum (Hughes and Murray 2011), and the ongoing violence and oppression facing Indigenous peoples. Wong notes the bitter irony of so much money – public and private – being used to build the museum while there are "children in need of affordable housing, mental health services, real food, addiction programs and cultural supports" (Wong 2014).

Indigenous Content at the CMHR

For context, I provide a brief overview of the Indigenous-focused content in the Canadian Museum for Human Rights with the intention to outline what content the museum has, and what content it does not have. I describe exhibit spaces, content, and lack thereof in order to provide readers context as to what Indigenous content exists in the CMHR. I walk readers through the space, from the entrance of the museum to the top level, discuss exhibits, and highlight that what is not shown is just as important as what is shown.

The ten permanent galleries all include Indigenous content, and are as follows: *What Are Human Rights?*; *Indigenous Perspectives*; *Canadian Journeys*; *Examining the Holocaust*; *Turning Points of Humanity*; *Protecting Rights in Canada*; *Breaking the Silence*; *Actions Count*; *Rights Today*; and *Inspiring Change*.

After walking up a long, ramped hallway from the entrance into the first gallery of the museum, visitors come into a large gallery space. In the first floor of the museum, on the left, is a timeline of important events, people, and laws in human rights. On the right is a wall with videos of different people describing what human rights means to them, providing global context. At the end of the room is the *Indigenous Perspectives* gallery, with an eye-catching circular wooden theater. The quote, "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights" can be read from across the room.

The first gallery visitors enter is *What are Human Rights?* which introduces the concept of rights, exhibits different perspectives on rights, and includes important dates in the history of human rights, such as the end of World War II. At the other end of this large gallery space is the *Indigenous Perspectives* gallery. A large circular theater presents the short film "Circle of

Knowledge: A Good Life for Us All," which serves to introduce Indigenous perspectives to visitors. The film immerses viewers into Indigenous epistemologies such as the importance of place and intergenerational transmission of traditional knowledge.

On the outside of the theater are *Spirit Panels*, which feature art by Inuit, Métis, and First Nations school children from across Canada.
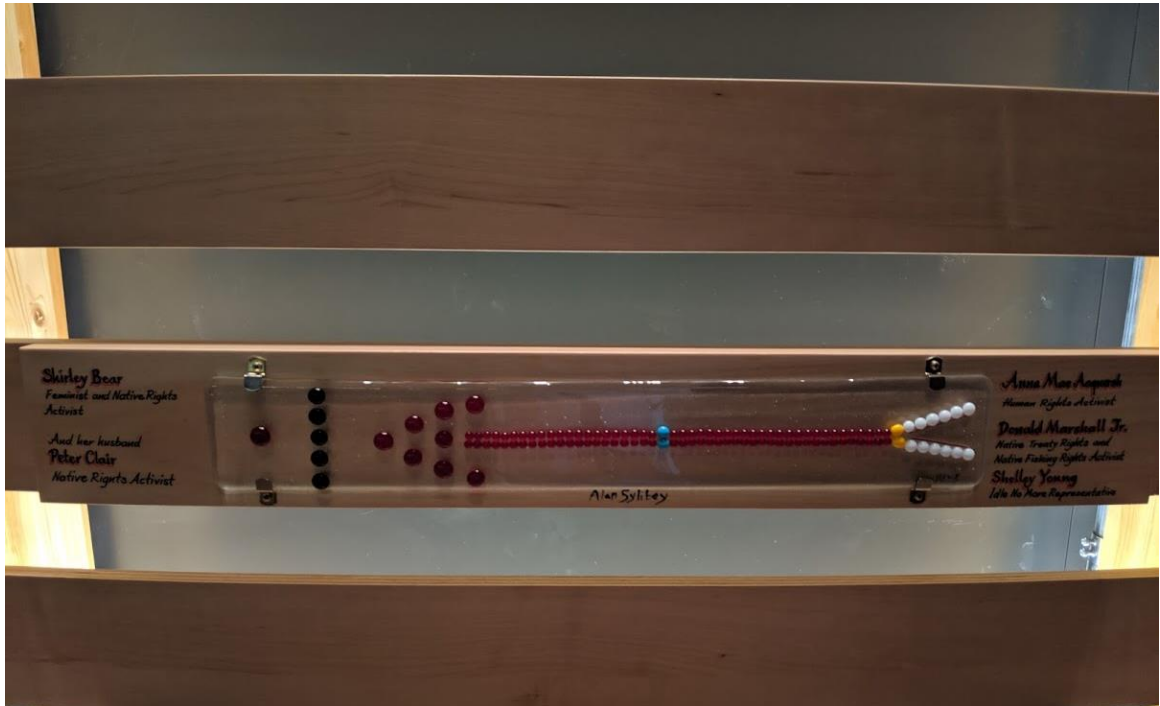
Figure 1: Spirit Panel: Spear Point. Fredericton, New Brunswick (Dillard 2019)

Figure 2: Spirit Panel: Care for the Mother. Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island (Dillard 2019)

The work of Indigenous authors are highlighted, Taiaiake Alfred (Mohawk), Maria Campbell (Michif), and Joséphine Bacon (Innu). *Trace*, an art piece by Rebecca Belmore (Lac Seul First Nation), is also exhibited in this gallery.

Figure 3: *Trace* by Rebecca Belmore as seen from the *Indigenous Perspectives* Gallery. Photo by Madison Dillard.

Hanging on the wall, the art piece is made up of thousands of clay beads that make up a blanket, and is visible from several floors of the museum. The enormous three-dimensional art piece was commissioned by the CMHR (Charleyboy 2014). As Belmore notes, the pieces forces the visitor to "think about the historic material that was taken from the ground," focusing on the importance of the land that the CMHR, and the city of Winnipeg, now sit on (Belmore in Charleyboy 2014).

The public of Winnipeg was invited to help create the clay beads. The beads were shaped by squeezing a lump of clay to create an impression of the fingers.
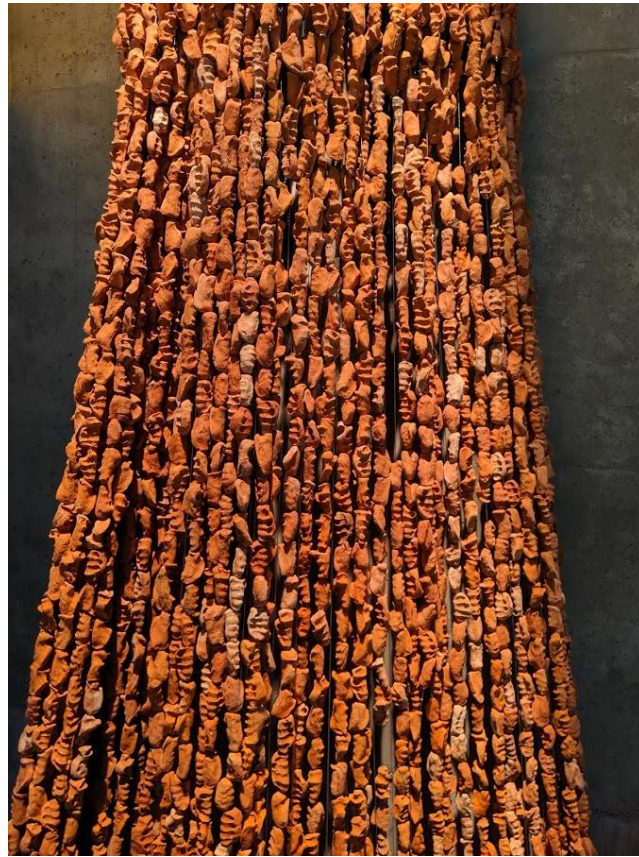
Figure 4: *Trace* Clay Beads (Dillard 2019)

Nearby the art piece, a digital station in the gallery engages visitors in learning about Indigenous-focused stories including Indigenous language usage, Inuit seal hunting rights, and other topics often overlooked within mainstream education. As visitors walk through the space, they encounter a panel which features a cast of a moccasin footprint taken during the excavation of the site of the CMHR, and briefly explains the history of The Forks area. Finally, the gallery includes outdoor access onto the Ceremonial Terrace, which was added at the request of local Elders, and includes sacred medicines such as tobacco and sweetgrass growing in planters.

In the *Canadian Journeys* exhibit, there are small exhibits about Inuit and Métis rights, the Indian Residential School system, and language preservation. The gallery also includes an

exhibit about Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG), featuring the REDress project, an installation art project by Jaime Black (Anishinaabe and Finnish).

Figure 5: The *REDress* Exhibit at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights (Dillard 2019)

The exhibit is a striking representation of the women and girls who have been murdered or gone missing, visually showing their absence.

Next, in the *Examining the Holocaust* exhibit, a small digital station displays content on genocide, which includes examples of Spanish colonizers' treatment of the Indigenous peoples of North America. Notably, this exhibit does not include English or French treatment of the Indigenous peoples of North America. Included in the *Turning Points of Humanity* gallery, which includes exhibits about global human rights doctrines and figures, are exhibits about the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and a brief exhibit on Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. The only Indigenous content in the small *Protecting Rights in Canada* gallery is on Indigenous law.

The *Breaking the Silence* gallery discusses the five genocides officially recognized by the Canadian state, as well as other atrocities around the world. Notably, there are six facades here, one for each recognized genocide, with the last asking visitors to think about what could be there. While in the gallery, Curator Dr. Duhamel prompts visitors to reflect on what constitutes as genocide, and what might be missing from the display (Duhamel 2019). Digital stations alongside this display provide information on other atrocities as well as the five officially recognized genocides. The CMHR Vice President Dr. Curle describes the difficult process of determining which topics to cover, with over 80 proposed (Curle 2019). The only atrocity exhibited which is situated in Canada is the Indian Residential School system. The digital stations in the gallery exhibit video testimonies from residential school survivors, in the form of first-person accounts.

There is a small exhibit telling the story of present-day schoolchildren honoring Indigenous children who died in the residential school system in the *Actions Count* gallery. The *Rights Today* gallery features several large digital stations present numerous stories of rights activists, many of which are Indigenous, such as Buffy Sainte-Marie (Piapot Cree). Finally, the *Inspiring Change* gallery features a small exhibit on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Initially this exhibit housed the Bentwood Box, a special box carved by artist Luke Marston (Coast Salish) (CMHR (6) n.d.). The Box toured the country with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and received emotional offerings from participants (CMHR (6) n.d.). The exhibit now houses a guitar which was given to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, hand-painted by Métis artist Christi Belcourt to symbolize "how music was an escape for students in residential schools" and used for healing (CMHR (6) n.d.).

I was able to visit two temporary exhibits at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights during my time there in July 2019. The first was the *Indian Act* exhibit, consisting of three cases titled, *Act of Dispossession, Act of Oppression,* and *Act of Assimilation*, providing an Indigenous perspective on the racist and sexist law. The second temporary exhibition was *Mandela: Struggle for Freedom*, a traveling exhibition created by the CMHR to commemorate Nelson Mandela's human rights work. The exhibition features the story of former Peguis First Nation Chief Louis

Stevenson organizing 42 First Nations in 1987 to bring attention to apartheid-like conditions facing Indigenous peoples in Canada during a visitation from a former apartheid South African state ambassador.

Indigenous-focused content can be seen in every gallery in the museum. Even in exhibits not directly related to Indigenous rights, such as *Examining the Holocaust,* Indigenous content is included. This was intentional – Indigenous advisors of the museum asked not to isolate their content to one gallery, but to show how interrelated human rights issues are (Duhamel 2019). This is one of the most commendable attributes of the CMHR's representation of Indigenous human rights.

There are many elements missing from the CMHR's representation of Indigenous human rights, however. There is extensive coverage of the harm done by the residential school system to Indigenous children, families, and communities. Due to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the Indian Residential School system and its harm has become widely known in Canada. This has been greatly influential into what the museum portrays – choosing to focus on already known atrocities instead of delving into less recognized issues such as the colonial violence that Canada was founded upon, forced removal and dispossession of land, abuse of Indigenous women and girls, and past and ongoing human rights violations. Because the Indian Residential School has become more widely known, the museum may be attempting to display that instead of lesser known topics which could be more controversial.

The topic of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG) is included in two exhibits, but is not addressed in much detail. Despite the CMHR's Curator for Indigenous Content Dr. Karine Duhamel serving as the Director of Research into the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (NIMMIWG), there is no mention of the Inquiry's determination that both the Canadian government's lack of response, and the occurrence of MMIWG itself, amounts to genocide (NIMMIWG 2019). Because MMIWG is ongoing, the museum may be hesitant to go further into detail on the topic, but since its national recognition after the NIMMIWG findings were released in 2019, more content seems appropriate.

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While the Canadian Museum for Human Rights has been open for 6 years, their history of representing Indigenous human rights is already complex. Due to differing priorities, opinions, approaches, and perhaps most importantly curators, the CMHR does not have a pristine track record with Indigenous representation. The early years of the museum have been filled with protest and controversy. The Indigenous-focused exhibits at the CMHR cover historical and contemporary Indigenous stories in Canada. However, they fail to take a critical, broad look at colonialism and genocide. Small-scale stories of oppression and resilience are showcased but are not placed into a wider context of the settler colonialism and genocide of Indigenous peoples in North America. However, Dr. Duhamel is beginning to change this through deep collaboration and investment in community relationships.

Previous Research

Museum anthropologists have turned the museum into a field site, allowing for reflexive critical analysis (Bouquet 2012, Erikson 2002, Kreps 2020, Peers and Brown 2003). The study of Indigenous representation within museum settings is not new. Dr. Amy Lonetree (Ho-Chunk) has conducted similar research on exhibits representing Indigenous peoples (2012). Her work on how museums can act as spaces of resistance to colonial narratives on Indigenous peoples provides a crucial example for this study. Similarly, Dr. Jennifer Shannon has conducted research on the representation of Indigenous perspectives at the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) in Washington D.C. In her research, she shows the ways in which the exhibits were formed, from conception to final product (Shannon 2014). In addition, she has provided me with an example of a white, non-Indigenous scholar conducting decolonizing work. Susan Sleeper-Smith's edited volume *Contesting Knowledge: Museums and Indigenous Perspectives* (2009) also provides numerous examples of Indigenous critiques of representational practices in museums.

Previous research on the Canadian Museum for Human Rights has discussed the museum's origin (Shermatova 2017; Busby, Muller, and Woolford 2015) and controversies around determining which topics to represent (Hankivsky and Dhamoon 2013; Shermatova 2017;

Lehrer 2015). The museum's particular focus on the Jewish Holocaust caused some controversy even before opening, as the decision as to which human rights violations to include created an "Oppression Olympics" of groups competing for representation (Hankivsky and Dhamoon 2013). Most recently, research has focused on Indigenous protest and resistance at the CMHR (Robertson 2019). To my knowledge, the focus of my study has not been otherwise carried out at the museum, building on this research and filling a gap in knowledge about the unique museum.

Chapter Three: Human Rights

Since the European Enlightenment, Western thinkers have struggled to define human rights. Who should have rights? How should these rights be protected? The modern, Western concept of human rights was developed in the wake of World War II by the budding United Nations as an ambitious effort to codify a collective understanding of human rights and prevent a repeat of the atrocities committed by fascist governments.

As stated previously, human rights are understood to be standards of treatment which are intrinsically held by all people "simply because they are part of the human species" (Ishay 2008, 3). Major events in the development of human rights include the European Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution and the rise of socialism, and the creation of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 (Ishay 2008). There are several far-reaching debates surrounding the conception of human rights, including a universal take on human rights versus a relative stance; tensions between security and human rights; and the question of whether or not globalism is in fact advancing human rights (Ishay 2008, 10-14). The most relevant to this study is universalism versus relativism, which is explored in more detail below.

Western ideals have defined human rights as they are now commonly understood. This influence started during the 18th century European Enlightenment, which was brought about by "the scientific revolution, the rise of mercantilism, the launching of maritime explorations of the globe, the consolidation of the nation-state, and the emergence of a middle class" (Ishay 2008, 7). Thomas Paine's 1792 work *The Rights of Man* emerged from the French Revolution, and is often cited as a precursor to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Ishay 2008). These events led thinkers to challenge "aristocratic privileges" instead arguing "for the right to life, for freedom of religion and opinion, and for property rights" (Ishay 2008, 8). Human rights scholar

Micheline Ishay notes that debates over Enlightenment-era issues continue into the 21st century (2008, 8), such as whether laissez-faire economics promote global peace (Smith 1776; Kant 1795; and Paine 1792), and how, if at all, a "just war" may be waged (Grotius 1625; Robespierre 1793). However, while these liberal ideals were cultivated during the European Enlightenment, treatment of Black and Indigenous peoples by white peoples remained poor (Ishay 2008, 114). De jure Western slavery of Black and Indigenous peoples continued into the 19th century, and violent, racist treatment of Black and Indigenous peoples in North America continues to this day (Ishay 2008, 114; NIMMIWG 2019).

The 19th century Western Industrial Revolution led to the labor movement, and in turn to the rise of socialism. Karl Marx contributed to the current understanding of human rights by fighting for labor and education laws which limited the number of hours employees could work per day (Marx 1866) and ensured that children attend school (Marx 1869). In this way, some socialist values have become engrained in our collective understanding of human rights. This time period led to great advances in human rights such as the "near-end of slavery and the enfranchisement of propertyless male citizens" (Ishay 2008, 156). However, Western racism and xenophobia was still extensive, with women still disenfranchised; children's rights largely unprotected; rampant homophobia; anti-Semitism and religious intolerance; the popularizing of eugenics; and large equity and equality gaps between whites and people of color (Ishay 2008, 155-172).

In an increasingly connected world, Western values, including emphasizing the rights of the individual, have dominated global perspectives on human rights. In 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), a document drawing heavily from Western notions of universal rights and values central to the French Revolution (Ishay 2008, 3).

Group rights doctrines have also been created throughout history, in order to promote the well-being of groups with different needs. In 1791, Etta Palm d'Aelders wrote the Declaration of the Rights of Women, a revolutionary document demanding equality between men and women

(Ishay 2008, 110). In 1918, Vladimir Lenin wrote the Declaration of Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People, laying out socialist ideals to change labor organization (Ishay 2008, 201). In 1959 the Declaration of the Rights of the Child was adopted, formally stating that children have their own inherent rights separate from their parents (Ishay 2008). In 1975 the Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons was adopted, protecting the rights of peoples with different physical and mental abilities (Ishay 2008, 307).

In 1992 the UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities was adopted, which called attention to tensions between national self-determination and cultural or minority rights (Ishay 2008, 310). Indigenous peoples of North America have been unable to represent themselves in international settings such as the United Nations because of their unique status as nations within nations – Indigenous nations within settler-colonial nations (Government of Canada 2020). Different organizations have represented Indigenous peoples at the United Nations, including the International Labor Organization and the Working Group on Indigenous Populations (United Nations (4) n.d.). In 2007, after decades of work, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), formally stating that Indigenous peoples have equal, but distinct statuses and rights (United Nations n.d.). While both universal and group rights doctrines have made important strides in the development of human rights, the advancement of human rights is always a work in progress – changing as the world changes.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was written by "representatives with different legal and cultural backgrounds from all regions of the world" and was intended to declare "fundamental human rights to be universally protected" (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights n.d.). The document was intended as a guide to "guarantee the rights of every

individual everywhere" as a result of the atrocities committed during World War II (United Nations (2) n.d.). Representatives from over 50 nations "participated in the final drafting" of the document (United Nations (2) n.d.). None of these representatives were from any of the Indigenous North American Nations. Different conceptions of human rights were taken into consideration, although the document still represents a largely Western ideal of human rights. Representatives from 50 nations out of hundreds are not enough to provide a truly inclusive perspective.

Two of the main writers of the UDHR were Eleanor Roosevelt of the United States and René Cassin of France, with other writers from Lebanon, China, and Canada (United Nations (2) n.d.). The UDHR reflects the fact that it was largely created out of a Western, liberal, universalist understanding of human rights. The declaration states that, "recognition…of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world" (United Nations 1948, 493). Moreover, the document was intended to be used as a "common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations" (United Nations 1948, 493). While the Declaration also recognizes room for cultural and group rights, these are not emphasized, and implied to be secondary to the basic, individual rights which everyone should be able to enjoy. These standards were introduced without addressing practical application, which leaves room for relativists to argue that these standards alone are not enough to ensure equality in certain groups with distinct needs.

Although the Universal Declaration of Human Rights does generally fall in line with universalist conceptions of human rights, the Declaration also takes into account group rights. The Declaration stipulates the rights of mothers, children, and the disabled, among other groups (United Nations 1948, 496). Additionally, the UDHR states that everyone "is entitled to… economic, social and cultural rights…" (United Nations 1948, 495) and that everyone "has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community" (United Nations 1948, 496). Anti-colonial scholar Franz Fanon, among others, used the UDHR's protection of cultural rights to

argue for the right to self-determination (Ishay 2008, 196). Because the UDHR recognizes cultural rights, conceptions of universal human rights have space for group rights.

The UDHR was intended as a "common standard for all peoples and all nations," formally stating "fundamental human rights to be universally protected" (United Nations (3) n.d.). While the intent to provide everyone with the same protection from rights violations is undoubtably positive, the intention to impose the standards on "all nations" without consulting all nations is questionable, and hearkens back to Western imperialist tendencies.

While not legally binding, UN declarations "represent the dynamic development of international legal norms and reflect the commitment of states to move in certain directions, abiding by certain principles" (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues n.d.). The UDHR is a milestone in the development of human rights concepts, although the document provides more of a moral obligation for member states to follow, rather than being authoritative.

Universalism versus Relativism

One of the major debates in the field of human rights is that of universal rights versus group rights. This dichotomy in conceptualizing rights involves universalists arguing in favor of a global, unifying human rights doctrine which applies to everyone equally, and relativists arguing that groups have specific needs which are not addressed by a common doctrine, meaning that groups need specific rights doctrines which are not universally applied. Some relativist writers criticize the entire ideology of universal rights, while others advocate for group rights within a larger universalist view. The divergence between these two worldviews influences the practice of human rights today.

Proponents for universal rights argue that because all people are inherently equal, as stated in the UDHR, all people should have the same rights (United Nations 1948, 494). This conception of human rights, created out of European Enlightenment-era understandings of rights, sees the common good as the ultimate goal of human rights work. Human rights scholars have

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argued that a universal understanding of human rights is essential for the maintenance of equal treatment of all peoples (Howard-Hassman and Donnelly 1996, 404-410; Nussbaum 1999, 422-430). They conceive of a liberal, universalist human rights as being founded upon cross-cultural conceptions of human "dignity, worth, well-being, and flourishing" (Howard-Hassman and Donnely 1996, 404). A universalist rights doctrine nobly advocates for equality for all, citing global respect for life. This conception of human rights is challenged by cultural relativists who argue that specific group needs cannot be met by these standards.

Human rights relativists, including national, group, or cultural rights proponents, conceive of a human rights ideology which cannot be applied globally, at least without group-specific stipulations. Scholar Chandra Muzaffar considers universal human rights a legacy of Western colonialism, imperialism, and domination (Muzaffar 1999). He criticizes Western imperial powers for supporting and uplifting universal equality within their own nations, while perpetrating massive human rights violations in other areas of the world, such as the violent colonization of the Americas, Australia, and Africa (1999, 415). Instead of conceding to the "neo-imperialism" of the West, Muzaffar argues for a relativist ethics doctrine informed by spirituality and religion (1999, 414-418). Another relativist and human rights scholar, Will Kymlicka, argues that "group rights supplement and strengthen human rights, by responding to potential injustices that traditional rights doctrine cannot address" (1996, 418). Kymlicka's suggestion that there is a limit to what we should tolerate in the name of group rights strengthens the middle ground between the universalist and relativist approaches – that while groups do have specific issues which necessitate a specified rights doctrine, there are limits to what can be justified in the name of cultural tradition. This approach is used by many, including myself, and can be seen in the Canadian Museum for Human Rights' representation of global rights.

While universalists argue that global equality can only be reached through global implementation of equal rights, relativists consider equality something which can only be reached through culturally specific practice and supplemental doctrine for groups with different needs.

Furthermore, relativist doctrine holds that while the conceptualization of global equality of rights is only judged through a Western liberal lens, equality should be judged relatively. Disagreements on the implementation of rights doctrines do not change the fact that both universal rights doctrines and group rights doctrines can and do strengthen human rights. Many present-day anthropologists have a more moderate standpoint on the universalist versus relativist debate, and fall somewhere in between. This includes the CMHR, which supports both cultural rights as well as demands for "equality for all."

Anthropology and Human Rights

As fields of study, anthropology and human rights are somewhat related and overlapping, for example, due to the centrality of the concept of the human and what it means to be human. Anthropology focuses on the study of human cultures, past and present. The relationship between the fields of anthropology and human rights has changed dramatically in the past 60 years. When the United Nations (UN) Universal Declaration of Human Rights was published in 1948, it stated:

> Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status (United Nations 1948).

The American Anthropological Association (AAA), however, disagreed that there could be a universal idea of human rights and argued in favor of cultural relativism, that ideas about human rights are different based on culture (Messer 1993, 221-224). The AAA criticized the UN's Declaration for being "ethnocentrically Western" and ultimately distanced themselves from the United Nation's campaign for human rights (Messer 1993, 224). This is a version of the "universalist vs. relativist" debate over human rights.

Anthropologists have historically avoided human rights work for a number of other reasons, with most arguing that advocacy and political debate is "inconsistent with scientific rigor"

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or inappropriate when involved with fieldwork (Messer 1993, 224). This attempt to remain

"neutral" or to side completely with cultural relativism has changed. In the 1960s and 1970s,

anthropologists began to speak out against the human rights violations which occurred during the

Vietnam War and the Guatemalan Civil War (Wilson 2007, 233-234).

> In this context, anthropologists ignored cultural relativism and denounced the massive human-rights violations and… dropped the idea that "underlying cultural values" would come to the rescue and check state repression (Wilson 2007, 234).

In this instance, anthropologists agreed that the atrocities committed were not acceptable even

when taking cultural relativism into consideration.

Into the 1980s and 1990s, anthropologists began performing field research to try to

"explain the causes and consequences of the violence" particularly of the Guatemalan Civil War

(Wilson 2007, 235).

> [A]nthropologists began to ask deeper questions about conflict and violence from more of an analytical distance. Researchers went beyond denunciations of violations aimed at public opinion and attempted to explain the causes, motivations, experiences, and sociocultural consequences of violence (Wilson 2007, 234).

Since the 1990s and the acceleration of globalization, anthropology has shifted once more, this

time towards global justice (Wilson 2007, 236). Justice is different enough from equality that it

applies to both a universal standpoint on human rights and a relativist standpoint. Universalists

argue that everyone should have the same treatment. Relativists argue that the goal is not

equality, but equity. Striving for justice allows universalists and relativists to move together in the

same general direction. In 1999, the AAA adopted the Declaration on Anthropology and Human

Rights, which attempts to engage both ideas of universal human rights and cultural relativism

(American Anthropological Association 1999).

Anthropologists have increasingly been involved with human rights work, documenting

and bringing attention to human rights violations, and the majority of anthropologists now support

their work being used to further human rights and equality (Kelly 2009). Today, anthropologists

engage practically with human rights in order to positively impact marginalized people, including Indigenous peoples (Kelly 2009). This study attempts to do just that – to engage with human rights in order to positively impact the representation of Indigenous human rights, impacting the public's understanding of Indigenous rights, and ultimately advancing Indigenous rights work.

Genocide

The Canadian state officially recognizes five genocides in legislation: (1) the Holocaust of World War II, (3) the genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda in 1994, (3) the Holodomor, (4) the Armenian genocide of 1915; and (5) the Bosnian genocide of 1992-1995 (NIMMIWG 2019). Notably, this does not include the historic and ongoing genocide of the Indigenous peoples of Canada, as Woolford and Benvenuto point out:

> Since the onset of colonial settlement in North America, indigenous peoples have struggled to assert their territorial rights and political autonomy in the face of multiple and coordinated efforts to destroy their unique forms of group life. Noted destructive actions, in addition to residential schooling, include sporadic and small-scale massacres, forced removals, negligent disease spread, prohibition of cultural practices such as the potlatch, welfare-state child removals, the sterilization of Aboriginal women and the ecological devastation of indigenous territories (Woolford and Benvenuto 2015, 374).

Many Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars agree that European settlers have committed genocide against the Indigenous peoples of North America for hundreds of years (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015; Woolford and Benvenuto 2015; Tuhiwai Smith 2012; Lonetree 2012; NIMMIWG 2019).

Genocide has continued to the present, in the form of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (NIMMIWG 2019). In 2019, the Canadian National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls found that the violence targeting Inuit, Métis, and First Nations women, girls, and LGBTQQIA2S+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning, intersex, asexual, Two-Spirit, plus) people amounts to

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"deliberate race, identity and gender-based genocide" (NIMMIWG 2019, 5). This violence

is complex and multifaceted.

> This genocide has been empowered by colonial structures evidenced notably by
> the Indian Act, the Sixties Scoop, residential schools and breaches of human and
> Indigenous rights, leading directly to the current increased rates of violence,
> death, and suicide in Indigenous populations (NIMMIWG 2019, 50).

While the CMHR exhibits content on these elements, the larger impacts of how these elements

working in conjunction is largely absent from the museum.

The term "genocide" was coined by Polish-Jewish legal scholar Raphael Lemkin in 1944,

in order to describe the atrocities committed by the German Nazi state during and leading up to

the Holocaust (Lemkin 1944; Ishay 2008, 217; NIMMIWG 2019, 50). The term was created to

refer to the Holocaust, but the definition applies to many other atrocities as well. Lemkin explains

genocide as "the destruction of a nation or an ethnic group" (1944, 79). His understanding of

genocide is not limited to physical means of murder, but includes a wider understanding of ways

by which an oppressor aims to disintegrate or annihilate a group. Lemkin identifies eight different

fields which the German Nazi state perpetrated genocide; political, social, cultural, economic,

biological, physical, religious, and moral (Lemkin 1944, 82-90). These elements can be used

individually or in tandem.

> Generally speaking, genocide does not necessarily mean the immediate
> destruction of a nation, except when accomplished by mass killings of all
> members of a nation. It is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different
> actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national
> groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. The objectives of
> such a plan would be disintegration of the political and social institutions, of
> culture, language, national feelings, religion, and the economic existence of
> national groups, and the destruction of the personal security, liberty, health,
> dignity, and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups (Lemkin
> 1944, 79).

Lemkin understood one method of genocide as a long-term plan to destroy the

foundational elements of a society.

Following Lemkin's creation of the term, the United Nations adopted the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (CPPCG) in 1948, the day before the ratification of UDHR (NIMMIWG 2019, 51; Ishay 2008, 218). This declared that "genocide is a crime under international law, contrary to the spirit and aims of the United Nations and condemned" (United Nations (2) 1948, 1). Canada signed the Convention in 1949 (NIMMIWG 2019, 51). The CPPCG was "[o]ne of the first conventions drafted after WWII to protect minority rights," which notably extended human rights protection to minorities or majorities of ethnic, national, racial, or religious groups (Ishay 2008, 241)

Applying the term "genocide" to Canada is relatively new for most scholars, as the atrocities committed in North America are different spatially and temporally (Woolford and Benvenuto 2015). Scholars of Canadian settler colonialism "have tended towards the qualified language of 'cultural genocide'" (Woolford and Benvenuto 2015, 378) due in part to a hesitancy to challenge "Canadian mythology of the 'peaceful frontier'" (Woolford and Benvenuto 2015, 375). Further, Woolford notes that the complexity of the historical relationship between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian government, and liberal Euro-Canadian beliefs that Indigenous peoples could benefit from Western education, has resulted in a tendency to avoid the term "genocide" in the Canadian context (2009, 86).

Genocide scholars Woolford and Benvenuto argue that "nuance is lost by force fitting it into a traditional comparative genocide studies paradigm" (2015, 375), suggesting that "genocide must be understood in a culturally contextualized manner so as to avoid modernist and Eurocentric biases" in order to realistically consider the atrocities committed in North America (Woolford 2009, 81). Further, Woolford and Benvenuto ask the question, "considering the intergenerational effects at stake, as well as the perpetuation of settler colonial practices, can we say for sure whether genocide has even

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ended?" (2015, 375). According to the NIMMIWG findings, it has not. As the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Canada points out, the Canadian government has an interest in Inuit, Métis, and First Nations peoples fully assimilating into the dominant settler-colonial culture.

> The Canadian government pursued this policy of cultural genocide because it wished to divest itself of its legal and financial obligations to Aboriginal people and gain control over their land and resources. If every Aboriginal person had been "absorbed into the body politic," there would be no reserves, no Treaties, and no Aboriginal rights (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 3).

The Canadian state has an interest in Indigenous peoples assimilating completely into Western culture. This could end legal and other treaty benefits afforded to tribes, conflicts arising from cultural differences, and result in the Canadian state's total control of lands occupied by Indigenous peoples.

In 2019, the Canadian National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls released their final report, which found that both the violence facing Indigenous women, girls, and LGBTQQIA2S+ peoples, and the intentional failure of the Canadian government to intervene, constitute genocide (NIMMIWG 2019). Justin Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada accepted this finding of genocide, but the state of Canada has yet to do so (Trudeau 2019). The fact that the Prime Minister instead of the Canadian government accepting this finding suggests that this response was merely performative.

The findings of the NIMMIWG are powerful, and indicate a need to act. The state of Canada must be held accountable for these atrocities.

> The truth is that we live in a country whose laws and institutions perpetuate violations of basic human and Indigenous rights. These violations amount to nothing less than the deliberate, often covert campaign of genocide against Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA people. **This is not what Canada is supposed to be about; it is not what it purports to stand for** (NIMMIWG 2019, 5, emphasis added).

Despite these atrocities and their lack of federal recognition, it is crucial to understand the

"constant presence" of Indigenous resistance throughout this time and up to the present,

to avoid framing Indigenous peoples as passive victims, and rather appreciate their active

survival and resilience through millennia of violence (Woolford 2009, 86; NIMMIWG

2019).

Indigenous Rights in Canada

> Canada asserted control over Aboriginal land. … Without legal authority or foundation, in the 1880s Canada instituted a "pass system" that was intended to confine First Nations people to their reserves. Canada replaced existing forms of Aboriginal government with relatively powerless band councils whose decisions it could override and whose leaders it could depose. In the process, it disempowered Aboriginal women…

> Canada denied the right to participate fully in Canadian political, economic, and social life to those Aboriginal people who refused to abandon their Aboriginal identity. Canada outlawed Aboriginal spiritual practices, jailed Aboriginal spiritual leaders, and confiscated sacred objects. And, Canada separated children from their parents, sending them to residential schools. This was done not to educate them, but primarily to break their link to their culture and identity (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 1-2).

While Indigenous peoples have the same human rights as non-Indigenous peoples, their

situations are often quite different; Indigenous peoples often face discrimination, oppression,

marginalization, and exploitation (United Nations n.d.). Additionally, even in 2020, Indigenous

nations in Canada are not able to be fully sovereign because of the settler state. Indigenous

sovereignty was recognized by the Canadian government in 1982, although there are major legal

limitations on Indigenous sovereignty in Canada (Government of Canada 2020). As of 2020,

there are "25 self-government agreements across Canada involving 43 Indigenous communities"

(Government of Canada 2020). Indigenous laws are able to apply, although in conjunction with

federal and provincial laws (Government of Canada 2020). Legal sovereignty is complicated at

best, and settler-colonial government continues to greatly impact struggles for Indigenous

sovereignty.

Atrocities and human rights violations have been committed against Indigenous peoples in North America since first contact (NIMMIWG 2019). European settlers have historically not respected Indigenous laws and ethics systems, instead imposing their own systems which have been harmful at best. Legal scholar Sarah Deer (Muscogee [Creek] Nation) highlights this from the experience of her tribe.

> The people of my nation, the Mvskoke, have always governed themselves pursuant to laws. Like most tribal nations, the Mvskoke people relied for millennia on sacred oral traditions and ceremonies both to establish and enforce legal standards. These laws were not written down. In fact, for many Native people, reducing laws to writing weakened their power by limiting accessibility to a few and losing the value of rhythm and intonation. Europeans utterly failed to understand this kind of system. Seeing no judges, courtrooms, or attorneys, settlers assumed that Native people were without law. This assumption made it morally palatable to impose foreign laws upon Native people, and also facilitated the application of racial epithets such as "uncivilized" and "savage" (Deer 2015, 16).

These systems were imposed and continued onto future generations through the kidnapping and forceful assimilation of Indigenous children in North America in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Indigenous children of the United States and Canada were forcibly removed from their families and placed in residential schools for most of the 19th and 20th centuries (Rheault 2011; The National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition n.d.). The residential school system removed children from their families and used physical, mental, emotional, and sexual abuse to "kill the Indian, save the man" (The National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition n.d.). This system is largely understood as a tool of genocide, and part of a broader "policy of assimilation" (Rheault 2011; The National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition n.d.; Woolford 2009, 84). Residential schools were active in the United States from 1869 to the 1960s (The National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition n.d.) and in Canada from 1848 to 1996 (Rheault 2011). Residential schools were clearly contrary to the standards set by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

> [T]he separation between "cultural" and "physical" forms of destruction—a modernist contrivance that contends that such neat categories in fact exist—

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collapses under a more detailed investigation of Aboriginal experiences of destruction (Woolford 2009, 81).

The Canadian state has historically not respected the right of religious freedom for Indigenous peoples in Canada, and "systematically participated in the religious persecution of Indigenous peoples through the establishment of legal prohibitions" as well as other measures such as destruction of sacred sites (Bakht and Collins 2018). Similarly, although the U.S. Constitution purports to grant religious freedom, Indigenous religions were not protected until the 1978 American Indian Religious Freedom Act (42 U.S.C. § 1996, 1978). This lack of de facto religious freedom violates Article 18 of the UDHR as well as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights' article on freedom of religion and minority rights (Bakht and Collins 2018).

Indigenous women, girls, and LGBTQQIA2S+ peoples have been and continue to be at great risk for human rights violations. Indigenous peoples with uteruses have been forcibly sterilized in the United States as well as Canada (U.S. National Library of Medicine n.d.; International Justice Resource Center n.d.). Furthermore, in North America, Indigenous women, girls, and LGBTQQIA2S+ peoples also face an ongoing, deliberate genocide, as murders, disappearances, and violence continues (NIMMIWG 2019; National Indigenous Women's Resource Center 2019).

Indian Act

The Canadian government adopted the Indian Act in 1876, and, with some revisions, is still valid in 2020 (Department of Justice 2020; Hanson n.d.). The Indian Act governs Indigenous status, lands and reserves, and in some cases, traditions (Hanson n.d.). The law impacts the daily life of First Nations people and restricts their rights to self-determination. The aim of the Act is to assimilate First Nations peoples into Western Christian dominant society, and to regulate many aspects of their lives (Hanson n.d.). The Indian Act, along with the Department of Indian Affairs, has issued extremely restrictive policies on Canadian Indigenous peoples; at one point

instituting a "pass system" which was intended to confine First Nations people to their reserves, (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 1).

The Indian Act has been described as an apartheid law (Assembly of First Nations (2) n.d., 1). Despite the extremely problematic nature of the Act, it defines the unique relationship between First Nations and the Canadian government (Duhamel 2019; Hanson n.d.). John Macdonald, the first prime minister of Canada, explained the goals of the Indian Act:

> The great aim of our legislation has been to do away with the tribal system and assimilate the Indian people in all respects with the other inhabitants of the Dominion as speedily as they are fit to change (Macdonald 1887).

The Indian Act has not been successful in fulfilling Macdonald's goal in this respect, due to the enduring resilience of Inuit, Métis, and First Nations people. However, the Act has negatively impacted the Indigenous peoples of Canada daily, reshaping the very foundations of their systems of law and government.

The Indian Act has "prohibited traditional First Nation government systems from existing in the native communities…" by undermining their right to autonomously self-govern (Assembly of First Nations (2) n.d., 1). Amendments to the Act have banned First Nations cultural and spiritual practices, restricted the ability to sell their crops and take out loans, repossessed First Nations land, and forcibly relocated First Nations communities (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 55, 94). According to the Assembly of First Nations, the 1927 Indian Act amendment suppressed political activity of First Nations, and "denied the Aboriginal people of Canada from speaking their native language, or practicing their traditional religion" ((2) n.d., 1-2). The Act has attempted to completely alter the lives and cultures of First Nations peoples.

The Indian Act effectively "defined who was and was not an 'Indian' under Canadian law" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 53). Status excludes some First Nations people from being enrolled in their nation, lessening the numbers of federally recognized First Nations people and controlling who can use the benefits of treaty agreements (Duhamel 2019). Those with status were able to live on reserves and collect any treaty benefits; those without

status were not. Women could lose status by marrying a non-status man of any ethnicity (Truth

and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 53). However, non-status women of any

ethnicity who married First Nations men were automatically given status. This sexist law has

serious ramifications on the rights and identity of Indigenous and non-Indigenous women alike.

> [The Indian Act] is much more than a body of laws that for over a century have
> controlled every aspect of Indian life. As a regulatory regime, the Indian Act… [is
> an] organizing…conceptual framework that has shaped contemporary Native life
> in ways that are now so familiar as to almost seem natural (Lawrence quoted in
> Million 2013, 6).

People with status could lose status by graduating from college, becoming a Christian minister, or

becoming a doctor or lawyer (Henderson 2018; TRC of Canada 2015, 54). Indigenous peoples

without status were referenced by the federal government as '"non-status Indians," "half-breeds,"

or "Métis"' (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 65). Under the Indian Act, the

term "Indian" only applies to First Nations peoples with status (UBC First Nations and Indigenous

Studies n.d.), which notably only applies excludes Inuit, Métis, and non-status First Nations

peoples (Henderson 2018).

In 1985, some reforms were made, but the paternalistic, controlling basis of the law

remains (Hanson n.d.; Henderson 2018).

> …Indian Affairs Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott said that "our object is
> to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been
> absorbed into the body politic, and there is no Indian question, and no Indian
> Department that is the whole object of this Bill" (Truth and Reconciliation
> Commission of Canada 2015, 54).

Although the status system of the Act has changed how non-status people interact with their

culture, status does not define First Nations people. Despite the Canadian government's

attempted eradication, Indigenous cultures are alive and well in Canada.

Despite this extremely harmful piece of legislation, First Nations peoples have found

ways to pass on their cultures and identities to their children as they have done for thousands of

years – in direct opposition to the Act (Duhamel 2019). These modes of resistance have undermined the Canadian government's intent for assimilation since the Indian Act was passed.

Indian Residential Schools

For over 100 years, Canada's residential school system forcibly indoctrinated Inuit, Métis, and First Nations children into the Euro-Christian Canadian society, regulated by the Indian Act (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015). These residential schools for Indigenous children were created by churches before Canada was created as a state in 1869, and some remained in operation and federally supported until the late 1990s (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 3). The Indian Act regulated the schools, adopting policies that included admission for Inuit and Métis children (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015).

In 2015, the report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Canada was released (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015). The Commission was created in order to "inform all Canadians about what happened in Indian Residential Schools (IRS)," by documenting "the truth of survivors, families, communities and anyone personally affected by the IRS experience" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada n.d.). By doing this, the TRC "hopes to guide and inspire Aboriginal peoples and Canadians in a process of reconciliation and renewed relationships that are based on mutual understanding and respect" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada n.d.). This is an enormous goal, and the process includes publicly sharing stories of state-imposed trauma and abuse.

> The stories of that experience are sometimes difficult to accept as something that could have happened in a country such as Canada, which has long prided itself on being a bastion of democracy, peace, and kindness throughout the world. Children were abused, physically and sexually and they died in the schools in numbers that would not have been tolerated in any school system anywhere in the country, or in the world (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, V-VI).

The TRC reaffirmed that the trauma and inequality facing Indigenous peoples in Canada is a result of racist, assimilationist strategies including the Indian Residential School system (Million 2013, 6).

"The Commission heard from more than 6,000 witnesses, most of whom survived the experience of living in the schools as students," taking lived experiences as expert knowledge rather than going to scholars (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, V). The testimonies of survivors revealed just how abusive the school system was, and how long-lasting the effects have been on survivors, their families, and their descendants. "Aboriginal children attending residential schools were often severely punished for uttering even a single word of their native language," an unimaginable cruelty meant to destroy Indigenous languages and cultures (Assembly of First Nations (2) n.d., 1). Former students reported on their treatment, such as being strapped into an electric chair and electrocuted (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2) 2015, 143), sexually abused by staff (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2) 2015, 154-163), and reported a "general atmosphere of fear" and emotional neglect (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2) 2015, 109).

The children's abuse was not limited to assimilation. Indigenous children in Canada suffered physical, mental, emotional, and sexual abuse in these schools (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015). Little was done to improve the conditions, with poor water conditions, sanitation, and ventilation, fire hazards, etc. (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 94-95). Tuberculosis was rampant during the late 1800s and early 1900s (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 92-93). Many school records specified the number of deaths per year but not the names of the children, and many health records were destroyed (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 90). Finally, in 1935, a policy was enacted with formal protocols as to how to report and investigate student deaths (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 90). Children who refused to show up to school or

who ran away could be returned against their will, and parents who supported their children were "threatened with prosecution" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 118).

In 2008, Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper apologized for the Indian Residential School System on behalf of Canada (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 130). The apology was met with skepticism by Indigenous people.

> [T]he Canadian state's 2008 apology for the residential school system revealed the country's escapist forgetfulness. Many elders and residential school survivors believe that the apology lacked substance, but it still provided a necessary piece of their healing. … Residential schools were a fundamental overseer of discipline and subjectification yet there is little to no acknowledgement that the violence of the residential school system is connected to the forms of violence that Indigenous women continue to experience throughout their lives (Flowers 2015, 42).

While this was an important step towards recognition and healing, many have criticized the apology as lacking substance. However, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is a tangible step toward righting wrongs through educating the public about the horrors of the Indian Residential School. By speaking with so many survivors, the TRC has begun a unique opportunity for healing. Reconciliation has been the Canadian government's goal, but the TRC's work has shown that the lack of public knowledge about the "deep historical roots" of conflict between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian state; reconciliation will be a lengthy process (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 8).

In their report, the TRC states that, "it will take many heads, hands, and hearts, working together, at all levels of society to maintain momentum in the years ahead" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 8). A crucial part of the process "involves repairing damaged trust by making apologies, providing individual and collective reparations, and following through with concrete actions that demonstrate real societal change" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 16).

The Truth and Reconciliation of Canada has taken great steps toward educating the public on these atrocities thanks to survivors willing to share their story. "It was the former

students, the Survivors of Canada's residential schools, who placed the residential school issue on the public agenda," which led to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and national recognition of Canada's Indian Residential School System (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 6). The survivors of the school system faced systematic violence and assimilation, and decades later, have spoken out so that their stories can be heard.

Sixties Scoop

During the early 1900s, Canadian residential schools "increasingly served as orphanages and child-welfare facilities" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 68). By the 1960s, half of the children in residential schools were there for "child-welfare reasons," which became known as the "Sixties Scoop" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 68). The Sixties Scoop was essentially a Canadian "child-welfare policy that removed Aboriginal children from their homes and placed them with non-Aboriginal families," with the intent of assimilating Indigenous children into non-Indigenous households (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 8). Children were not provided an adequate level of personal or emotional care, and when residential schools began closing in the 1970s, Indigenous children were often transferred to other child-welfare institutions, and placed in the care of non-Indigenous families (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada 2015, 69; Ontario Human Rights Commission 2018, 17).

Indigenous families were torn apart because anti-Indigenous racism led Canadian officials to believe that Indigenous children were in neglectful homes and should be placed into child-welfare, often with non-Indigenous families (Ontario Human Rights Commission 2018, 18). Over-representation of Indigenous children in the child-welfare system continues in the U.S. and Canada as a result of colonial genocide (Ontario Human Rights Commission 2018, 17). As of 2016, 7.7% of Canadian children under 14 were Indigenous, but Indigenous children made up 52.2% of children in foster care under 14 (Indigenous Services Canada 2020).

United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

In 1982, a United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations was created as a result of a study by José Martínez Cabo which outlined the discrimination Indigenous peoples often face (United Nations n.d.). The group's first draft of a declaration on the rights of Indigenous peoples was approved in 1994, but it was not adopted until 2007. According to the United Nations, the process moved slowly because of "concerns expressed by States with regard to some of the core provisions of the draft, namely the right to self-determination of indigenous peoples and the control over natural resources existing on indigenous peoples' traditional lands" (n.d.). While UNDRIP was adopted by a majority of 144 states, there were four votes against the adoption (United Nations n.d.). Unsurprisingly, these four states were Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States, four of the largest and most powerful settler colonial states in existence today (United Nations n.d.).

Essentially, the Declaration established:

a universal framework of minimum standards for the survival, dignity and well-
being of the indigenous peoples of the world and it elaborates on existing human
rights standards and fundamental freedoms as they apply to the specific situation
of indigenous peoples (United Nations n.d.).

The Declaration affirms that "indigenous peoples are equal to all other peoples, while recognizing the right of all peoples to be different, to consider themselves different, and to be respected as such" (United Nations 2007, 2). This document is a milestone in the evolution of human rights.

Concerned that indigenous peoples have suffered from historic injustices as a
result of, inter alia, their colonization and dispossession of their lands, territories
and resources, thus preventing them from exercising, in particular, their right to
development in accordance with their own needs and interests (United Nations
2007, 3).

UNDRIP uniquely takes into consideration the disenfranchised state of Indigenous peoples globally who have been subjected to colonization. Providing this declaration of human rights unequivocally recognizes rights that Indigenous peoples possess which are outside of universal documents such as the UDHR.

Like the UDHR and other UN declarations, UNDRIP is not legally binding – instead representing an understanding of "international legal norms," reflecting "the commitment of states to move in certain directions, abiding by certain principles" (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues n.d.). Instead, UNDRIP was meant as a "significant tool towards eliminating human rights violations against the over 370 million indigenous people worldwide and assist them in combating discrimination and marginalization" (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues n.d.). This puts the onus on individual states to pursue action towards building partnerships and relationships with Indigenous peoples. Museums can take part in this, by building relationships with Indigenous collaborators and exhibiting human rights topics in order to educate the public. The Canadian Museum for Human Rights is participating in this work through initiating partnerships with Indigenous collaborators and advisors.

Chapter Four: Research Design and Theoretical Framework

Research Design

The goal of this study is to explore processes of creating the Indigenous human rights content at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR) in order to illuminate these processes for others. This includes both inspiring other organizations to use pieces of CMHR methodology, and to reveal shortcomings in the CMHR's work. This is accomplished through an exploration of the ways in which the CMHR uses their platform to represent, educate, and advocate for Indigenous human rights. This study has utilized critical museology, decolonizing theory, and appropriate practice in order to examine museum representation of Indigenous rights.

Uneven power dynamics between Indigenous peoples and academia and museums have persisted for hundreds of years. This study does not seek to engage with Indigenous people or communities outside of the CMHR due to the focus on the museum setting. I have not engaged with non-staff members in order to keep the scope of the study manageable. This is a major limitation to this study, and should be taken into consideration while reading. By only interviewing museum staff members, this study has attempted to not place anyone in an uncomfortable or professionally compromising position. In lieu of interviews with Indigenous community members, attempts have been made to include Indigenous perspectives through the citing of publications, statements, outside interviews, etc. written by Indigenous authors. Indigenous scholars Lonetree and Tuhiwai Smith have influenced my perspectives and analysis. I have included lengthy quotes from Indigenous CMHR staff and partners, as well as outside scholars, in order to present their words unaltered.

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It is my hope that future researchers and museum professionals can use this study to guide similar research. The overarching goal of the study is to impact other museums and institutions that represent Indigenous rights by illuminating the process that the CMHR went through to create their Indigenous human rights content, and revealing lessons learned by CMHR staff during and after this process.

Research Questions

1) What are the processes behind the creation of the Indigenous human rights exhibits at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights?

2) How can museums represent, educate, and advocate for Indigenous human rights? How does the CMHR do this?

3) How does Indigenous human rights representation fit into the greater dialogue between anthropology and human rights?

Choice of Field Site

There are many museums which represent human rights issues. As of 2020, there are over 300 museums and institutions worldwide that are part of the International Coalition of Sites of Consciousness, an organization "dedicated to transforming places that preserve the past into spaces that promote civic action" (International Coalition of Sites of Consciousness 2020). The Canadian Museum for Human Rights was chosen for this research due to its unique focus and content. This museum is a part of a small subset of museums which specifically represent human rights issues. Some focus in on specific human rights topics, such as the National Civil Rights Museum in Tennessee, the Museo de la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos in Chile, and the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute in Armenia. Others, like the National Human Rights Museum in Taiwan, the Osaka Human Rights Museum in Japan, and the Canadian Museum for Human Rights focus on a variety of human rights issues on both a local and global scale.

Indigenous rights is one of the CMHR's main focuses. I am interested in the interplay between the large, national structure of the museum and the content focused on Indigenous

peoples in Canada. Museums have a long history of erroneous, biased, colonial, and often racist representations of Indigenous topics (Lonetree 2012; Shannon 2014). I sought to explore the process that the CMHR undergoes in discussing and presenting Indigenous rights. I chose this museum because it is not completely focused on Indigenous content, such as the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington D.C., nor is it a small, tribally owned museum such as the American Indian Genocide Museum in Houston, Texas. The Canadian Museum for Human Rights presents an example of how Indigenous rights content can be exhibited alongside non-Indigenous content.

Methodology

This study involved two types of qualitative research: exhibit analysis and semi-structured interviews. This took place during July 2019, during which time I was in Winnipeg. By applying ethnography to museums, this study has gathered information about the process of representing Indigenous human rights at the CMHR. Exhibit analysis furthered my understanding of the CMHR's representation of Indigenous rights and informed my interview questions. I interviewed eight CMHR staff members, six of these interviews were semi-structured interviews following pre-determined questions, and two were informal. These interviews allowed me to learn inside information about the process of developing their exhibits and programs, and gave me insight into the current understanding of CMHR staff as far as the representation of Indigenous rights.

My interviews with Curator for Indigenous Content Dr. Karine Duhamel (Anishinaabe-Métis) have been extremely important to this study. Dr. Duhamel has been my primary resource for information on the creation of Indigenous rights at the CMHR. Her work at the CMHR has been key to decolonizing CMHR museology. I have intentionally included lengthy quotes from my interviews with Dr. Duhamel in order to allow readers to hear directly from her. I do not intend for her perspective alone to counteract the lack of outside Indigenous perspectives, and I appreciate that her perspective is that of an individual museum staff member. I also include lengthy block

quotes from other Indigenous collaborators and scholars, so as to let visitors hear from them directly without myself as a mediator.

Dr. Duhamel came to the CMHR in 2016, during a time when the museum was under fire for their perceived unwillingness to acknowledge Indigenous genocide, and has been at the museum ever since (Duhamel 2019). Before she took the position of Curator for Indigenous Content, three others had held the role (Duhamel 2019). The museum had been open for less than two years. Most of the Indigenous content had already been created, including the permanent galleries. The frequent turnover in the position meant that Duhamel needed to devote time and energy into her relationships with some collaborators, including members of the Standing Indigenous Advisory Council, in order to develop trusting and respectful relationships with members (Duhamel 2019).

I chose only to interview CMHR staff members for several reasons. The focus of this study was a major contributing factor to my decision not to interview non-staff members. My research questions have always focused on the creation of Indigenous content. To find this information most directly, I only interviewed CMHR staff members. All but one of these staff members are non-Indigenous.

Next, I wanted to limit the scope of this study, and to give myself a manageable amount of work and material. If myself or another researcher were to continue this research, interviewing Indigenous people who are not members of the CMHR staff would be crucial in gaining a more balanced perspective.

Finally, uneven power dynamics still exist between Western researchers and Indigenous peoples, due in part to the often-exploitative nature of Western research. As a student researcher with limited experience, I chose not to engage with people outside of the museum so as to prevent any discomfort in potential informants.

There is a group of Indigenous advisors which consults the museum staff, the Standing Indigenous Advisory Council (SIAC), which are compensated by the museum for their time. This

study would have benefited greatly from the inclusion of their perspectives. However, I did not interview any of these advisors, for several reasons. First, I was unaware of SIAC's existence until my first interview with CMHR staff. Second, the Council consists of Inuit, Métis, and First Nations people from across Canada, so the counselors are not necessarily local to Winnipeg. To my knowledge, none of the advisors met at the CMHR during my time in Winnipeg. Finally, these advisors are not considered staff members, so as to not bias their perspectives on the museum.

During my time in Winnipeg, I visited the museum exhibits repeatedly, as I gained more information about their creation. After interviewing a staff member about a particular exhibit, I would often re-visit the exhibit and find new questions to ask. Two staff members, CMHR Vice President Dr. Clint Curle, and Curator for Indigenous Content Dr. Duhamel, were interviewed twice, because one interview was not enough time to cover all of my questions. This was especially helpful because in the time between our first and second interviews, I had new questions for these two staff members. After interviews were conducted, I began analysis.

All analysis has been based on my research questions, with the aim of determining the inclusion of Indigenous perspectives and the thoroughness of Indigenous rights representation itself in the exhibits. Analysis criteria can be found in Appendix B. Applying these criteria through discourse analysis, I have attempted to "read between the lines" as far as an appropriate, decolonizing, informed approach to Indigenous representation.

Exhibit Analysis

This study took into consideration all exhibits and galleries that display Indigenous rights at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights. This was done in order to determine the inclusion of Indigenous perspectives of the process of representing Indigenous human rights, and guide my interview questions for CMHR staff. This includes the *Indigenous Perspectives* gallery, as well as the Indigenous content presented throughout the museum. As an idea or concept-based museum (Gurian 2006), analysis is primarily informal discourse analysis, focusing on language used in interviews and exhibits and analyzing for manifestations of culture and meanings embedded in

the language used (Bernard 2011). For example, I noted verb tense used in interviews and exhibits when referring to Indigenous peoples. Primarily or only using the past tense falsely orients Indigenous peoples solely within the past, rather than the past, present, and future.

As stated previously, exhibit analysis took place informally before, during, and after interviews with staff members, as I reviewed exhibit content during my time in Winnipeg in July 2019. I was, of course, only able to analyze firsthand the exhibits which were open during this time. This includes the content in their permanent galleries: introducing Indigenous world views and important dates in the gallery *What Are Human Rights?*; the entirety of the *Indigenous Perspectives* gallery; content on Inuit, Métis, and First Nations peoples as well as Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls in the *Canadian Journeys* exhibit; content on North American genocide in the gallery *Examining the Holocaust*; an exhibit about the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples within the *Turning Points of Humanity* gallery; brief content on Indigenous law in the gallery *Protecting Rights in Canada*; testimonies from residential school survivors in the *Breaking the Silence* gallery; the story of present-day schoolchildren honoring Indigenous children who died in the residential school system in the *Actions Count* gallery; stories from many different Indigenous advocates such as Buffy Sainte-Marie (Piapot Cree) in the gallery *Rights Today*; and content on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in the *Inspiring Change* gallery. The two temporary exhibits open in July 2019 that I saw were: *the Indian Act* exhibit, which looked critically at the extremely influential piece of legislation; and *Mandela: Struggle for Freedom*, which centered around Nelson Mandela but included some content relating First Nations treatment in Canada to Apartheid.

Exhibit analysis involves recording text, sound, visual, and spatial elements of exhibits that represent Indigenous human rights. In addition to discourse analysis, exhibit analysis involves audio, visual, and spatial analysis, in order to determine how the elements are used to represent, educate, and advocate for Indigenous human rights (Smith and Foote 2017). Audio and visual content appeared in the digital stations of the museum, as well as with the short film

exhibited in the *Indigenous Perspectives* gallery. Spatial analysis was involved in the *Indigenous Perspectives* gallery as well, with their circular wooden theater, wooden floor, and outdoor access into the Ceremonial Terrace.

Analysis criteria can be found in Appendix B, and include word choice, tense used, names and tribal affiliations used, engagement with stereotypes, and incorporation of Indigenous knowledge and perspectives. Tentative analysis criteria were adjusted slightly once I had performed my exhibit analysis and interviews at the CMHR, after I had learned exactly what content is displayed at the museum. Exhibit analysis acted mainly as a secondary method of analysis, to inform interview questions and my frame of reference for the museum. While this study critically analyzes the Indigenous-focused content of exhibits, it is primarily concerned with the processes behind the creation of exhibits and other content at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights.

Interviews

I performed interviews with eight staff members at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights during July 2019. Six of these interviews were semi-structured. The staff members interviewed semi-formally were CMHR Vice President Dr. Clint Curle, Curator for Indigenous Content Dr. Karine Duhamel, Director of Research and Head Curator, Interpretive Program Developer, Research Assistant, and Researcher and Curator. Two interviews, with former Head of Collections Heather Bidzinski (now Head of Archives and Special Collections at the University of Manitoba) and the Reference Librarian, were unplanned and informal.

The semi-structured interviews consisted of me asking interviewees pre-written questions or prompted them to discuss certain topics, and the interview flowed similarly to a conversation (Bernard 2011, 157–158). These interviews were about one hour in length on average. I interviewed the Vice President and the Curator for Indigenous Content twice due to an excess of questions which we were unable to fit into our first interviews.

I did not have prepared questions or topics for the two informal interviews, and the interviews consisted of me probing the interviewees for relevant information and taking notes on our conversation, which lasted around 15 minutes each (Bernard 2011, 156-157). These interviews were not planned – resulting from being introduced to other staff members who were only peripherally involved in the creation of Indigenous rights content. However, all interviewees were presented with and signed consent forms before interviewing. The consent form template can be found in Appendix A.

In this study, staff members are referred to by their title instead of their name unless they requested to be referred to by name. All but one staff member who I have quoted in this study have chosen to be referred to by name. The titles refer to the staff as they were in July 2019. Please note that some positions may now be filled with other people.

Theoretical Framework

Anthropology continues to be a white-dominated field, founded on what scholars Tukufu Zuberi and Eduardo Bonilla-Silvia call "white logic" and "white methods" (2008). Zuberi and Bonilla-Silvia define *white logic* as "a context in which white supremacy has defined the techniques and processes of reasoning about social facts" (2008, 17) and *white methods* as tools and practices used to produce data which supports racial stratification and white supremacy (2008, 18). Instead of thinking of whiteness as the default, I would like to call attention to and examine how my whiteness and the whiteness of the field have impacted this study, acknowledging that:

> The social sciences developed alongside the practice of racial stratification, in
> fact, they were developed as part of the system of racial stratification (Zuberi and
> Bonilla-Silvia 2008, 16).

Since its beginnings in the late 1800s, anthropological theory has centered around the ideas of a few academics. These theorists were, with few exceptions, white Western heterosexual men. While the positive influences of these theorists are undeniable and far-reaching, the harm

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that their work has caused is also undeniable and far-reaching. Throughout the 1800s and into the 1900s, eugenics influenced the discipline of anthropology, and racial hierarchies were used to classify Black and Brown people below white people (Patterson 2001). Cabinets of curiosities displayed "exotic" artifacts as examples of "others" to be viewed as oddities, and not to be engaged with on a meaningful level (Ames 1992).

Many anthropologists, including Lewis Henry Morgan and Alfred Kroeber, participated in salvage ethnography, in which Western scholars eagerly researched and documented the lifeways of Indigenous cultures and societies in order to preserve this knowledge before Indigenous peoples become extinct or fully assimilated into the culture of the colonizer (Risling Baldy 2018, 5). Anthropologists became considered the "experts" and "authorities" on Indigenous peoples' cultures, and their opinions have mattered more on Indigenous cultures than that of Indigenous people themselves (Risling Baldy 2018, 5).

I acknowledge the extremely harmful past of the field of anthropology, and have attempted to contribute to it in a very different manner. I have intentionally focused on theories presented by women, people of color, LGBTQQIA2S+ people, and particularly Indigenous people because historically, these theories have been overlooked and discredited within the academy. Including these theories provides a diversity of perspectives, which generate new ways of thinking within the field of anthropology. In addition, these frameworks are representative of the stories told within the CMHR. Māori scholar Tuhiwai Smith notes that Western researchers bring their inherently Western biases with them:

> Most indigenous criticisms of research are expressed within the singular terms of 'white research', 'academic research' or 'outsider research'. The finer details of how Western scientists might name themselves are irrelevant to indigenous peoples who have experienced unrelenting research of a profoundly exploitative nature. From an indigenous perspective Western research…brings to bear, on any study of indigenous peoples, a cultural orientation, a set of values, a different conceptualization of such things as time, space and subjectivity, different and competing theories of knowledge, highly specialized forms of language, and structures of power (Tuhiwai Smith 2012, 92).

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In order to engage meaningfully with institutionalized hierarchies and systems of power –

including race and sex – I have used critical museology and decolonizing theory and

methodologies in order to perform this study. Critical museology engages with museums as a

place for critique; questioning fundamental building blocks of museums such as the meaning

behind exhibits (Shelton 2013). Decolonizing theory criticizes the "colonial representations of the

non-European "other,"' (Kreps 2011, 71). Appropriate practice references the modification

museological practices in order to "better fit local cultural contexts" (Kreps 2008, 23). Throughout

this section, I further define critical museology, decolonizing theory, and appropriate practice, and

briefly discuss their histories, and highlight the tenets of both that are used within this research.

Critical Museology

What if the process of creating an exhibit is just as important as the finished product?

Critical museology arose as a response to people both inside and outside of the museum

becoming more aware of hierarchies, social inequities, and the role that museums have to play in

educating the public about "the other." Museums arose as a way to educate and preserve:

> rather than seeking to explore the conceptual foundations and assumptions that
> established such matters as significant in the first place, or that shaped the way
> in which they were addressed (Macdonald 2008, 2).

Museums have changed significantly since they were established, as scholars continuously

critique the practice.

While museum visitors only experience the product of this process, "museum work,

especially collaborative work with communities, is fundamentally processual in nature" (Silverman

2015, 2). The process of creating exhibits generally involves numerous perspectives, none of

which necessarily from the same culture or world view as the topic of the exhibit. Museums are

products of the time and place in which they exist, and cannot be understood outside of the

context of the heritage sector, as well as national and regional identities (Shelton 2013, 15).

Critical museology is key to analyzing these relationships in order to consider their impact on

museum representation.

The preservation and display of artifacts is central to Western cultural heritage. Critical museology asks us to think beyond the objects, and "understand the meanings of museum objects as situated and contextual rather than inherent" (Macdonald 2008, 2). Museum curators choose, and still choose, how to contextually situate these objects, giving them enormous power over how exhibits are understood. Due to this power, the critique of museums is critical in order to hold museums accountable to each other, their stakeholders, and the public.

Because museum curators are responsible for the production cultural knowledge, they perpetuate their own significance (Shelton 2013, 11). Cultural heritage is seen as valuable in part because museums, as sites of cultural mediation, portray cultural heritage as valuable. Before the cultural heritage of much of the world was widespread and easily accessible, museums were sites where the public could learn about others. Now, museums "no longer possess a monopoly over the meaning and significance" of the cultures they represent (Shelton 2013, 19). This means that museums need to reimagine their role in society as testing grounds full of possibilities (Shelton 2013, 20). Critical museology is key to this process, by creating a foundation from which to develop and repurpose museums for their new interconnected communities (Shelton 2013).

The precedent of museum critique has been tremendously important to this study. In choosing the museum itself as my field site, I am able to look at the museum with a different lens than an average visitor. Analyzing exhibits while having the background knowledge of how museums function allowed me to think beyond the exhibit content. Who created the exhibit? Who was consulted? How long did the process take? Why was the subject selected? What was not included that could have been? Before even choosing the Canadian Museum for Human Rights as a field site, I was highly critical of their portrayal of Indigenous rights issues, based on the responses of others. Critical museology informed my research questions and goals, in that I have intended to document both the CMHR's successes and failures in representing Indigenous rights.

During analysis, I have looked at different aspects of the CMHR's museology, from the processes of working with Indigenous collaborators to how exhibit text gets approved, in order to

give a holistic picture of the process of representing Indigenous rights at the CMHR. Understanding how much power museum staff have to dramatically alter stories has caused me to look at each layer of the process of creating exhibits carefully in order to analyze this process at the CMHR.

Decolonizing Theory

Decolonizing theory has privileged Indigenous voices in the field of anthropology – representation is beginning to be reclaimed by the represented. Anthropology has historically exoticized "others," staying within the realm of Western perspectives (Nederveen Pieterse 2005, 163; Lonetree 2012; Risling Baldy 2018; Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill 2013). Colonialist power dynamics have allowed the West to exert power and control over "others" (Fanon 1961; Said 1978). In this way, the Western domination over "others" has been supported by these stereotyped, exoticized, and disparaging representations.

The decolonizing critique, spearheaded by Edward Said, has been key to reflecting on the power of representation, acknowledging the difficult histories to which this has contributed, and ultimately enacting change (Said 1978). Recognizing that most of Western society is dominated by power dynamics of colonization and domination is a crucial first step in decolonization. Next, institutions such as museums must analyze how these power dynamics can be altered to make space for non-dominant perspectives. Shifting power dynamics is a daunting, complicated process that must be done in order to truly decolonize.

Museum representation is one place where decolonizing work is being done. Indigenous voices are being included in their own representations, instead of solely Western colonialist voices. Indigenous scholars such as Karen Coody Cooper (Cherokee Nation), Amy Lonetree (Ho-Chunk), Nancy Marie Mithlo (Chiricahua Apache), Sidney Hirini Moko Mead (Māori), Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Māori), and Paul Chaat Smith (Comanche) have contributed greatly to decolonizing critique of museums. Additionally, non-Indigenous scholars such as Michael Ames, James Clifford, Patricia Pierce Erikson, Christina Kreps, Janet Marstine, Ruth Phillips, Richard

Sandell, Anthony Shelton, and Susan Sleeper-Smith have also contributed to the decolonizing movement of museums. Decolonizing theory has been crucial in this study because it contextualizes the political climate surrounding Indigenous representation in museums.

The works of Indigenous scholars Amy Lonetree and Linda Tuhiwai Smith have been particularly important for this study. Their work is extremely important for expanding the field of decolonization within anthropology and museums. While non-Indigenous scholars have contributed greatly to decolonizing methodology, this work is not possible without Indigenous scholars laying the foundation and consistently including their perspectives. Engagement with Indigenous peoples and a relationship of shared authority has become expected in representing Indigenous peoples in museum settings (Lonetree 2012, 1).

Appropriate Practice

Museum work is often made to fit a standardized set of procedures, often called "best practice." Within the past few decades, this has been criticized by scholars who argue that practices cannot be standardized, advocating instead for an approach which fits each diverse situation (McCarthy 2015; Snell and Lefstein 2013). The term "appropriate museology," or appropriate practice, was defined by Christina Kreps as, "an effort to refashion professional museum practices and technologies to better fit local cultural contexts and socioeconomic conditions." (Kreps 2008, 23). Dr. Kreps continued to work with this idea in 2020;

> [A]ppropriate museology, as both concept and method, is based on the principle that approaches to training and museum and heritage work should be tailored to specific socioeconomic and cultural contexts. It is ideally a bottom-up, community-based approach that combines local knowledge, resources, and museological practices with those of the professional museum world to better meet the needs and interests of a particular museum and its community. Individual projects should be site-specific, conceptualized "on the ground" in collaboration with stakeholders (Kreps 2020, 200).

This idea of museology being non-standardized and varying depending on individual circumstances is not limited to this definition. For this study, I have used Kreps' appropriate museology as a basis for the museology I describe at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights.

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Appropriate practice as a theory and method formed as an alternative to "best practice" by "recognizing and affirming the cultural and human capital present in communities" (Kreps 2020, 200). Best practice is defined by the American Alliance of Museums as "commendable actions and philosophies that demonstrate an awareness of standards, solve problems and can be replicated" (American Alliance of Museums, n.d.). While best practices sound like a practical way to ensure optimal performance across museums, they are not appropriate for all situations (McCarthy 2015). By attempting to standardize museum practice, best practices can erase a diversity of perspectives in museums, collaborators, and the exhibited artifacts and stories (McCarthy 2015). Appropriate practice, on the other hand, acknowledges the differences in circumstances that require different treatment, processes and practices.

Appropriate practice does not argue for the eradication of best practices, as they can have many benefits on museums. Best practices are meant to be used as "a tool to help museums assess and align their operations and performance," to "hold museums accountable…to each other, their stakeholders, the public and society at large," and ultimately ensue the museum remains "ethical and consistent" (American Alliance of Museums, n.d.). Using best practices as a guideline or reference while ensuring the appropriateness of museum practice is ideal.

Kreps developed this term to describe museum practice globally, especially with her work at the Museum Pusaka Nias in Genung Sitoli, North Sumatra, Indonesia. I am using the term in a different context, but I argue that appropriate museology as both theory and method is just as applicable to my research. The Canadian Museum for Human Rights is a large, federal museum in a wealthy settler-colonial nation. This setting is much different than the Museum Pusaka Nias, which sits on the island of Nias that is frequently affected by earthquakes and tsunamis (Kreps 2008, 24). Due to these differences, there are of course differences in the application of appropriate practice in Kreps' original setting versus the setting where I am applying the idea. The main difference is that the CMHR is a large Western institution that is collaborating with

community members, not necessarily made up of community members as staff. In application at the CMHR, the socioeconomic and cultural concepts that Kreps stresses working with are not those of the museum itself, but the collaborators that the CMHR works with. I argue that appropriate practice can be used to describe many different types of museology globally, including that of the CMHR.

My positionality

As a settler-American white woman, the Indigenous focus of this study came organically from the strong decolonizing and Indigenous focus of the University of Denver's Anthropology program. At times during this study, I have wondered whether or not it is my place to do this work. Due to the importance of representing Indigenous rights appropriately and decolonizing museum work, I see this work as justified and valid. However, this research could without a doubt be covered more thoroughly by Indigenous scholars, who have perspectives and lived experiences that I cannot relate to or understand. I hope that my sentiments convey the sensitivity I have tried to use surrounding this topic, and that this research will continue to grow and benefit others.

Ethics

As a study about Indigenous human rights representation, this research is centered around ethics. Following the 2012 American Anthropological Association's (AAA) statement on ethics, findings will be shared with the Canadian Museum for Human Rights, as well as being published for public access for other museum professionals, in the hopes that this will be useful in order to "solve human problems" of the representation of Indigenous human rights (American Anthropological Association 2012). The Society for Applied Anthropology's statement of ethics has also be taken into account and applied to the people studied, the communities affected, and the affiliated professionals (Society for Applied Anthropology n.d.).

The codes of ethics released by both the International Council of Museums (ICOM) and the American Alliance of Museums were taken into consideration before any work was done within the CMHR, and has been referred to as the standard of ethics in museums throughout the study (International Council of Museums 2017; American Alliance of Museums 2000). The UN's Universal Declaration for Human Rights (UDHR) will be referred to as the standard for universal human rights, and the UN's Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) will be referred to specifically for Indigenous people's rights (United Nations 1948, 2007). This is done, however, while acknowledging the Eurocentric bias of the UDHR. This study strives to uphold ethical codes of anthropology, museums, human rights, and Indigenous Americans.

This research only took place after clearance from the Institutional Review Board. The CMHR staff members interviewed for this research are at the heart of this study. Their protection is central to the ethical obligations that this study strives to fulfill. These interviewees have only been interviewed with their explicit consent. Prior to interviewing, participants read and signed informed consent forms that follow the guidelines set by the AAA (American Anthropological Association n.d.). A template of the consent form can be found in Appendix A. Interviewees have been given the choice to be identified by their names, or by their position titles. Interviewees have also been able to review all content, including ideas originating from their interviews, and had the option to retract or alter any of their statements. None of the interviewees retracted any statements. One interviewee altered some of their language and added content to clarify their original ideas.

As a researcher involving human subjects, my primary concern is the protection of and respect for the museum professionals that I am directly working with, and the Indigenous communities discussed. In addition to ethics, this study is centered around respect for Indigenous peoples. As platforms for public education, museums can contribute to a more accurate, holistic public understanding of the issues facing Indigenous peoples today. More attention to the appropriate representation of Indigenous human rights, and the appropriate representation of

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Indigenous topics in general, can contribute to positive social change such as more public support for decolonizing school systems and laws to protect Indigenous women, girls, and LGBTQQIA2S+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning, intersex, asexual, Two-Spirit, plus) people.

This study has been performed while keeping in mind the contentious relationship between Indigenous peoples and anthropological research that has been rooted in the power dynamics of colonization, inequality, and racism (Tuhiwai Smith 2012, 1–3). Indigenous peoples are equal to all other people, although distinct in status and position according to the Universal Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (United Nations 2007). Because of this distinction, the rights of Indigenous peoples are somewhat different from that of non-Indigenous peoples (United Nations 2007). With the understanding of the ongoing debate between universal human rights and cultural relativism, this research takes into account the American Anthropological Association Declaration on Anthropology and Human Rights (Goodale 2009; American Anthropological Association 1999). All cultures have different worldviews, and that of course includes Indigenous and Western groups. The interaction of these groups in the representation of Indigenous human rights in the platform of a Western state museum must consider these differences in order to be successful (Galla 1996). Museums must take into account the power dynamic inherent in this interaction, and acknowledge that Indigenous peoples have the right to their own culture and representation (Galla 1997).

This study does not utilize Indigenous methodology, as I am a non-Indigenous person and do not feel that it is my place to do so. This study was, however, shaped by frameworks and perspectives of Indigenous scholars such as Amy Lonetree (Ho-Chunk) and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Māori). Lonetree's work on representing Indigenous issues in museums has guided how I understand museums as spaces of decolonizing work. Tuhiwai Smith's work in decolonizing research methodologies has influenced the theory and methodology of this study, and my understanding of the importance of recognizing Indigenous perspectives within Western research.

While the only interviewees in this study are museum staff members, public opinion about the CMHR is extremely important, and is cited. In this way, I have integrated outside opinions about the Indigenous content at the museum into the study, especially the opinions of Inuit, Métis, and First Nations peoples.

The work that this study hopes to further is especially crucial during 2020. This year, the world has experienced the COVID-19 pandemic, which has disproportionately affected Black and Brown communities due to structural racism. Global Black Lives Matter protests against police brutality in the wake of George Floyd's murder have shown that institutionalized racism is something that many, many people are up to fighting. The genocide of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (and LGBTQQIA2S+ peoples) continues in North America. Settler colonialism also continues in North America, although decolonizing work is expanding. My hope is that this research can positively contribute in highlighting how institutionalized racism persists within museums, and how organizations like the CMHR can work to address these issues.

Finally, this study acknowledges that much of this land remains unceded, unjustly ceded, and effectively stolen while European colonial settlers committed genocide against the peoples that are indigenous to these lands. The University of Denver is on the lands of Arapahoe, Cheyenne, and Ute peoples. In addition, the founder of the University of Denver, John Evans, was found culpable for the massacre of an estimated 160 Cheyenne and Arapahoe women, children, and elders, now known as the Sand Creek Massacre (Clemmer-Smith et al. 2014). Winnipeg is on the lands of the Anishinaabe, Cree, Dakota, Dene, and Oji-Cree peoples, and on the homeland of the Métis Nation. All non-Indigenous residents of Indigenous lands are benefitting from the genocide and forced relocation of these peoples. After reading this study, please consider donating to an Indigenous-run organization promoting Indigenous rights, sovereignty, and equity.

Scope and Limitations

This research has been performed with the explicit permission of the Canadian Museum for Human Rights. My research has been limited by the access granted to me by the CMHR and availability of their staff to participate in my interviews and research. Within the museum, this study only focused on the representation of the Indigenous peoples of what is now Canada. I have focused on the process of creating Indigenous human rights exhibits and looking at the exhibits themselves secondarily as an aid in this process, as this is not the focus of my research.

Stakeholders in this study include myself, the Canadian Museum for Human Rights, all Indigenous groups in Canada, the University of Denver Anthropology Department, and members of the greater fields of anthropology, human rights, and museums. The results of this study are disseminated as the final thesis study, required by the University of Denver for completion of a Master of Arts degree, published and widely accessible online. Due to the nature of inclusion of all Indigenous groups, dissemination directly to Indigenous groups is not possible at this time.

This study aims to comment on the larger conversations between anthropology and human rights, as well as Indigenous rights representation. However, it does so through the example of the CMHR. This study uses other museums as comparisons in literature but performs no active research at any museum besides the CMHR. This study does not discuss tribal museums, as they fall somewhat outside of the framework of the decolonizing critique by being controlled by the same population that is represented.

Chapter Five: CMHR Controversies

Even before opening, the Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR) was subject to numerous controversies and criticisms, many of which were centered around the way in which topics are portrayed. The CMHR's opening ceremony was greeted by dozens of protestors, many of which were protesting Indigenous representation within the museum (Ward 2014). This study only addresses the controversies which have direct implications for Indigenous peoples of Canada. The community of First Nation Shoal Lake 40 has been involved with one of the largest controversies facing the CMHR. The museum has also been heavily criticized for its reluctance to use the term "genocide" in reference to the violence and human rights atrocities inflicted on Indigenous peoples of North America by European colonialism and settlers. These two controversies are expanded upon and unpacked in order to analyze their influence on the CMHR's representation of Indigenous human rights.

Shoal Lake 40 First Nation Controversy

Indigenous communities have protested and boycotted the CMHR over a lack of clear portrayal of both past and current struggles of Indigenous peoples in Canada (Shermatova 2017; Lehrer 2015). In particular, the community of Shoal Lake 40 has been outspoken with their criticisms of the museum. In September of 2014, the same month the CMHR opened, the First Nations community of Shoal Lake 40 opened the Museum of Canadian Human Rights Violations, in order to highlight "the country's true Human Rights record" (Shoal Lake 40 2014, 1). Curator for Indigenous Content Dr. Duhamel (Anishinaabe-Métis) explains:

The community members made a brilliant decision to use the opening of the
museum as a way to draw attention to the fact that the community has been
struggling for decades; not having running water within the community or access
to the mainland while living on a lake that supplies the city of Winnipeg with its
water (Duhamel 2019).

Shoal Lake 40 has strategically used the publicity from their public criticisms of the CMHR to
raise awareness and ultimately enact change for their community (Robertson 2019).

The city of Winnipeg's drinking water, and thus the water at the CMHR, is sourced from
Shoal Lake, which has come at an enormous cost to the community Shoal Lake 40 (Shoal Lake
40 2014). The 100-year-old aqueduct that supplies the city of Winnipeg with fresh water has
flooded part of Shoal Lake 40's lands, turning the peninsula into an island and dispossessing
them of their land (Perry 2016; Goossen 2014). Shoal Lake 40 First Nation was stranded on this
island, with no vehicle access to the mainland, since before the completion of the aqueduct in
1919 (Perry 2016), until the completion of Freedom Road in 2019 (Winnipeg 2019). In addition,
the First Nation has not had access to clean water since 1997, forcing them to boil their drinking
water to this day (Shoal Lake 40 2014). Reportedly, a new water and wastewater system will
finally provide Shoal Lake 40 with clean water by 2021 (DCN News Services 2019).

The creation of the Museum of Canadian Human Rights Violations (MCHRV) acted to
increase awareness of their community's struggles, and the benefit the entire city of Winnipeg
gains from their hardships. The MCHRV is advertised as a living museum created to "educate the
world on Canada's hypocrisy" which "will continue for "as long as the waters run" and as long as
the violations continue" (Shoal Lake 40 2014). In particular, the MCHRV challenged the Canadian
Museum for Human Rights' "Garden of Contemplation," created by architect Antoine Predock as
a place of reflection featuring shallow pools of water to symbolize healing (Shoal Lake 40, 2014).
Shoal Lake 40 urges people to follow the water source from the Garden of Contemplation to the
human rights violations actively taking place within their community (Shoal Lake 40, 2014). Many

people noted the dramatic juxtaposition of the state of this community with a new, pristine human rights museum without any mention of Shoal Lake 40, and the CMHR has been unable to escape criticism (Robertson 2019).

During my interview with Curator for Indigenous Content Dr. Karine Duhamel, she informed me that she and the senior executive leadership of the CMHR were invited to visit the community of Shoal Lake 40 in 2016, and have since developed a working relationship with some of the community members (Duhamel 2019). Dr. Duhamel explains:

> We were invited by the community to go check out the Museum of Canadian Human Rights Violations. And so we went to the community, which is about a two-hour drive, through cottage country. So there's also this very awkward array of million-dollar cottages around there - compared with the conditions of the community (Duhamel 2019).

The striking difference between the state of the Indigenous community and that of the nearby non-Indigenous community highlights the inequities in present day Canada.

> We went in Spring – as I recall, it was April. And they said, 'you're coming at a great time because this is one of the scariest times to live in Shoal Lake 40.' And this was because in the Spring, the lake melts. And so they have a barge, but it can't operate on the ice. So then they use a fan boat in the spring. A terrifying fan boat that can go both in the water and over ice, to get people from the community to the mainland so they can like go grocery shopping and do stuff. But you have to leave your vehicle on the mainland. So we saw people with canoes bringing their groceries over. We saw Elders and youth trying to walk across the ice to try to get across because they didn't have time to wait for the fan boat. And according to community members, people have actually died trying to cross. Part of what's so tragic is that it's so close, I could yell at you and you could hear me

[from the other side]. That's how close it is. It's like a hundred yards maybe

(Duhamel 2019).

The CMHR staff were able to see some of the dangers that come with being Indigenous in Canada. Witnessing these conditions firsthand undoubtedly impressed upon them the dire situation facing the community of Shoal Lake 40. This, in turn, will ensure that CMHR content related to Indigenous human rights conveys the gravity of the difficulties facing First Nations peoples into the 21st century.

We were given a tour. We noticed that there is no plumbing in a lot of the

houses. People have to boil water, bring water in. A medical emergency is very

scary for people because they have to wait for the STARS air ambulance. And

that's not always quick. They had just had an incident the week before where an

elder had a heart attack and it took two hours for the helicopter to get there. So

we toured the community, they showed us around their display in the community

center and we had a sharing circle with them to talk about some of the ways that

we'd like to move forward (Duhamel 2019).

The community of Shoal Lake 40's decision to invite CMHR staff to their community allowed personal relationships to form between the two groups. This relationship is central to the collaboration between the two.

CMHR staff are working with the community to create a physical element in the museum to address the human rights violations that Shoal Lake 40 has faced. This collaboration has come directly from the relationship built between the CMHR staff and residents of the Shoal Lake 40 community.

We walked around the museum and thought about where the most appropriate

place would be for some kind of acknowledgement. We landed on the Garden of

Contemplation, which is of course filled with water. It's an interesting space and

it's deliberately designed as a midway point where people can stop and breathe.

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But we thought that as you look out over the water in sort of the infinity pool thing

and then you can see right outside the glass, the city of Winnipeg, it would be a

really good place to remind people about the fact that **the museum sits on**

Indigenous lands, but we also source Indigenous water on the backs of the

community, as does the entire city. So we were talking about doing some kind

of display that would call attention to that (Duhamel 2019).

There is an irony in the Garden of Contemplation serving as a resting space, but not

acknowledging the cost of the water for Shoal Lake 40.

Shoal Lake 40 First Nation was incredibly resourceful to use the CMHR as a way to raise

awareness to the human rights violations facing their community. The relationship with CMHR

staff that resulted from their tour of the community can spread that story further. Shoal Lake 40

now has a bridge which provides community concrete access to the mainland for the first time

since before the dam was completed in 1919 (Duhamel 2019).

[A former staff member] and I started that relationship and working with the

community and we proposed a number of different things, as did they. I talked

about an oral history project because at the time they were starting to talk really

seriously about building what's now known as Freedom Road, which is the road

that connects the community to the mainland. I had suggested that capturing the

oral history of all of the things that had happened in the community as a result of

the city of Winnipeg building its aqueduct would be really helpful. So I met with a

few community members and the consensus at the time was **it was still too raw**.

Somebody had died not long before, trying to cross the water.

We also talked about doing some kind of installation in the museum. And so we

started that process and it's still ongoing. **The community wanted to work to**

build sort of some text and some ideas by consensus, which is a process

that takes a lot of time and my understanding is that not everybody was in

agreement with moving forward with it… We did talk about hiring someone to

facilitate that process. Essentially what I said to community members was, **"you**

tell us what you want to do and that's what we'll try to do" (Duhamel 2019).

This is not an easy topic for anyone, especially the community itself who has lived through this

trauma. While sharing this story with the public is important, the community's well-being is always

more important. With the completion of Freedom Road, the Shoal Lake 40 community has not yet

returned to the question of the display at the CMHR (Duhamel 2019).

The museum has since added a verbal water acknowledgement alongside their land

acknowledgement that is given before their public events in order to acknowledge Shoal Lake

40's hardships. The addition of a physical tribute to Shoal Lake 40 would mean that visitors would

be exposed to their story, but the curators "cannot work faster than the community" (Duhamel

2019). While the museum administrators have pushed to finish this exhibit sooner, Dr. Duhamel

has expressed that it will happen when it happens, according to the community's timeline, and the

museum needs to be okay with that (Duhamel 2019). In this way, working at the pace of the

community can be a double-edged sword. While the museum's relationship with the community

will continue over time, their decision to wait until community members from Shoal Lake 40 are

ready to work with them is delaying this exhibit indefinitely.

We're still talking about it. I went on leave. And then because it was more of a

curatorial project, it stalled. [The Shoal Lake 40 community] became very

focused on finishing Freedom Road. So now they've got freedom road. We're still

hoping to do something with them. **It's been a really interesting sort of**

dynamic to work on and actually, I think it probably taught me a lot about

my work as I went to the National Inquiry [into Missing and Murdered

Indigenous Women and Girls], just in terms of the pace of working with

> **communities and understanding that like there are a lot of other things**
>
> **going on** (Duhamel 2019).

Because the relationship between CMHR staff and community members is so central to the project, it was impossible for the collaboration to continue in the same way without part of that relationship. While this can slow down projects considerably, creating exhibits out of such deep collaboration yields more accurate, meaningful products for the community partners, the museum, and ultimately the visitors who see them.

> **Understanding the need to take the time to get it right and not just to push**
>
> **through is crucial**. There was a lot of pressure to get this plaque done. And
>
> ultimately, what both [a former staff member] and I said was, **"it'll take as long**
>
> **as it takes."** So in the interim, what we have done is we've added an
>
> acknowledgement of water to our [verbal] land acknowledgement. And so every
>
> time that we start an event, we acknowledge that the land upon which we sit is
>
> the traditional homeland of these different groups. Then we also say, "we also
>
> like to acknowledge that the water that runs through the museum is sourced from
>
> Shoal Lake 40." So, so we've added that to our territorial acknowledgement,
>
> which is kind of unique I think, because territorial acknowledgement is often
>
> restricted to land, but not often calls upon resources as sort of a tangible element
>
> (Duhamel 2019).

The long-term collaboration between Shoal Lake 40 and the CMHR would not be possible without the museum's commitment to keeping this relationship open, and waiting for the right time for their collaborators. If museum staff had pushed for a final product produced by a certain date, the product would not be one that the community could have been a part of, and could possibly sever the relationship between the two.

> We're still hoping to ultimately have some kind of acknowledgement, physical
>
> acknowledgement in the museum space itself. And also potentially add to the

content in some of the inside stations or the digital content, through working with

the community. But, you know, this is the nature of these community projects.

You're like, "I'm gonna do this small project!" **It's never a small project if it's**

done in a good way. And it's different from working with an individual on their

personal story. So when you're doing it with an individual on their specific story, it

will speak to community, but it doesn't necessarily require the involvement of the

entire community. This one is different in that it does. We continue to try to find

different ways to collaborate with them, hoping that ultimately we can reopen the

conversation about the physical installation **when it's a good time for the**

community, and when they're ready to reengage. As we've heard from many

community members, **"nothing about us without us"** (Duhamel 2019).

The lack of a finished product from this collaboration is not ideal. However, the community has been clear about being involved in any content about them.

Through its Curator for Indigenous Content, the CMHR recognizes the need to acknowledge the contributions as well as the ongoing human rights violations levied against Shoal Lake 40. Developing the exhibit in conjunction with Shoal Lake 40 may ensure it accurately portrays the plight of this Indigenous community. However, this type of co-curation also has its downsides. While the community is able to control the exhibit content about them, the process also takes a significant amount of their time. "Reconciliation demands a lot of Indigenous people and communities, and we have to be leery of how much we're asking for" (Duhamel in Robertson 2019, 175). Collaboration of course cannot work if outside partners are unable or unwilling to contribute. Despite the challenge of waiting for the community, the CMHR has some representation of the hardships forced on the community without their collaborators needing to be as deeply involved.

Genocide Controversy

The Canadian Museum for Human Rights has been heavily criticized for their reluctance to label the treatment of Indigenous peoples by Europeans and Euro-Americans during the colonization of North America as "genocide." The media has criticized the CMHR for using the term "cultural genocide" in references to Indigenous peoples; some see the term "cultural" as qualifying the term "genocide" and as the museum refusing to label the atrocities as genocide (Blackburn 2013). In 2017, the museum identified Indigenous treatment by the Canadian state as genocide in statements and the temporary exhibit *Rights of Passage* (Monkman n.d.). Finally, in 2019, permanent exhibits were updated to use the term "genocide" consistently (Duhamel 2020).

In 2013, before the opening of the museum, then-president and CEO of the CMHR released a statement on their use of the term in regard to peoples Indigenous to what is now Canada (Murray 2013).

> While a museum does not have the power to make declarations of genocide, we can certainly encourage – through ongoing partnership with the Indigenous community itself – an honest examination of Canada's human rights history, in hopes that respect and reconciliation will prevail (Murray 2013).

During my interviews, several staff members expressed frustration with the fastidious nature of the criticism (Duhamel 2019; Curle 2019). This criticism began before the museum even opened, so how could the media know what stance the museum takes? Dr. Duhamel described the intention of the term "cultural genocide" as referencing the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's official findings, and not as a qualifier (Duhamel 2019). Dr. Curle described the media coverage as misleading – according to him, news outlets would miss the meaning of CMHR statements, blowing the issue out of proportion or citing the museum's stance differently than the museum staff had described it themselves (Curle 2019). Despite the views of staff members, the criticism continued. This is something that staff members have learned to live with, because they are confident that their stance is appropriate (Curle 2019; Duhamel 2019).

Dr. Duhamel describes the criticism lessening after the opening of the museum, but still continuing afterwards (Duhamel 2019). At least through my time at the CMHR in July 2019, the museum used the term "cultural genocide" in their permanent exhibit in reference to the Indian Residential School system. This content is in the *Breaking the Silence* gallery, where the museum displays content on the genocides that are recognized by the Canadian government, as well as other atrocities. Until 2019, this was the only place in the museum in which the term "genocide" was used in direct reference to the Indigenous peoples of Canada in a permanent exhibit. A digital station inside of the CMHR gallery *Examining the Holocaust* displays the interactive digital exhibit *Raphael Lemkin: Defining Genocide*. The small tabletop exhibit is easy to miss, but displays powerful content. This is one of the only elements in the gallery which focuses on a topic outside of the Holocaust itself. This exhibit explains the origins of the term, and the author Raphael Lemkin's perspectives on the definition of the term. In the digital exhibit, the museum identifies the three methods of genocide identified by Lemkin, physical, biological, and cultural. The exhibit then gives examples of instances where each have occurred, several of which involve colonization, including the British colonization of Tasmania, and the Spanish colonization of North and South America. The exhibit does not implicate Euro-Canadian colonizers, who have committed equally serious human rights violations against Inuit, Métis, and First Nations peoples.

The exhibit goes so far as to say, "Raphael Lemkin, who coined the term "genocide," found that colonization and genocide are closely linked. He saw that when colonizers take over other lands, they destroy the lives of the people living there," and "Raphael Lemkin argued that replacing an oppressed people's culture with that of the oppressor is a key feature of genocide (CMHR Exhibit Text n.d.). Despite this exhibit clearly linking colonization to genocide, the museum as a whole fails to make this connection as clear. In the *Breaking the Silence* gallery, only the genocides officially recognized by the state of Canada are displayed. While CMHR staff members' views have changed, from not seeing the museum's role as one to decide what terms should be used, to being comfortable using the term "genocide" although the Canadian

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government does not use the term officially (Monkman n.d.). Dr. Duhamel wants the public to think critically about what the museum does display in exhibits which present hard truths about Indigenous life in Canada, and also consider what is not displayed (Duhamel 2019).

In a 2018 speech, former CMHR president and CEO John Young stated that the CMHR believes that "the policies and practices of colonization," as well as "the Indian residential school system," were "genocide" (Young 2018). He went on to address how the museum is taking action toward reconciliation, and acknowledged that they are "in the very early stages" (Young 2018). Further, a CMHR staff member has specified that while the museum did not previously see the labeling of the Canadian state's actions as genocide, they now "understand it's not just our role, but our responsibility and our commitment as a national institution that's dedicated to human rights education" (Waldman in Monkman n.d.).

Since my time at the museum in July 2019, the museum updated permanent exhibit content to use the term "genocide" in several galleries. An exhibit in the *Canadian Journeys* gallery on Indian Residential Schools formerly titled Childhood Denied, is now titled Recognizing Genocide (Duhamel 2020). In addition, all of the content in the permanent gallery Breaking the Silence now uses the term "genocide" instead of "cultural genocide" except in reference to the finding of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Duhamel 2020). These updates are crucial, and represent the CMHR's willingness to adapt and evolve to the needs of their community. Using the term "genocide" is a major step towards decolonizing their representations and portraying the wider picture of the history of Indigenous-colonizer relations in Canada, but more content needs to be added to accurately represent this history.

Chapter Six: Rights of Passage Exhibition

In this chapter, I examine *Rights of Passage*, which was a temporary exhibition observing Canada's sesquicentennial, the 150th anniversary of nationhood in 2017. While the exhibit was no longer at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR) while I was there, I was able to gain extensive insight into its creation during my interviews with the most recent Curator for Indigenous Content, Dr. Karine Duhamel (Anishinaabe-Métis). I have included lengthy block quotes from several CMHR staff members and collaborators because of their firsthand experience with the Indigenous-focused content at the CMHR, presenting their voices without my mediation. This chapter includes sections on two of the Indigenous collaborators who worked closely with Duhamel, modeled after the way she described the exhibit-making process in our interview.

Like many museums, the CMHR collaborates with Indigenous advisors, scholars, organizations, and community members in order to create Indigenous-focused museum content. The *Rights of Passage* exhibition serves as an excellent example of close collaboration in the creation of an exhibit. Dr. Duhamel facilitated deep collaboration with several Indigenous collaborators during the creation of this exhibit, which can serve as a model for other institutions looking to do similar work.

> [The exhibit] was ultimately called Rights of Passage, because we didn't want a
> title for the exhibition that was celebratory. **We wanted people to approach it**
> **and to sort of make up their own minds** (Duhamel 2019).

Rights of Passage was on display from December 2017 until March 2019 (CMHR (4) n.d.). The exhibit's portrayal of 150 years of Canada's human rights history was multifaceted – exploring

accomplishments, failures, and many events that fall into the grey area in between (CMHR (4) n.d.).

Dr. Duhamel worked with other curators to exhibit content concerning how some Indigenous people have experienced the 150 years of Canada's existence as a nation.

So whenever we develop new content, people always reach out to me to see what we can do to incorporate Indigenous perspectives, or is there any sort of historical or contemporary element that speaks to the same themes? That's been good. But the challenge is that it's existing content. I can't change the format. I can't change some of the things. Where there's a lot more freedom is in new content. So we essentially had received a block of funding to do a project focus on Canada's sesquicentennial. Canada's 150th anniversary. And it was conceptually… hugely problematic, right? **150 years versus, thousands of years on this space…** (Duhamel 2019).

While some projects begin with Indigenous consultation immediately, the preliminary themes and layout of this exhibit was created before consulting the Curator for Indigenous Content, as the position was vacant at this time. The process of Indigenous perspectives being woven into exhibits which are not focused on them takes time and adjustment, and comes with unique challenges, where Indigenous perspectives do not fit neatly within the proposed narrative. Challenging the original content in order to present Indigenous perspectives well is crucial, as opposed to erroneously fitting them into a Western narrative.

The original plans for the exhibit featured four sections for different time periods in Canadian history, each that included some Indigenous content. These four sections are, "Foundations and Dislocations (1867–1914)," "Transformations and Interventions (1915–1960)," "Towards the Charter (1960–1982)," "Human Rights in a Contemporary Canada (1982-present)" (CMHR (4) n.d.). Karine Duhamel proposed the addition of a fifth section to the exhibit: "Defending Sovereignty (past and present)" instead of attempting to fit Indigenous perspectives

into the established sections (CMHR (4) n.d.). Indigenous world views could not simply be fit into the exhibit the way it was proposed. Dr. Duhamel explains how she added the Indigenous-focused section:

> They gave me the plan and it was critical of Canada, but, it did not have that one piece in the curatorial approach, which is prioritizing Indigenous perspectives and worldviews. It had stories about Indigenous rights violations spread across four temporal zones. And even that, the temporal markers, were really problematic for me, because for example, the first zone was supposed to be 1867, which is [Canada's] confederation to 1914, which is when Canada joined the first World War. **Those dates are not meaningful or not positively meaningful necessarily for Indigenous people.** The second set of dates was 1914 to 1960. 1960 being the date when Canada introduced its bill of rights, which was only applicable to the federal government and also not relevant to Indigenous people who weren't actually even allowed to vote until that time. The third period was 1960 to 1982, 1982 being the charter of rights and freedoms - some relevance for Indigenous people in that**.** But the whole idea of blocking these historical moments, **it was really counter both to the significance of this place for Indigenous peoples, but also like how we see our histories and our communities, and how we see Canadian history as this tiny sliver of our collective and very long histories.**

> So they gave me this plan and I was like, "ehhhh." So I said, "okay, I think that we need to add a fifth zone and it needs to…" and they said, "okay. Yeah. So like what's the time period?" And I'm like, "**the time period is unlimited. It doesn't have a time period."** Because what I really wanted to do and what I'm really interested in is talking about sort of like historical things with contemporary

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relevance. So it's very hard to limit it because if I'm talking like a treaty

relationship that developed in the 1700s, it's not limited to the 1700s. Right? It

has contemporary relevance for relationships today. So it was a challenge to sort

of think of how to do this zone in a way that would be markedly different

(Duhamel 2019).

Dr. Duhamel's work is critical. Because Indigenous perspectives were not initially a focus of the

exhibit, they could not be fit in with the proposed narrative without substantial changes. Duhamel

responded by creating a separate section to focus on Indigenous rights.

Defending Sovereignty explicitly focused on human rights victories and struggles that

face Indigenous people, and demonstrated mistakes made by the Canadian government. The

exhibit's website summarizes the *Defending Sovereignty* section:

> Hundreds of Indigenous nations reside in what is now known as Canada. Since
> 1867, these nations have negotiated with a new foreign government – the
> Canadian state – that has systematically introduced policies to sever Indigenous
> peoples' relationships with the land and environment and to destroy their
> identities and ways of life. This section, which includes elements of traditional
> medicine, distinctive art and beadwork, explores the concepts of sovereignty and
> reconciliation as they relate to Indigenous peoples (CMHR (4) n.d.).

Defending Sovereignty showed a very different perspective from the other sections of the

exhibit, giving a much more well-rounded look at Canada's history as a nation. While

many of the stories presented in *Defending Sovereignty* were critical of Canada, showing

the state's numerous failures in regard to Indigenous peoples allows visitors to see

multiple facets of Canada's history, and demonstrates that the museum is willing to be

critical of the government.

As Duhamel's first major contribution to an exhibit, she gathered stories and firsthand

knowledge about Indigenous rights in Canada, and created a section very different from the other

parts of the exhibit. While conducting only six oral histories provided a limited picture of Indigenous

life in Canada, the technique itself is useful. The exhibit is able to allude to the larger Indigenous

experience in Canada and the history of Indigenous peoples' relationships with the Canadian state through telling the stories of six Indigenous people who can speak firsthand about these issues.

> I conducted six oral histories with Inuit, Métis, and First Nations people, focused on three different themes: **identity, governance, and land. And those are always the themes that I use, because I see those as really central to who communities are, how they see themselves, but also as the main sites of assimilation and genocide for communities.**
>
> When we're talking about being **accessible to the public and being relevant to the public, those are things that people get right. Those are concepts that people can understand**. And it's hard to separate them cause they're all sort of interconnected, but you have to because otherwise it gets very confusing. So the fifth zone… It was a zone that was built in a really different way (Duhamel 2019).

Duhamel's technique of using themes that are meaningful across different cultures acts to make the exhibit meaningful for Indigenous and non-Indigenous visitors alike. This also helps her present Indigenous human rights issues as shared history, rather than as just an Indigenous issue.

> Right from the design, I worked with a designer who, though non-Indigenous, was really open to my reflections on construction and materials and what it needed to look like. So the whole thing was relatively circular with really soft lines: it contained traditional medicines, guided by Elders during installation and treatment, and it **featured a graphic of a wampum belt through the entire space, sort of in the background that eventually ended in a giant digital wampum belt projection that I developed with students from the Indigenous high school here in Winnipeg** which would project digital artwork, in the form of wampum beads, when visitors would interact (Duhamel 2019).

Not only were the stories reflective of Indigenous perspectives, but the entire area was as well, as different elements worked in tangent to tell a story. Through the inclusion of elements such as the digital wampum belt, Indigenous design features helped to create a space reflective of the communities which contributed to its creation.

As well as Indigenous designs such as the digital wampum belt, sacred medicines were included in the exhibit, and the photos used in the exhibit were mounted with cedar (Duhamel 2019). Tobacco, cedar, and sage were included in the exhibit, as well as sweetgrass braids, which were smudged by elders that Karine Duhamel works with before they were installed in the exhibit (Duhamel 2019). Taking cultural safety into consideration, Dr. Duhamel decided not to explain the use of sacred medicines to the public, instead leaving them as a symbol for the people who created the exhibit and visitors who recognize them (Duhamel 2019). Duhamel and her collaborators know that the exhibit was installed ceremoniously and respectfully.

Dr. Duhamel described the process of working with specific community members in exhibiting their stories. She worked closely with several people who wanted their stories shared, including Ahiarmiut Elder David Serkoak and Kanien'keha:ka (Mohawk) activist Ellen Gabriel. Duhamel recalled asking each individual, "What do you want out of this?" and working to make the exhibit reflect their individual wishes. According to Duhamel, Ahiarmiut Elder David Serkoak answered: "I want for people to know this story, and I want my apology" (Duhamel 2019).

David Serkoak

President of the Ahiarmiut Relocation Society, Elder David Serkoak (Ahiarmiut) "has worked to educate the public about what happened to the Ahiarmiut as part of his ongoing quest for compensation and an apology from the Government of Canada" for decades (Duhamel and Bernauer 2018, 62). The Ahiarmiut are an Inuit group "from the southern Kivalliq region of Nunavut" (Duhamel and Bernauer 2018, 62). From 1949 to 1960, the Ahiarmiut were forcibly relocated five separate times, facing new and unique challenges with each relocation

(Government of Canada 2019; Duhamel and Bernauer 2018). Elder Serkoak provides an

emotional first-person account of the hardships forced on his community. An advocate for his

people, he has worked for decades in order to bring awareness to these wrongs, work which he

continued with this exhibit.

> David Serkoak, now an Elder, was only a child when his family was repeatedly
> relocated by the Government of Canada throughout the Arctic, in order to clear
> the land for government operations and to centralize Inuit populations under
> government control and surveillance. For nearly three decades he has
> researched the history of his people in collaboration with community Elders, and
> has worked to educate the public about what happened to the Ahiarmiut as part
> of his ongoing quest for compensation and an apology from the Government of
> Canada (Duhamel and Bernauer 2018, 62).

> When the plane arrived to take the Ahiarmiut away from their homes, no
> interpreter was present. No notice was given. They were not permitted to bring
> tools or supplies. Starvation set in when caribou herds failed to appear in their
> new location (CMHR (4) n.d.).

In Duhamel and Bernauer's view, the atrocities that the Ahiarmiut have faced were clearly a result

of the settler-colonial Canadian state. The fact that the Ahiarmiut have survived these forced

relocations is a testament to the incredible strength of the community.

> [A]s David describes, "Some people starved to death. And some people died of
> cold exposure, both young and old" (Duhamel and Bernauer 2018, 63).

> In David's recollections, a key feature of subsequent relocations of the Ahiarmiut
> was the complete lack of consultation and preparation by government officials
> throughout. During the first relocation, "The Elders told me that three men came
> from the radio station: a heavy equipment operator, an extra man, and a police
> man. [The Ahiarmiut] were ordered out of their tents … and the signal was given
> to bulldoze their stuff back and forth and bury it. And there was another signal to
> get on a plane. And, away we went to Nueltin Lake." The group was not provided
> with tents upon arrival and slept outside. And, as David adds, "There were a few
> elderly people who did not make it." According to David, the government moved
> the group around the Arctic without any understanding of the area, without
> planning in place and without any resources to assist – "lots of band-aid
> solutions" which, ultimately, got people killed" (Duhamel and Bernauer 2018, 63).

Serkoak and Duhamel worked together to make sure the exhibit reflected his community's story, and to make it widely known that the government had not apologized or provided compensation for the trauma inflicted on his community.

> As [Serkoak] recalled, "From my last trip to Arviat this spring, I was talking to the lone Elder, like one of the adults when we first moved. She says she goes to the post office every day to see if there is a cheque from the government. And she also tells me personally… 'I think the government are waiting for us to die off, so they don't have to deal with us on this embarrassing situation.'" The Elder in question is the last of those who were adults during the relocations (Duhamel and Bernauer 2018, 64).

David was just a child when his community was first forcibly relocated. He is now an Elder. The timing of Elder Serkoak's work with the CMHR underlines how long it has taken for the story of the Ahiarmiut to spread.

> He describes his work as a "personal journey" to uncover the truth for his family and other Ahiarmiut, but also stresses the importance of educating Canadians in general about Inuit relocations: "The more public hear, see, the better for me. More, not just a small group should know, but lots of people should know of what happened" (Duhamel and Bernauer 2018, 64).

> In his work, David emphasizes the importance for Indigenous peoples to tell their own stories. As he explains, "There's tons and tons of books about us, articles about us, and a few video documentaries, done by other people, mostly by archives and stuff, which are fine too. But this way I can get it down first hand. I want to tell the public our version of what exactly happened. It's our story, it should be told by us" (Duhamel and Bernauer 2018, 64).

Elder Serkoak's story is heartbreaking. Hearing firsthand accounts can make these atrocities more real for people than reading them in a history book. The inclusion of his story allows people to learn about the Ahiarmiut from the Ahiarmiut. This is an example of how museums can meaningfully share stories that are not abstract, not far away in time or space, but are inside of the museum's own community.

Figure 6: Elder David Serkoak with the Exhibit on the Ahiarmiut at the CMHR (CMHR 2018)

Collaboration between David Serkoak and Duhamel became co-curation due to Serkoak's enthusiastic involvement. Serkoak brought in a backpack full of artifacts for the exhibit, saying "Here's the stuff I want to use!" (Duhamel 2019). He shared his story with museum staff in an oral-history style interview which took almost two full days (Duhamel and Bernauer 2018, 64). Along with his time, Serkoak also loaned personal objects and photos to the CMHR for the exhibit. Included in the objects loaned were a toy canoe and soapstone carvings. Karine Duhamel explained:

> They were relocated in 1950s, and in the 1980s, [the Ahiarmiut] returned to the
>
> site, and [David] found it by one of his old camp sites – it was his old toy and it
>
> had been there for decades. So, he lent us that for the exhibitions and he also
>
> lent us these soapstone carvings. [David's] parents had made carvings. And one
>
> of the reasons the community was relocated was because the Canadian military
>
> started a radio station there and there started to be issues between the people
>
> and the military personnel station there. And there are horrific stories about
>
> sexual abuse and exploitation that happened in those communities as a result,
>
> unfortunately, of that. But one of the things that community members would do,
>
> and this extended to the sexual exploitation question, was essentially trade

things for rations, because they were caribou hunting people. And the caribou

changed their path because of all the construction. They were starving. So, at

one point, David's mother carves soapstone and she had traded the soapstone

for rations for the family. And few years ago, David received them in the mail with

a letter from the radio station operator who said, "I took these from your mother,

I'm returning them to you" (Duhamel 2019).

Being able to exhibit such a special object is a privilege which came from the relationship built

between Elder Serkoak and CMHR staff. Seeing this toy canoe in person undoubtedly

strengthened the emotional connections the visitors had with Serkoak's story.

Figure 7: Elder David Serkoak's Recovered Toy Canoe (CMHR (4) n.d.)

The *Rights of Passage* exhibition opened in December 2017, with Serkoak performing a

drum dance as part of the exhibit's opening ceremony. The ceremony was an important element

of Serkoak's collaboration with the museum, allowing him to make the experience even more personally meaningful.

> As part of the opening ceremony and press conference, David and his granddaughter Briana Qahuq Kilabuk performed a drum dance. As drum dances always had, its performance at the CMHR signaled a way of addressing an important event in the community's history, as well as in its contemporary experience. The drum dance they performed, a testament to memory and to identity, was a way of completing a dance begun, but not completed, years prior, when the Ahiarmiut, were interrupted during a drum dance in a tent near Arviat. As David describes the incident, while his father was drumming and his mother was singing, a police officer disrupted the dance and broke the drum, injuring David's father. "[My mother] was right there, singing to my father, when the incident happened. The drum went silent and the song was stopped." This incident was the basis of this new performance for the opening of the exhibition, as David explained to the audience. "When I was asked to perform for this opening, I knew right away that I wanted to use my father's song, or pihiq, and it will be more special for me because right behind me is a drummer in the making," David said with a smile, as he pointed to his granddaughter. "It will be a very significant day for my family, especially for me, because the young lady behind me is named after my late mother, Qahuq" (Duhamel and Bernauer 2018, 65).

> Because of this relationship between David's mother and granddaughter, dancing together to his father's song was an important way to address and work through the colonial violence his family experienced while they were repeatedly relocated by the federal government (Duhamel and Bernauer 2018, 65).

David was able to truly work towards his goals in his work with the museum. Additionally, by performing a drum dance with his granddaughter, David was able to kick off the beginning of the exhibit, where his story would be shared, personally and proudly. The CMHR, as a federal museum, is a fitting place for this story to be told. The Canadian state, little by little, is trying to mend relationships with communities like Serkoak's. This exhibit has benefitted more than the public; it has benefitted the storyteller. This is an extremely different exhibit than extractionary exhibits in which museum staff look up a story and then present it. This is community building and activism.

Finally, in August of 2018, the Ahiarmiut agreed to a settlement of $5 million dollars from the Canadian government, and in January of 2019, the Canadian government issued a formal apology (Government of Canada 2019).

There is no money that could ever be sufficient compensation for the things that we suffered and lost as a result of government decisions of the past, nor the subsequent attempt to justify them. Nevertheless, this has been a 20-year battle for me and I appreciate that this government was finally willing to come to the table and talk to us. We forgive but we will not forget. We intend to use the commemoration and education funds to ensure that no one else does either. The country needs to know about and learn from past mistakes. As a retired teacher and principal, I understand the power of education (Serkoak quoted by George 2018).

The CMHR provided a platform for Serkoak to continue his work and gain publicity for the cause. This is an example of a museum using its power to work with their partners toward their goals, rather than solely the museum benefitting from their collaboration.

Ellen Gabriel

Another collaborator whose story was featured in the Rights of Passage exhibition is Ellen Gabriel (Katsi'tsakwas, Turtle Clan), who was a key figure in the Oka Crisis, or the Siege of Kanehsatà:ke. In the summer of 1990, the Kahnawake Mohawk were forced to "defend their ancestral burial grounds after the neighboring town of Oka moved to seize them to build a golf course" (Million 2013, 4).

As a mass media spectacle mesmerizing Canada in the summer of 1990, Oka became symbolic for myriad struggles, tensions, and violations that surfaced as Canadian Aboriginal peoples struggled to attain political presence and bring two hundred years of Canadian colonial violence into public view. The Kahnawake Mohawk defended their ancestral burial grounds after the neighboring town of Oka moved to seize them to build a golf course. Oka and the province of Quebec, failing in their own policing measures, sought help from Canada in the form of peace-keeping troops launched to quell an Indian "uprising." The violence in that policing action that involved the Canadian army effectively *and* affectively conveyed to white and Indigenous alike the wide gulf between Canada's multicultural mosaic sociopolitical imaginary and the Mohawk's self-determined necessity (Million 2013, 4, emphasis in original).

The conflict was widely publicized and politicized, and remains an internationally-known example of violent clashes between cultural groups.

In 1990, Gabriel was the official spokesperson for the People of the Longhouse and the community of Kanehsatà:ke (Carleton 2019). Since then, she has continuously fought for the return of land from the Canadian state (Carleton 2019).

[Ellen Gabriel] has worked her whole life to recover that land from the Canadian government. **And I said to her, "what would you like out of this?" And she said, "well, I want for people to understand the story. You know, it's been told wrong so many times. I want it to be told right"** (Duhamel 2019).

Gabriel's goal of presenting her view of the conflict is something that may not have aligned with the goals of every museum. Retelling the story of a well-known political conflict between cultures could be out of the comfort zones of some museums attempting to remain neutral so as to not make their visitors, donors, or in the case of federal museums, the state, uncomfortable. The CMHR, however, was willing to tell this story, focusing on Gabriel's perspective. This is notable especially compared with the museum's hesitance to present controversial messages, such as the use of the term "genocide" and the lack of an overarching theme of settler-colonial genocide.

As with Serkoak, Gabriel's preferences and oral history drove the focus of the exhibit. In addition to this collaboration, the staff of the CMHR created a unique collections agreement to reflect her partnership with the museum. This change is an exceptional step in decolonizing museums – adjusting practices to fit the wants and needs of their collaborators.

After being involved with such a dangerous, appalling event, and three subsequent decades of activism, Ellen Gabriel is "cynical" about reconciliation (Duhamel 2019). Respecting her skepticism about collaborating with the Canadian Museum for Human Rights, Duhamel and Heather Bidzinski, former Head of Collections at the CMHR, took extraordinary measures to meet her needs.

So as part of her agreement, we had actually created a brand new oral history

agreement for her, because **she did not want to lose control of her content.** I

and the Head of Collections **wrote a brand new agreement that the museum**

had never done before, to respect this notion of stewardship, and it was

presented to her with tobacco. So that she would know that this was a

commitment that we made to her in a good way (Duhamel 2019).

Through collaboration, Ellen Gabriel was able to share her perspective on the Oka Crisis with a

large audience at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights. Her firsthand experiences were

included with others, commemorating 150 years of Canadian statehood. By asking Gabriel what

she wanted from the exhibit, Curator for Indigenous Content Karine Duhamel was able to portray

Gabriel's anti-colonial struggles in a large Western museum. Working with Gabriel, museum staff

also created a unique agreement form that worked for both parties.

By being flexible with a collections agreement, the CMHR demonstrated a willingness to

meet the needs of collaborators. This is an example of a form of museology which works for both

the museum and Indigenous collaborators. The Canadian Museum for Human Rights was able to

exhibit a firsthand look at a human rights struggle between the settler state and an Indigenous

group, while Gabriel was able to further her activism through an increased awareness of her

perspective of the Oka Crisis.

Chapter Seven: Findings and Analysis

The Feather

In the middle of the first gallery space at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR), between the *What Are Human Rights?* and *Indigenous Perspectives* galleries, sit three small exhibit cases.

Figure 8: *Indian Act* Exhibit in the Canadian Museum for Human Rights (Dillard 2019)

During the time I was at the museum in July 2019, these cases housed an exhibit on the Indian Act, which is an act of Canadian Parliament that is essentially the foundation of "Indian Law" in Canada. As explained in the Background section, the Indian Act is racist, sexist, and still in practice today (Indian Act 1876). The three cases in this small exhibit were created in order to

add to the museum's very limited content on the Indian Act, to show the enormous negative

impact this law has had, and to emphasize Indigenous resilience throughout the nearly 150 years

the legislation has been in place (Duhamel 2019). The exhibit was created by the Curator for

Indigenous Content, Dr. Karine Duhamel (Anishinaabe-Métis), and a subcommittee from the

Standing Indigenous Advisory Council (SIAC), which consisted of several elders and Indigenous

professionals (Duhamel 2019). Members of SIAC had been pressuring the museum to add

content on the Indian Act for years, so when the time came, Dr. Duhamel and the subcommittee

wanted to use "strong language" to create a "de-Westernized" exhibit (Duhamel 2019).

The three cases in the *Indian Act* exhibit are titled "Act of Dispossession," "Act of

Oppression," and "Act of Assimilation." The titles are meant to explicitly state the extremely

harmful impacts of the Act (Duhamel 2019). In the center case, "Act of Oppression", among

pictures and text, two eagle feathers are displayed side by side. The exhibit text explains, "The

eagle feather is considered a gift from the Creator and represents truth, respect, and balance in

decision making."

Figure 9: Close-up of Two Feathers Exhibited in the *Indian Act* Exhibit (Dillard 2019)

The feather on the left is undecorated, and holds historical importance. Oji-Cree Nations legislator Elijah Harper held this feather while essentially striking down an amendment to the Canadian Constitution that did not include the recognition of Indigenous sovereignty ("Canadian Aboriginals Stop a Constitutional Amendment (Meech Lake Accord), 1990 | Global Nonviolent Action Database" n.d.). If this amendment, the Meech Lake Accord, had passed, it would have changed the relationship between Indigenous Nations and the Canadian Government (Duhamel 2019; "Canadian Aboriginals Stop a Constitutional Amendment (Meech Lake Accord), 1990 | Global Nonviolent Action Database" n.d.). Indigenous leaders often carry an eagle feather when they present themselves, to represent the connection between the spiritual and concrete worlds (Duhamel 2019). When used by politicians or government officials, the feather can be seen as a

statement on good governance, or good relations between the spirit world and the concrete world (Duhamel 2019).

The eagle feather on the right is more than simply a feather. With its base encased in beadwork and leather, and color shooting up the center, the feather truly is striking. The contrast between the two feathers is clear. Seeing the feathers together, above a red backdrop, in an exhibit that clearly shows the strength and resiliency of the Indigenous peoples of this area, is a powerful experience. The exhibit case is intentionally minimalist, forcing viewers to engage with the feathers and their stories (Duhamel 2019).

Elder Clarence Nepinak loaned this feather to the museum. In the exhibit, he explains; "This feather is a ceremonial feather used to connect the spiritual and physical world" (Exhibit Text). Elder Nepinak and his wife Barbara Nepinak (both Mina'igo-ziibiing (Pine Creek) First Nation) have been involved with advising the museum for years, serving as members of the Standing Indigenous Advisory Council and working closely with Karine Duhamel (Manitoba First Nations Education Resource Centre 2009; Lamontagne 2014, 16; Duhamel 2019). Elder Clarence Nepinak has used, and still uses, this feather in ceremony (Duhamel 2019).

Elder Nepinak engaged in deep collaboration with the exhibit, allowing the museum to host the feather in the exhibit with some special accommodations. Nepinak and museum staff worked more closely together than is typical for a collaborative exhibit. Because the feather is spiritually alive, the case that would house the feather for display needed to be specially made so that the spirit of the feather could breathe. When Elder Nepinak made this request, Curator for Indigenous Content Dr. Duhamel made it clear that "if we can't accommodate this request…I will not ask him to lend us this [feather]" (Duhamel 2019). Dr. Duhamel worked with the exhibit design team to ensure that this would be possible *before* going forward with the loan of the feather. The cases typically used are hermetically sealed, airtight, so that the objects inside are more thoroughly protected (Duhamel 2019). The exhibit design team was able to modify the case by

removing the dampers which create the airtight seal, so that the feather would have airflow, and the feather was able to be exhibited (Duhamel 2019).

I use the story of Elder Nepinak's feather to illustrate some of my findings. The collaboration that allowed this feather to be included in this exhibit is an example of the community-based collaboration Duhamel employs. The *Indian Act* exhibit was created "100% in partnership" with a subcommittee of the Standing Indigenous Advisory Council; "we wrote the text together, we picked the photos together, we chose the artifacts together" (Duhamel 2019). Dr. Duhamel and Elder Nepinak even went on the radio to promote the exhibit (Duhamel 2019). Contrary to many openings at the museum, the public reception to the *Indian Act* exhibit was overwhelmingly positive (Duhamel 2019). Due to the level of collaboration, I argue that this exhibit can be considered an example of community-curation and deep collaboration. Despite these advances in decolonizing museology, the *Indian Act* exhibit has since been taken down, as that exhibit space rotates annually. Permanent gallery content does not focus on the Indian Act, and plans to install a permanent exhibit about the Act have been stalled (Duhamel 2020). The Indian Act, passed in 1876, has encroached on the rights of the Inuit, Métis, and First Nations peoples for almost 150 years.

CMHR Controversies

Shoal Lake 40 First Nation Controversy

The Canadian Museum for Human Rights has been criticized for not incorporating content on current human rights violations of Indigenous communities. The most publicized example of this is the community of Shoal Lake 40 First Nation's decades-long span in which they lacked clean water access, and 100-year-long span in which they lacked access to the mainland, which was only remedied in 2019. While there is now a relationship between the Shoal Lake 40 community and staff members at the CMHR, there is still no physical content at the museum to educate the public on this hardship.

Exhibit development is a lengthy process, especially when working with partners outside of the museum. This timeline can be frustrating to the museum and their partners, but taking the time to "get it right" is crucial to accurate and meaningful exhibits (Conaty 2003, 234). The process of working with partners is a "key product in collaborative projects" (Karp and Kratz 2015, 286). While more stories like the rights violations facing Shoal Lake 40 need to be included in order to present a broader picture of Indigenous human rights in Canada, the museum cannot work faster than the community. In this way, the CMHR is embracing what Raymond Silverman calls "slow museology" which promotes the values collaborative and sustainable relationships, no matter how lengthy (2015, 12-14).

The controversy surrounding the Canadian Museum for Human Rights and Shoal Lake 40 centers around the First Nation's extraordinary use of the CMHR's opening to bring attention to their ongoing hardships. Ultimately, the community of Shoal Lake 40's resourcefulness benefitted them by increasing awareness to their struggles, possibly contributing to the building of Freedom Road. The museum benefitted from this controversy as well through forming a relationship with Shoal Lake 40 community members. This will hopefully lead to CMHR content that can educate visitors on the hardships placed upon the First Nation for Winnipeg's drinking water. Of course, the CMHR cannot exhibit on every human rights issue in Canada. However, because of this unique relationship, Shoal Lake 40's story will hopefully be shared with museum visitors.

Museums are imperfect institutions which exist in a complex and fluctuating society. "[W]e must reimagine the museum as an ever-shifting array of actors who participate in networks that extend beyond its physical boundaries" (Phillips 2011, 316). Controversies like this can arise through no fault of the museum itself. Because of this, there is an "ongoing need to re-form (and reform)" relationships, stances, and content (Phillips 2011, 316). Instead of framing controversies as failures of institutions, they can be opportunities for growth. In this example, the CMHR has engaged in growth through listening to the community of Shoal Lake 40 and being open to a

relationship with them. There is not yet physical content at the CMHR which educates visitors on the community's struggles, but this is not because of the museum. The fundamentally processual relationship between the museum and the community of Shoal Lake 40 is equally, if not more important than museum content which may come from this relationship (Silverman 2015, 2).

This is not a short-term relationship. CMHR staff such as Dr. Duhamel are committed to working with Shoal Lake 40 community members at a point in time that works for the community, which may be years in the future. "[C]ollaboration takes time and all involved are likely to change in the process" (Karp and Kratz 2015, 286). While creating CMHR content to share Shoal Lake 40's story is important, the process of working with the community is more important, and the museum will likely grow from this experience.

An important part of respecting and honoring relationships with collaborators is working at their pace. At the CMHR, this is exemplified by the museum's relationship with Shoal Lake 40 First Nation. The two groups collaborated on an exhibit about the human rights violations at Shoal Lake, but the project was put on hold due to the newly finished Freedom Road at Shoal Lake (Duhamel 2019). As Dr. Duhamel says, this is part of the long-term process of community collaboration; in many cases, the progress is very slow, and the museum has to adjust their timeline to fit the community's needs (Duhamel 2019). Committing to this key principle of "slow museology" is preserving this relationship (Silverman 2015, 12-14). The CMHR is proceeding in terms of their relationship with the Shoal Lake 40 community.

Genocide Controversy

The controversy over the CMHR's perceived reluctance to label the colonist treatment of the Indigenous peoples of Canada as "genocide" started before the museum even opened. Ever since, this has been a contentious and highly publicized topic. In 2019 the museum added content to directly link "genocide" to the atrocities which have faced the Indigenous peoples of Canada. However, most inaugural content of the museum has not been changed, leaving much of the ongoing centuries-long struggle between the settler-colonial state of Canada and the

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Indigenous peoples of Canada left out of the museum's content. In North America, Indigenous

peoples have very little representation in politics and media, often rendering them "invisible" on

their own land (Shannon 2014, 181). Museum representation is one platform where Indigenous

people are not invisible. An accurate representation of the Indigenous experience with settler

colonialism in the last 500+ years would of course include content on genocide. Telling the entire

story of this relationship is crucial to truthfully representing the experiences of Indigenous

peoples.

Former CMHR curator Tricia Logan (Métis) was frustrated with the treatment of

Indigenous issues at the museum, stating:

> I was consistently reminded that every mention of state-perpetrated atrocity
> against Indigenous peoples in Canada must be matched with a "balanced"
> statement that indicates reconciliation, apology or compensation provided by the
> government (Logan in Robertson 2019,164).

As Kristy Robertson notes, this type of "balancing" atrocities with reconciliation can be extremely

harmful in that it fails to communicate to visitors how far-reaching the trauma from these atrocities

is on Indigenous communities and individuals. Downplaying ongoing suffering of Indigenous

people such as the disproportionately large number of Indigenous children in foster care, or the

ongoing crisis of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, further perpetuates the

narrative that reconciliation is not necessary, and downplays Indigenous resilience (Robertson

2019, 164).

The Canadian Museum for Human Rights has content throughout the museum which

exposes the hardships and human rights violations that Indigenous peoples have faced at the

hands of European colonizers. The museum even has content which implicates Canada in these

crimes, such as the residential school content, the *Indian Act* exhibit, and exhibit content about

Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. What the Canadian Museum for Human

Rights does not have is content showing the larger picture of the violence and oppression that

has been and continues to be inflicted on Inuit, Métis, and First Nations peoples throughout what

is now Canada. Identifying this violence and oppression as genocide is absolutely important, but it is only the beginning. In order to more fully and accurately represent Indigenous rights in Canada, the CMHR would need to include more content that engages with the hard truths of settler-colonialism, both past and present.

As a federal museum dedicated to educating the public on human rights issues, the Canadian Museum for Human Rights is an influential vehicle for the Canadian government to acknowledge the genocidal impact of European colonization and identify its residual effects today. By fully involving Indigenous peoples in their own representation, the CMHR can mediate a public dialogue which will effect a lasting change. Avoiding the issue of Canadian genocide as a "debate that is still playing out" undermines the centuries of violence and oppression still being felt by Indigenous peoples (Fitzhenry in Robertson 2019, 165). Scholars such as Fitzhenry and Robertson suggest that the CMHR's resistance to acknowledging the extent of the human rights abuses of Indigenous peoples perpetuates the status quo of settler-colonial states. Exhibiting instances of state-perpetrated atrocities is undoubtedly important, but portraying them as "discrete, discontinuous episodes" rather than an ongoing, centuries-long genocide, perpetuates false, harmful notions of Indigenous experiences in Canada (Logan in Robertson 2019, 164-165).

Mi'kmaq lawyer Pam Palmater stated, "you shouldn't be able to walk two feet into that museum without first seeing an exhibit on genocide" (Palmater in Monkman n.d.). "They need to be public about it. They need to be loud about it," she said (Palmater in Monkman n.d.). This is the direction Western museums should be headed – including more large-scale content on the hard truths of settler colonialism (Lonetree 2012). The criticism that the museum has received illustrates that this topic cannot be taken lightly, especially for a museum dedicated to human rights.

The Canadian Museum for Human Rights is not the first decolonizing institution to be criticized for their lack of representation of settler-colonial genocide. The National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) is a unique museum presenting Indigenous resilience and survivance in

North America. While NMAI utilized decolonizing museology and extensive community collaboration while creating their exhibits, they have also been criticized by Native scholars for failing to "highlight the colonial encounter and genocide in the Americas" (Shannon 2014, 170; Lonetree 2012, 26). The CMHR's inaugural content can be said to present a similar stance, although the museum is steadily changing their content to tell that larger story. In order to effectively practice decolonizing museology and incorporate Indigenous practices, they must not only represent Indigenous resilience and survivance, but represent the difficult truths of hardships and atrocities inflicted upon Indigenous peoples by Western settlers (Lonetree 2012, 174). A truthful representation of Indigenous pasts and presents benefits not only the general public, but Indigenous communities themselves (Lonetree 2012, 174). While inaugural content at the CMHR does not represent the entire story of North American genocide, the museum is adding new content to fill in these gaps, and tell the hard truths of settler colonialism.

Rights of Passage Exhibition

The process of creating the *Defending Sovereignty* section of the *Rights of Passage* exhibition was unique. Serkoak and Gabriel's stories do not reflect positively on the Canadian state, yet they were exhibited in a federal Canadian museum, alongside stories about the country's accomplishments in an exhibit designed to memorialize the country's sesquicentennial. This exhibition presented Indigenous rights violations as shared history, rather than simply an "Indigenous problem".

> …national museums have a long and checkered history of exhibiting stories in service of an idealized notion of "nation" – one that often excludes Indigenous Peoples and reduces the presence and importance of First Nations, Metis and Inuit. As such, the inclusion of stories that challenge the foundation of the Canadian state as a whole, such as David's story, is **part of the CMHR's larger decolonizing methodology that includes community collaboration, the prioritization of Indigenous perspectives and voices, and the sharing of Indigenous rights violations as a shared history that is important for all Canadians** (Duhamel and Bernauer 2018, 64).

The fact that this exhibit was presented in such a way illustrates the museum's willingness to listen to the community and present different perspectives of the same topic. Indigenous

collaborators David Serkoak and Ellen Gabriel, among others, were very involved with the focus

of the content, and loaned artifacts and pictures to be used in the exhibit. Their personal stories

drove the content.

> [*Defending Sovereignty*] was really different because not only was it oral history
>
> based, but the oral histories drove the content. And that was a huge shift. So
>
> people told us their stories, but they also approved the final cut of their film. They
>
> also contributed their own photos and their own artifacts.
>
>
>
> And it took a long time. We started working on this in 2016 it came out in late
>
> 2017. And that was quick for that process because it had to come out in 2017. It
>
> was a really great thing, I think ultimately. And it caused some really good
>
> reviews from people who had been super critical of the museum in the past
>
> (Duhamel 2019).

This exhibit was created with more personal collaboration from partners including Serkoak and

Gabriel than any other Indigenous-focused exhibit at the CMHR had been. This involved a

significant investment of time and resources from the museum and the partners, further

exemplifying the museum's openness to slow museology (Silverman 2015). Because of this

investment, the processes of creating the exhibit, and the final product, were incredibly

relationship-based, personal, and moving.

Through Duhamel's process of deep collaboration, the stories, objects, and pictures

exhibited came straight from her collaborators. In this study, use the term "deep collaboration"

following Karine Duhamel's use of the term during an interview:

> It was that **deep collaboration that was really what drove the content and**
>
> **every single person chose their artifacts.** We didn't borrow from any
>
> institutions. It was really important to me not to do that. Because, with the
>
> exception of a few, it's very hard to figure out where the stuff came from and if

they should even have it. **So we borrowed directly from the people. We got photos directly from the people or we licensed them with the people's approval. The individuals that worked with me drove their own stories. They sometimes worked with their own communities and then would come back to me.** But it was a significant investment of time and resources and I think more than we've done before (Duhamel 2019).

Duhamel's choice not to borrow artifacts from other museums upholds an ethical standard for her exhibits. Many museum collections were unethically sourced, especially Indigenous artifacts. Amy Lonetree has discussed the special significance of Indigenous artifacts, and their place within museums.

> Objects in museums are living entities. They embody layers of meaning, and they are deeply connected to the past, present, and future of Indigenous communities. Every engagement with objects in museum cases or in collection rooms should begin with this core recognition. We are not just looking at interesting pieces. In the presence of objects from the past, we are privileged to stand as witnesses to living entities that remain intimately and inextricably tied to their descendant communities (Lonetree 2012, xv).

Community-sourced objects add deeper meaning to exhibits. Duhamel's exhibition methods were respectful to her participants and Indigenous people who have been wronged by museums. This decision is decolonization in practice – a quiet yet powerful rejection of the norm in many museums, which is to look past the story of how museums came to be filled with Indigenous artifacts (Shannon 2014). These community-sourced artifacts allow the public to be more intimately connected with the stories and people being represented.

Although the *Rights of Passage* exhibition exemplifies appropriate practice and privileging Indigenous perspectives, the museum as a whole is not there yet. While CMHR staff worked with Ellen Gabriel (Kanien'keha:ka) to present her perspective of the Oka Crisis or Siege of Kanehsatà:ke, the museum has also avoided showing more violent scenes from this conflict outside of the *Rights of Passage* exhibition – electing to exhibit peaceful protestors with signs, rather than images of protestors running from tear gas or being faced with violent arrests

(Robertson 2019, 168). While the CMHR engages in activism to a certain extent, it is clear that there are lines the museum has not yet crossed (Robertson 2019, 168-169). Museums have become more wary of presenting controversial exhibits (Phillips 2011). The Canadian Museum for Human Rights does not model appropriate practice in all of its content, but the museum does utilize appropriate practice and decolonizing museology in other aspects of their work. With the inclusion of firsthand accounts of colonial violence and genocide in an exhibit designed to commemorate Canada, the Canadian Museum for Human Rights is not shying away from controversial topics.

The co-curation exhibited in the process of creating this exhibit can be used as a model for other museums and cultural institutions. However, there are significant drawbacks to this method that must be acknowledged. This process requires a significant investment of time and energy from all parties. Collaborators need to be willing to contribute more of their time and energy than necessary with more traditional exhibition processes, and the museum and its staff need to be willing to do the same. Despite these challenges, this type of museology builds exhibits for everyone involved.

> [T]he purpose of community-based exhibitions is not always about the visitor. The stories told in community-based exhibitions, especially those from historically oppressed and marginalized communities may be unexpected and uncomfortable for a museum and its typical audience (Ferreira 2020, 144).

This discomfort can be new for institutions and visitors from the dominant culture. However, what matters is the community represented in the exhibit, and that communities which have been silenced are able to see themselves in museum content.

Decolonizing practices center around "interpersonal relationships and institutional commitments" which museum staff create and maintain (Shannon 2014, 192). One way the CMHR does this is through curators asking community collaborators "what do you want out of this?" and committing to building the exhibit around their answer. In this type of museology, Duhamel is practicing the community-based model of collaboration, and the community curating

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model performed at the NMAI (Phillips 2003, 163; Shannon 2014). In these models, museum staff act as facilitators for community members so that their perspectives drive content, instead of curators driving content (Phillips 2003, 163; Shannon 2014). This model of curation results in more engaged, appropriate exhibits, and builds relationships between institutions and community members.

"The identities of Native peoples in the United States have been circumscribed and litigated by the people in power since before the country was founded" (Shannon2014, xi). The same can be said for Indigenous peoples in Canada. Through exhibits like these, Indigenous people are able to reclaim their own representation and exhibit their own identities to the public. The collaboration seen in the development of the *Rights of Passage* exhibition is rooted in the lived experiences of the museum's Indigenous partners and co-curators, and can serve as a model for decolonizing museology.

Museology at the CMHR

The Canadian Museum for Human Rights utilizes appropriate museology in their representation of Indigenous rights through deep collaboration with Indigenous partners, and valuing and investing in their relationships with these partners. Through exhibits, programming, and advising, the CMHR collaborates with Indigenous peoples who want their stories to be told through the museum platform. The museum's Standing Indigenous Advisory Board members are made up of people who are not experts in museology or best practices; they are Inuit, Métis, and First Nations people who advise the museum on how to appropriately represent Indigenous rights from their standpoints. Practicing appropriate museology allows museum staff to more flexibly follow the council of their advisors who come from outside of the museum realm.

Appropriate practice is beginning to define museology at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights. While there are many elements to the museum which have not been held to this standard, staff members at the CMHR are working to right these wrongs. The museum did not

take into consideration the water rights of the Shoal Lake 40 community until it was forced to do so, even while a Garden of Contemplation, filled with the First Nation's water, sits in the middle of the museum (Shoal Lake 40, 2014). However, the relationship formed between the community and museum staff shows a willingness to learn, connect, and change to meet the needs of their audiences. There is still no permanent exhibit on the Indian Act – the most influential piece of legislation for First Nations peoples. However, Dr. Duhamel created a temporary exhibit on the Act and is acutely aware of the importance of educating the public on the legislation, as an Anishinaabe and Métis scholar. The institution is not a perfect example of appropriate museology, but this does not negate the power of this practice and what has come out of it.

By providing an alternative approach from the standardized, Western method of best practices, appropriate practice is "part of the on-going effort to decolonize international museum development and heritage work" (Kreps 2020, 200). Working toward the goals of reducing bias in museum exhibits, ensuring the process of museum work is appropriate and beneficial for all parties involved, and ensuring all ethical standards are followed are steps toward decolonization which must be taken to make museums more equitable places for everyone.

Deep Collaboration

The idea of "deep collaboration" is not a new one; it has been used in various disciplines to describe different types of collaboration. In this context, I use the term to describe the in-depth processes by which collaboration with Indigenous partners informs most, if not all, of their practices. Much of this Indigenous collaboration comes from the museum's Standing Indigenous Advisory Committee (SIAC), a group consisting of Inuit, Métis, and First Nations members who advise the museum on everything from exhibit content to hiring practices.

The museum collaborates with community partners to create many other aspects of the museum, not just exhibits. The museum invites Indigenous community members into the space to facilitate culturally appropriate talks, namely tours and introductions. In partnership with "a group of seven Elders representing Anishinaabe, Cree and Dakota nations," the museum has

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introduced Mikinak-Keya (The Spirit Tour) (CMHR 2014). Before events and programs, the museum invites local Treaty One elders into the museum to welcome people into the space because, as Vice President Dr. Clint Curle stated, it is "not the museum's role to welcome visitors to the land" (Curle 2019).

Dr. Clint Curle believes one of the CMHR's most important decolonizing practices is the inclusion of the Standing Indigenous Advisory Council (SIAC) (Curle 2019). The Standing Indigenous Advisory Council is an advisory group formed by the Canadian Museum for Human Rights to "ensure that a range of Indigenous perspectives inform all aspects of the Museum's work" (CMHR (5) n.d.). This group includes Inuit, Métis, and First Nations members, representing the three groups of Indigenous peoples of Canada (Curle 2019). SIAC meets quarterly, with subcommittees meeting more frequently as needed (CMHR (5) n.d.; Duhamel 2019). Council members are compensated $500 per meeting, and their travel expenses are covered by the CMHR (CMHR (5) n.d.). SIAC members advise the CMHR on issues such as:

> corporate policy, exhibit content, curatorial processes, audience testing and evaluation, art, learning and programming, visitor services, public engagement, communications, human resources, museum operations, and ceremony (CMHR (5) n.d.).

CMHR Vice President Clint Curle described SIAC's advising as independent and unpredictable (Curle 2019). The council's advice can be difficult for the museum to implement, requiring the museum to not only change what they do, but how they do it (Curle 2019). While the council advises on a wide variety of museum aspects, SIAC counselors do not have final decision-making authority, leaving decisions to the staff (CMHR (5) n.d.).

Notably, even the physical architecture of the building has been altered due to collaboration (Curle 2019). The museum consulted SIAC about the design of the building before its approval, resulting in "the only change that the architect ever agreed to in the entire history of the project" (Curle 2019). Members of SIAC specifically requested a dedicated place for ceremony that would be set apart and could be used for smudging. Known as the Ceremonial

Terrace, this space is the only outdoor access available in a gallery space. The terrace is

immediately outside of the *Indigenous Perspectives* gallery, allowing for ceremony and smudging

immediately adjacent to the Indigenous content. The terrace faces The Forks, the meeting of the

Red and the Assiniboine Rivers, an extremely important area for local Treaty One tribes. Tobacco

and sweetgrass grow in planters. These plants are important to many Indigenous groups in

Canada, especially Treaty 1 Nations. The terrace is covered but open to the outside, which allows

smudging and smoke cleansing to be possible at any time. In addition, the museum has a

protocol for indoor smudging (Curle 2019). With 48 hours' notice, the CMHR is able to modify

their fire safety procedures in order to accommodate indoor smudging ceremonies (Curle 2019).

When asked about lessons learned from previous projects, CMHR Director of Research

and Head Curator (name withheld) responded:

> One thing that we've talked about that we're going to do a better job of moving
>
> forward is familiarizing the communities that we work with, with how exhibits are
>
> developed. So, a little bit of onboarding, like a Museum Work 101.
>
> I think that will help the entire process. When we are working with a community
>
> group or a group of stakeholders, they are often not familiar with the basics of
>
> museum work. Obviously; they don't work in museums.
>
> We wouldn't expect them to be experts. So even questions like, "why is it
>
> that any artifacts that we want to display, we have to have in-house six months
>
> ahead of time?" you know, because there's a process of quarantine and
>
> mounting and preservation and building casework. All of these things that they
>
> might not know. And so people ask, "well, why can't I send you something a
>
> month before it was supposed to open?"

That's just one small example. But I think we can really do a better job of

explaining why it is we do things in a certain way, particularly when it comes to

deadlines (Director of Research and Head Curator 2019).

Museum work, like any profession, involves a specialized skill set, which people outside of the

profession are unlikely to possess. Creating an onboarding process for collaborators shows the

museum's dedication to working with community partners. This is an investment in deep

collaboration.

Building enduring relationships with community partners requires time and energy. Giving

long-term partners a "Museum Work 101" helps both parties; this is one way that the museum

can "demonstrate the commitment that we [CMHR staff] have to sharing stories and perspectives

from their [community partners'] points of view" (Director of Research and Head Curator 2019).

Relationship-building has been central to the CMHR's representation of Indigenous human rights.

Maintaining synergistic engagements with collaborators is no small task for museum staff

or community partners. This type of museology requires extensive time and energy from all

parties, and necessitates meaningful relationships. However, out of this effort comes a museum

which is far more impactful. Becoming involved with collaborators on this level is about more than

creating informed exhibits; it is about putting down roots in the community and building

relationships which are larger than a museum display. Despite these strides, as Lonetree

stresses, "We must not allow these narratives of collaboration to become too tidy or celebratory,

or we could become complacent" (Lonetree 2012, 22). While these advancements in

collaboration are commendable, there is always the need to continue this work and take steps

toward decolonization.

Investment in Relationships with Indigenous Partners

A similar, yet distinct theme that also comes into play at the CMHR is their investment in

relationships with Indigenous community partners. This theme can be seen again and again in

how the museum works with their Indigenous community partners. During my interviews, several

staff members expressed to me how the museum has worked at their relationships with Indigenous peoples, knowing full well the exploitative history between Indigenous peoples and museums. This investment in creating and maintaining good relations is shown in numerous aspects of the CMHR's work, such as trusting and following Indigenous council, working at the pace of the community, merging Western and Indigenous practices, etc. At the end of the day, as one staff member said, "stakeholder relations are above all else" (Interpretive Program Developer 2019).

Because museum staff members invest so much time and energy into relationships with Indigenous collaborators, projects are dependent on that relationship. When staff members go on hiatus or leave the museum, projects can be put on hold indefinitely. Dr. Duhamel described how she invested significant time and energy into her relationships with the members of the Standing Indigenous Advisory Council. The position of Curator for Indigenous Content changed repeatedly in the few years before Duhamel accepted the position in 2016. She explains that "it took a long time to cultivate trust" with SIAC members (Duhamel 2019). This trust is important for both sides of this relationship. When Duhamel went on leave in 2018 in order to work on the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, management intended to temporarily replace her, but ultimately put her projects on hold due to the importance of her relationship with her collaborators. Similarly, when one of the museum's Vice Presidents left the museum, it was difficult to continue their projects, because staff members' work is very "relationship based" (Duhamel 2019).

As an idea-based museum, the CMHR started out with no artifacts and has been carefully growing them. This is a benefit – "starting from scratch" has allowed them to be careful as to what the museum acquires. According to the staff member I spoke with, most Indigenous-related artifacts are loaned to the museum, and are carefully sourced from community members or other like-minded organizations (Bidzinski 2019). The fact that the CMHR has the opportunity to build their collections from nothing is a wonderful yet rare opportunity for museums. Many, if

not most museums have collections spaces filled with stolen or otherwise unethically acquired artifacts, often acquired from marginalized communities (Lonetree 2012). Although repatriating museum objects to their rightful present-day owners is becoming more and more expected, museums still house countless sacred Indigenous objects and human remains (Lonetree 2012; Colwell 2017).

According to Clint Curle, the lack of a problematic collection at the CMHR has made Indigenous collaborators more willing to trust CMHR staff (Curle 2019). Other museums and cultural institutions with problematic collections need to present other reasons why they are trustworthy institutions, such as a commitment to decolonizing work or relationships with Indigenous partners. While the CMHR is taking advantage of the benefit of being such a new museum, most museums do not have this opportunity. The CMHR's practice of only working with like-minded institutions or collaborators as far as collections and loans is a product of a commitment to ethics, and an understanding of the harm that museums have caused and can cause Indigenous peoples.

A major difference in collections between the CMHR and most other large museums is that the CMHR does not have a repatriation policy (Bidzinski 2019). The Canadian Museum for Human Rights does not have the collections of a typical museum, as it is idea-based rather than object-based, and only opened in 2014. Their collections consist mostly of oral histories, with some artifacts and artwork acquired purposefully. With this type of collection, they are not planning to need a repatriation policy (Bidzinski 2019). This intention is excellent, and reflects the museum's commitment to human rights through only acquiring collections ethically. However, this can also be a slippery slope. This decision puts an enormous amount of trust in their collections policies, as well as in their staff members to respectfully return any collections if there ever was a repatriation request. Accountability in museums is crucial in ensuring institutions maintain a just ethical standard. In the 21st century, "contemporary museum ethics reimagines the responsibilities to collections in museums" from "a state of possession" to a relationship based on

guardianship" (Marstine 2011, 17). This seems to be the goal of the Canadian Museum for Human Rights – to act as stewards of collections, rather than owners.

Cultural Safety

When exhibiting Indigenous themes in a Western museum setting, the element of cultural safety is important. Cultural safety is based on the concept that not all knowledge needs to be made public, and some content should not be exhibited so as to maintain privacy. This is a form of ethnographic refusal, in which Indigenous peoples purposefully withhold information, primarily from anthropologists, in order to protect themselves (Simpson 2007; Risling Baldy 2018). Indigenous peoples have been practicing ethnographic refusal for hundreds of years, "creating and controlling the space in which ethnographers could operate" (Risling Baldy 2018, 116). This practice is continued in the museum setting.

Sacred medicines including tobacco, sage, and sweetgrass were incorporated into the physical display of *Defending Sovereignty (past and present)*, the portion of the *Rights of Passage* exhibition with a strong Indigenous focus (Duhamel 2019). Some of these medicines were visible to the public, while others were not (Duhamel 2019). The exhibit shared extremely difficult, emotional stories of rights violations faced by Indigenous people. The sacred medicines were included in order to present the exhibit in a good way. While Indigenous visitors would understand the significance of the medicines, non-Indigenous visitors would not necessarily understand. Members of the exhibit team suggested creating exhibit material to explain the use of the medicines. Duhamel disagreed:

> I said "no." Those elements were like **cultural safety elements** for me, that were **relevant to Indigenous peoples, but did not necessarily always need to be explained to the public**. I think sometimes we do need to explain things to the public, but I think that sometimes when we are creating things for Indigenous peoples, if an Indigenous person walks into the space or somebody from my community walks into the space, they're not going to ask why there's sweetgrass

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braids there, they're going to know. There were some decisions that were made

curatorially not to deconstruct the meaning of sage as a sacred medicine,

because it's not possible to do that in 25 words to convey that meaning

(Duhamel 2019).

Cultural safety is an aspect of museology which is crucial, yet easy for non-Indigenous people to overlook. While the purpose of exhibits is to educate, not every element needs to be explained to the public. The significance of these medicines are for the Indigenous people who created the exhibit, and the Indigenous visitors who recognize them. Therefore, they did not need to be explained to the general public. This exhibit was able to be set up ceremoniously and respectfully without needing to explain the use of sacred medicines.

During my first visit to the CMHR, I noticed an unusual element between the *What Are Human Rights?* and *Indigenous Perspectives* galleries. Sitting nestled in between displays for the *Indian Act* exhibit, was a tobacco station. The station consisted of two covered wooden containers, both containing tobacco, and instructions. The instructions briefly mention the sacred status of tobacco, the use of tobacco to pay respect to a sacred feather in the adjacent case, and how to transfer the tobacco in order to pay respect.

"Tobacco, a sacred medicine, is offered to those who would like to pay respect to the beaded feather, which is still used ceremoniously. Should you wish to pay respects:

1. Gather a pinch of tobacco from the counter on the left.

2. Place it in the container on the right" (CMHR Exhibit Text).

Figure 10: Tobacco Station alongside the *Indian Act* Exhibit (Dillard 2019)

As a non-Indigenous person, during my first visit to the museum, I saw the tobacco station and was a bit puzzled. What is the purpose of the station? Is it alright for me to participate? Was this set up by an Indigenous person, or is it a non-Indigenous attempt to welcome in Indigenous people?

After talking with Dr. Duhamel about the station, I understood. The tobacco station is meant to provide those who want to pay respect a way to do so. The hopes for the station are that it will primarily be used by Indigenous people, but does not exclude non-Indigenous people from paying respect either (Duhamel 2019). However, this leaves room for non-Indigenous

visitors to partake in an Indigenous ceremonial practice without understanding, and grow comfortable with surface-level Indigenous culture without digging any deeper.

Despite this, the priority is that Indigenous people are able to pay respect to the sacred feather. Non-Indigenous people are not the priority, nor is it a priority to explain the significance of tobacco or the feather. Museums are dedicated to public education and engagement, but not every element has to be for everyone. Assuming that I should have been able to understand the station, or thinking that the plaque should have told me more, is a product of being a member of the dominant culture group. I am used to being the primary audience served, especially in museums. This tobacco station, however, is not for me, and that is okay. Some visitors might be uncomfortable with elements such as the tobacco station, and that is okay. Some museum staff might be uncomfortable with making some visitors uncomfortable, and that is okay too. Learning to be comfortable with this discomfort is a step toward museums serving a broader audience (Ferreira 2020, 144; Sandell 2017).

Merging Western and Indigenous Practices

Globally, Indigenous peoples are exerting more and more control over how their cultures are represented (Kreps 2006, 468). In this process, Western museological practices are being "transformed to accommodate diverse perspectives and interests" (Kreps 2006, 468). New museological practices are being created. A major aspect of the CMHR's investment in their relationships with Indigenous collaborators and partners is the merging of Western and Indigenous museological practices. Through following the advice of and working closely with the members of the Standing Indigenous Advisory Council, the museum staff has had to merge Western and Indigenous practices. Additionally, in working with Indigenous peoples in collections and exhibits, the museum has merged some Western and Indigenous ways of going about museum work.

Heather Bidzinski, former Head of Collections, worked with Indigenous partners to create new, appropriate agreements for their specific circumstances. They modified the loan agreements

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to meet the needs of the individual donors and/or individual pieces which require special treatment and care. Below are four different examples of this process at the CMHR.

Canadian Museum for Human Rights staff collaborated with Ellen Gabriel (Katsi'tsakwas, Turtle Clan), who provided an oral history to the museum for the Rights of Passage exhibition. Staff members worked with her to adjust the consent process in order to fit her needs. The unique collections agreement allows her more control of her oral history than a standard collections agreement, and continues seven generations forward, ensuring that the agreement continues on with Gabriel's relatives. This agreement is based on a continuing relationship between Gabriel and the CMHR, and necessitated first having institutional support of doing things differently, due to the length of time agreed upon. In addition, the agreement ensures Gabriel's wishes will be carried out even after her collaboration with the museum is over. Creating new and appropriate agreements allows the CMHR to work with people who cannot or will not accept a more standard collections agreement, which generally places the care of the collections piece solely in the hands of the museum. The key to unlocking this method of collaboration is the willingness of an organization to stray from standard Western museological practices when appropriate.

The CMHR was gifted a sacred pipe and drum by members of Treaty 3 (Ojibwe First Nations) people (Bidzinski 2019). The two sacred objects were put under the care of the former Head of Collections, who is non-Indigenous but eagerly learning how to perform the role of a caretaker when I spoke with her in 2019. The role of caretaker was explained by the donors, and involve learning offerings for the objects, among other duties (Bidzinski 2019). Because the pipe and drum are Treaty 3 objects, they are cared for using only Treaty 3 ceremonies. The proper care of these sacred objects is outside of the job description of most collections' staff, but a wonderful thing for an institution to be able to do – properly care for sacred objects which are gifted to them.

Another item which required specific paperwork is Elder Clarence Nepinak's feather, which he loaned to the museum for the temporary *Indian Act* exhibit. The loan agreement was

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adjusted to include the needs of the feather, including never housing the feather in sealed cases so that it can breathe, and using terms like "lodging" instead of "museum case" to denote the spiritually alive status of the feather, versus a non-spiritual object (Duhamel 2019). Because the museum was able to meet these needs, the feather was able to be displayed.

Finally, the CMHR houses an extremely special artifact, the Witness Blanket, which came about from a project by artist Carey Newman or Hayalthkin'geme (Kwakwaka'wakw, Coast Salish, and Euro-Canadian settler ancestry). The Witness Blanket is a 12-meter-long art piece in the style of a blanket, which includes "hundreds of items collected from residential schools across Canada, everything from bricks, photos and letters to hockey skates, dolls and braids" (Duhamel 2019; CBC Books 2020). Newman's father is a survivor of the Indian Residential School System in Canada, meaning that the project is personal for him (CBC Books 2020).

> The blanket is a universal symbol of protection. For many of us, it identifies who we are and where we're from – we wear them in ceremony and give them as gifts. Blankets protect our young and comfort our elders.
>
> Inspired by a woven blanket, we have created a large-scale art installation, made out of hundreds of items reclaimed from Residential Schools, churches, government buildings and traditional and cultural structures including Friendship Centres, band offices, treatment centres and universities, from across Canada. The Witness Blanket stands as a national monument to recognize the atrocities of the Indian Residential School era, honour the children, and symbolise ongoing reconciliation (Witness Blanket 2015).

The Witness Blanket is an incredibly emotional and significant art piece. The items which make up the Blanket are mementos to the children forced into the residential school system (Witness Blanket 2015). Through the creation of this enormous work of art, Newman has continued the work of reconciliation and healing.

Because the Blanket is such a unique art piece, it necessitated a unique collections agreement. Carey Newman and CMHR staff worked together to create an appropriate agreement for the Blanket. They settled on a stewardship agreement (Bidzinski 2019). Newman did not consider himself as the owner of the piece – he considers the residential school survivors as the owners – so he could not give the Witness Blanket to the museum (Bidzinski 2019). The

stewardship agreement reflects this, with long-term care for the Blanket shared between the CMHR, Newman – with a group taking over after his death – and survivors (Bidzinski 2019). The agreement consisted of two parts: a paper agreement for the CMHR, which includes a diagram of the Blanket, so as to not need to verbalize all of the elements of the Blanket; and an oral ceremony which took place on Newman's land (Bidzinski 2019).

The stewardship agreement stresses that dissemination of the Blanket's message is crucial, and stipulates that the CMHR will look after the Blanket for as long as is appropriate (Bidzinski 2019). Former CMHR Head of Collections Heather Bidzinski noted that the agreement incorporates Western and Indigenous law, and stressed how different of an agreement it is than usual (2019). The care of the Witness Blanket could not have been appropriately fit under a standard museum agreement. This unique relationship has been built between CMHR staff, Newman, and residential school survivors because the CMHR was willing to be flexible and meet the needs of Carey Newman and his project.

When museums are willing and able to provide resources such as funding, staff, space, and an audience, relationships like these can develop, which open up possibilities for both parties. Museums can become more deeply involved with collaborators and stakeholders, learn new ways to care for artifacts, and exhibit different types of work to the public. Collaborators can see their work cared for in an institution which has agreed to honor their wishes, and have their work reach a wide audience due to the museum's influence. Stakeholders such as the residential school survivors involved with the Witness Blanket can be involved as well, adding a deeper meaning to the project as a whole. This type of collaboration exemplifies the integration of Indigenous traditional care into a Western museum (Kreps 2006, 469).

Two of the staff members who worked closely with the Witness Blanket described their experiences with the Blanket to be "life-changing" (Duhamel 2019; Bidzinski 2019). These types of projects are not just impactful for outside collaborators, but also the museum staff and ultimately the museum visitor. Because these CMHR staff members have such a strong

relationship with the Witness Blanket, they are in a better position to create meaningful exhibits, programming, and other material focusing on the Blanket.

Not only can projects like this strengthen the trust that Indigenous collaborators have in the CMHR, they can also act as a step in the right direction – toward decolonizing museums and making museums a place where Indigenous people can see their stories and values reflected, rather than someone else's perspectives in the telling of their stories, or someone else's values in the care of Indigenous artifacts. Collaborations like these can serve as examples for other institutions to invest more time and energy into collaborations and partnerships.

Indigenizing practices at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights has gone beyond the inclusion collaborations with Indigenous partners. The formation and subsequent council of the Standing Indigenous Advisory Council sets the CMHR apart from other museums. The inclusion of an Indigenous council which advises not only on Indigenous topics at the museum, but all topics, is remarkable. Working with members of SIAC has involved non-Indigenous CMHR staff breaking away from traditional Western ways of professional meetings and relationships (Curle 2019). Heads of the museum have learned to become accustomed to having tea with Indigenous council members, as opposed to sitting in a conference room – meetings are based more in Indigenous oral tradition rather than a Western style. Due to their willingness to be flexible, CMHR staff have formed closer, more personal relationships with SIAC members than ordinary with non-Indigenous partners (Curle 2019).

> A cross-cultural approach to curation and cultural heritage management invariably entails viewing curatorial work as a continuing social process, and the acknowledgement of the social and cultural dimensions of people's relationships to objects. Curation is no longer just about taking care of objects. It is also about cultivating harmonious relationships directed toward redressing historical wrongs, and showing respect for diverse worldviews and belief systems as they pertain to people's perceptions of, and relations to, objects… Cross-culturally oriented approaches to curation are inherently about sharing curatorial authority and power, and making room for the inclusion of multiple forms of knowledge and expertise (Kreps 2006, 469).

Curation and collections work at the CMHR certainly seems to be "a continuing social process,"

showing the museum's blending of different forms of knowledge (Kreps 2006, 469). Caring for

collections in culturally appropriate ways demonstrates respect and trust. The Canadian Museum

for Human Rights' practices demonstrate their commitment to decolonizing museology and their

Indigenous partners.

Both SIAC council members and CMHR staff are expected to uphold the Seven Sacred

Teachings, which are foundational values of many Indigenous cultures (CMHR (5) n.d.; Duhamel

2019). The Seven Sacred Teachings are: love, respect, humility, truth, honesty, courage, and

wisdom (CMHR (5) n.d.). Basing professional ethics standards on Indigenous values is an

example of decolonizing museum practices.

> Indigenous-centred research methodologies require intent to formally involve the
> community that the research addresses in meaningful ways at each point of the
> process to enable the indigenous community to set research goals that align with
> its community-centred priorities (Grafton and Peristerakis 2016, 231).

The CMHR's decision to formally and meaningfully involve Indigenous community members as

advisors to ensure that there is Indigenous oversight on "all aspects of the Museum's work"

means that the museum is aware of the decolonizing changes which need to take place in

museums (CMHR (5) n.d.).

Analysis

In hearing stories about artists, collaborators, and survivors coming together within a

museum space, willing to share pieces of their story with museum staff and with a museum

audience, I see the way toward decolonization for museums. By seeking Indigenous participation

and project approval, and by meaningfully incorporating Indigenous perspectives, the Canadian

Museum for Human Rights (CMHR) is blazing new trails and setting an innovative example for

future museum practices. While they are not perfect, the CMHR is in the process of fully

incorporating decolonizing methodologies and appropriate practice.

The CMHR has been willing to portray the trauma inflicted by the Canadian state forcing Indigenous children to attend residential schools, but has done so while failing to demonstrate how widespread and enduring this trauma is (Robertson 2019, 162-163), and failing to connect the dots between the Indian Residential School system and the large-scale genocide inflicted on Inuit, Métis, and First Nations peoples. Additionally, the Canadian Museum for Human Rights has failed to "account for its own complicity" in perpetuating unequal human rights for Indigenous peoples (Robertson 2019, 166). The CMHR sits on Indigenous land, at a site that has been important to Indigenous peoples since time immemorial. As a federal museum, the CMHR is an extension of the Canadian government. Directly addressing and redressing these factors requires an in-depth, critical analysis of settler colonialism and its ongoing effects on Inuit, Métis, and First Nations peoples.

Canadian art historian and curator Ruth Phillips notes the paradox of national institutions' obligation to "inscribe in the nation's citizens a distinctive and shared identity" while "these collective constructs of national identity [whether British-imperial, Anglo-Canadian, bicultural, or multicultural] are inherently antithetical to Aboriginal affirmations of sovereignty" (Phillips in Robertson 2019, 167). Further, the museum has been criticized for an overly optimistic tone characterizing Indigenous-focused content, which sends the message that "in the past there were some mistakes [but] everything's fine now" (Busby in Levin 2016). By perpetuating a positive narrative of settler history, the CMHR undermines Indigenous experiences and sovereignty.

However, alongside this general narrative are exhibits which feature Indigenous world views and firsthand experiences. The Canadian Museum for Human Rights is a complex museum with layers of meaning inscribed in different exhibits. While one exhibit confronts the realities of the Canadian state's forced relocation of the Ahiarmiut, others ignore the state's history as an oppressor of Inuit, Métis, and First Nations peoples. A key aspect of the CMHR's museology is their inclusion of the Standing Indigenous Advisory Council (SIAC). Ensuring Indigenous advising over all elements of the museum, not just Indigenous content, makes the council an integral part

of the museum's decolonizing work and appropriate practice. Creating advisory boards like this at other institutions could greatly impact museums' decolonizing work by adding more Indigenous perspectives to their practices.

The CMHR's decolonizing museology is exemplary of the larger change in Western museums, in which shared authority between museum staff and outside partners, particularly Indigenous partners, is becoming increasingly common (Lonetree 2012, 1). Museums can be spaces for advocacy, spaces for truth-telling, spaces for partnership (Sandell 2017). Despite their shortcomings, the Canadian Museum for Human Rights provides examples that can help other museums create decolonizing practices which center advocacy and truth-telling.

Chapter Eight: Conclusions and Discussion

This study set out to determine how museums go about presenting Indigenous human rights content, focusing on the case study of the Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR). I followed three key research questions:

1. What are the processes behind the creation of the Indigenous human rights content at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights?

2. How can museums represent, educate, and advocate for Indigenous human rights? How does the CMHR do this?

3. How does Indigenous human rights representation fit into the greater dialogue between anthropology and human rights?

My findings have provided some answers to these questions, which I summarize below.

1. The Canadian Museum for Human Rights has utilized various methods for creating Indigenous human rights content, based on the staff's own methods. I was able to learn the most about content created by Dr. Karine Duhamel, who took over the position of Curator for Indigenous Content in 2016. Dr. Duhamel utilizes deep collaboration while creating Indigenous human rights exhibits, which involves closer partnership and co-curation than usually seen in collaborative projects. This process has involved Indigenous partners driving the content of exhibits with their personal stories, pictures, and artifacts.

2. Museums are in a unique position to educate and advocate for human rights through their representations (Sandell 2017, 7). Museums can and should be educating the public on the hard truths of settler-colonial atrocities inflicted upon Indigenous peoples (Lonetree 2012). Because of the history of Western museums inaccurately representing these

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events and how they affect the present, presenting the truth acts as advocacy. In
addition, the support of Indigenous collaborators' goals can also act as advocacy, by
amplifying marginalized voices.

3. Indigenous human rights, like Indigenous-focused content in general, has long been
   relegated as a special interest. In presenting Indigenous rights violations as part of the
   shared Canadian story, the Canadian Museum for Human Rights demonstrates how
   Indigenous rights fit, as an inseparable element of the settler-colonial narrative. In the
   fields of anthropology and human rights, Indigenous rights are an essential topic to
   consider when dealing with settler-colonial structures.

My answers to these questions are incomplete. Additional research at and outside of the CMHR
would reveal more. As it is, I believe that this study can illuminate some examples of how
museums can practice decolonizing work.

Through trial and error, because of internal and external pressure, and with many small
steps, the Canadian Museum for Human Rights is improving their representation of Indigenous
human rights. While their practice is not perfect, elements of the CMHR's decolonizing museology
can serve as helpful guides for other institutions wishing to represent Indigenous human rights
topics. CMHR Vice President Dr. Curle described the process of creating the exhibit as being like
"learning how to play the violin in public" (Curle 2019). As the first national museum dedicated to
general human rights content, there were no perfect examples to follow. Despite a somewhat
rocky start, the CMHR has improved their representation of Indigenous human rights content in
the past few years through deeper collaboration with Indigenous partners, investing in their
relationships with these partners, and committing to adjusting their practices.

The idea that museum work "should be tailored to specific socioeconomic and cultural
contexts," is reflected in the CMHR's collaboration-centered work, and their commitment to close
relationships with Indigenous collaborators (Kreps, 2019, 200). The current Curator for
Indigenous Content, Dr. Karine Duhamel (Anishinaabe-Métis), has worked to increase

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collaboration in exhibits. Before she came to the museum in 2016, the previous curators who worked with Indigenous content did not collaborate as closely with Indigenous communities or invest as deeply in relationships with these collaborators (Duhamel 2019). Today, the museum practices community-based curation in their collaboration with Indigenous partners. This collaboration model has been praised by several scholars because it allows for community members to present their perspectives with minimal mediation by curators (Phillips 2003; Shannon 2014). Using community collaboration, the Canadian Museum for Human Rights has presented several exhibits on Indigenous rights that exemplify decolonizing museology and appropriate practice.

The decolonizing processes the CMHR has adopted center around appropriate practice and deep collaboration. Following the wishes of Indigenous partners who have told the museum to create "nothing about us without us," Indigenous-focused content is created through collaborating with partners, and with advising from the Standing Indigenous Advisory Council (Duhamel 2020). The creation of newer Indigenous-focused exhibits includes Indigenous partners co-curating exhibits, providing their personal stories, artifacts, and perspectives. The Indigenous-focused content in the *Rights of Passage* exhibit was driven by the oral histories of partners such as Elder David Serkoak and Ellen Gabriel. Curator Dr. Duhamel asks partners "What do you want out of this?" and makes sure that the exhibit will accomplish what the partners want it to (Duhamel 2019).

This type of collaboration takes more time and resources from both parties than less involved collaboration. This also requires more flexibility on the part of the museum to change and meet the needs of Indigenous partners. Merging Western and Indigenous practices is becoming typical of museum work, and the CMHR is part of this movement (Kreps 2006; Lonetree 2012). Creating specific, appropriate collections or stewardship agreements for unique people and objects ensures that partners' wishes are carried out after the museum begins to house the artifact or oral history, and ensures that special objects such as Elder Clarence

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Nepinak's sacred feather will receive appropriate care. Again, this takes a commitment from the institution to a different type of practice than is typical of museums.

The Canadian Museum for Human Rights is in the process of portraying Indigenous human rights violations as shared history – not as purely Indigenous issues. Firsthand perspectives of atrocities committed by the Canadian state against Indigenous peoples were included in the *Rights of Passage* exhibition, side by side content celebrating Canada's nationhood. The *Indian Act* exhibit reported on how the Canadian state's legislation has impacted, and continues to impact, the daily lives of Indigenous people in Canada. These are issues which are fundamentally shared between Indigenous and Canadian peoples. It is crucial that the public sees these topics portrayed as part of the history of the country, rather than a special interest. Additionally, including Indigenous-focused content in every gallery of the museum demonstrates the interrelated nature of human rights. This illustrates common humanity between different groups of people, and educates visitors on connections between rights issues such as the Holocaust and other genocides which have occurred globally. These are steps towards decolonization, which other institutions can take as well.

In the exhibits with an Indigenous focus, the perspectives and voices of Indigenous people are clearly prioritized. Most of these exhibits involve firsthand accounts of topics from Indigenous artists, advocates, writers, and survivors. Exhibits provide personal names, specific tribal affiliations, and use past, present, and future tense. These exhibits do not center Indigenous peoples within the past, and instead focus on present-day stories and experiences. Although basic, these elements are crucial for the appropriate representation of Indigenous human rights issues as ongoing and affecting the daily lives of people today.

The Canadian Museum for Human Rights collaborates with Indigenous partners and advisors on more than just exhibits. Indigenous council has affected the physical architecture of the building, programs that the museum has run, and every gallery in the museum. This type of collaboration is more involved than typically seen in museums without an explicitly Indigenous

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focus. Their museological processes would not be possible without institutional support to trying different forms of museum work. The CMHR formed the Standing Indigenous Advisory Council before the museum had even opened as a way to ensure that there was Indigenous involvement and oversight in every element of the museum. While the museum generally does not present the overarching story of hundreds of years of settler-colonial genocide facing Indigenous peoples in Canada, individual exhibits do portray pieces of this story effectively and honestly. This case study of the Canadian Museum for Human Rights' representation of Indigenous rights shows that the way to accurately, ethically, and meaningfully portray the topic is through extensive collaboration with Indigenous partners.

From the start to the conclusion of this research, much has changed in the world. The United States President has signed a bill to address Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls through new law enforcement protocols (White House 2020). Statues of oppressors are being torn down (The New York Times 2020). White supremacy is being called out in many Western countries (Powell 2020). As I was doing my final write-up of this research, a report about systematic racism and oppression at the CMHR was released. The report stated that discrimination, homophobia, racism, and sexism are systemic at the museum. (CMHR 2020; Harris 2020) This report is in keeping with global movements in 2020. Institutions are being held to a higher standard. In the wake of this report, the CMHR's president and CEO stepped down (Hirschfield 2020), and the museum took action by commissioning an external review, creating a Diversity and Inclusion Committee, and publishing all of this information transparently on their website (CMHR 2020). This response shows that the museum is confronting this issue head on, and can serve as an example for other institutions when faced with internal discrimination.

This report, and the fact that in 2020 people of color are still having to fight for basic human rights, reinforces the need to decolonize and critically analyze museums. Museums are seen as trustworthy, reliable sources of information by the public (Falk and Dierking 2000). It is imperative that museums present truthful, reliable information about Indigenous peoples,

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especially because they have been made largely invisible by the settler-colonial nations of North America (Shannon 2014). In sharing not only their triumphs but also their failures in their own decolonizing work, the CMHR models transparency in museology, and highlights the fact that decolonization is always a work in progress. Looking at museums with a critical lens reveals that they are always evolving. While museums have made great strides, there is much work to be done to make museums an equitable and inclusive place for all.

Recommendations and Limitations

This study is situated within concepts of decolonization, Indigenous human rights, and critical museology. My aim has been to draw these foundational concepts together in order to examine the process of creating Indigenous human rights exhibits at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights. Through this research, I have learned techniques used at the CMHR to represent, educate, and advocate for Indigenous human rights. I hope this research will be useful to other institutions wishing to represent Indigenous human rights, illuminate the processes behind the creation of emotional, difficult exhibits, and to aid in the CMHR's own reflexivity.

The continuation of similar research to this study would benefit greatly from more interviews, specifically with Indigenous people involved with the CMHR. Being able to interview members of the Standing Indigenous Advisory Council would be extremely helpful, as would interviewing collaborators like Elder David Serkoak, Ellen Gabriel, and Elders Barbara and Clarence Nepinak. Being able to survey visitors to the museum, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, would also be helpful, to gain insight as to their perspectives on the Indigenous-focused content. There is a growing body of literature concerned with museums as sites for activism. Robert R. Janes' and Richard Sandell's 2019 edited book *Museum Activism* and Elena Gonzales' 2020 book *Exhibitions for Social Justice* are just a few examples. Incorporating this literature into an examination of the Canadian Museum for Human Rights' activism would greatly contribute to

future research. There is much work that can still be done to fully illuminate the processes of creating Indigenous rights content at the CMHR.

This study provides models of museological processes used to create accurate, ethical, and meaningful portrayals of Indigenous human rights. As many scholars and practitioners have shown, these processes are best done with the full involvement of Indigenous partners willing to share their time, and in many cases their stories. These processes do require time, energy, and institutional approval of different methods of museology. Indigenous perspectives are crucial to the representation of their own stories. Topics of Indigenous rights belong in many different areas across North America. I encourage many different types of museums and cultural centers to collaborate with Indigenous people in order to discuss if and how stories of Indigenous human rights can be presented there.

An accurate portrayal of the human rights of Indigenous peoples can only be achieved by minimizing Western bias and involving the peoples that are represented. A comprehensive exploration of the development of Indigenous human rights exhibits would illuminate both the processes themselves, and lessons learned during and after the process, encouraging and strengthening accurate, ethical, and meaningful representations of Indigenous human rights.

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Appendix A – Interview Consent Form

Study: "Behind the Exhibit: Exploring the Processes of Indigenous American Rights Representation at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights" Master's Thesis Research for publication and fulfillment of MA requirements of the University of Denver Anthropology Department.

Interviews will be conducted with staff of the Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR) in order to answer research questions (see attached study synopsis). In accordance with the Institutional Review Board (IRB) clearance of this study, interviewees will not be identified by name, and will instead be identified by position name or title.

Contacts:
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CMHR Study Contact: Jodi Giesbrecht, Jodi.Giesbrecht@humanrights.ca

I understand that the purpose of this interview is to explore the creation of Indigenous American human rights exhibits and/or programs at the CMHR.

I understand that the interview audio will be recorded, and the contents of the interview will be used for the completion of the study, and that the audio itself will not be published, or released to the public in any way.

I understand that I can choose to have either my title or my name connected to my interview responses. Further, I understand that my position name or title may be identifying information. I can request that this information be withheld, if necessary.

I understand that I may withdraw my participation from the interview and study at any time, although if I do so after the study has been submitted for publication, any previously agreed-upon use of my position name or title, and information disclosed may already be set in motion to be published and may not cease.

I have received explanation and fully understand what is asked of me through this interview, and hereby agree.

Interviewee: _____ _____ _____
               Name   Signature   Date

Interviewer: _____ _____ _____
               Name   Signature   Date

*Please note that this form was used as a template, and interviewees were made aware that they could change aspects of the form to suit their individual needs. No interviewees did so.

Appendix B – Discourse Analysis Criteria

- Key words
    - o Genocide
    - o Erasure
    - o Forced removal
    - o Survivance
    - o Continuity
    - o Resilience
    - o Culture areas
- Noting people's names – not anonymous "tribal member"
- Noting specific tribal affiliation
- Tense used – Past? Present? Future?
- Engagement with stereotypes
- How do they incorporate Indigenous discourse and knowledge and perspectives?