

Contracolonial Practices in Salish Sea Namescapes

by

Kim Stuart Shortreed

B.A., University of Victoria, 2006

M.A., University of Victoria, 2008

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department of English

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We acknowledge and respect the lək^wəŋən peoples on whose traditional territory the university stands and the Songhees, Esquimalt and WSÁNEĆ peoples whose historical relationships with the land continue to this day.

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Supervisory Committee

Dr. Janelle Jenstad, Supervisor, Department of English

Dr. Iain Higgins, Departmental Member, Department of English

Dr. John Lutz, Outside Member, Department of History

Abstract

This portfolio dissertation emerges from the observation that Indigenous and settler toponyms are fundamentally unequal in the Salish Sea's diverse namescape. To explore these toponymic inequities, I ask the following question: if settlers and their toponymic systems fail to make space for or to acknowledge Indigenous toponymies in the Salish Sea, particularly in W̱SÁNEĆ territories, what do these failures say about the settler state's approaches to attendant questions around land and, ultimately, space for Indigenous worldviews? To answer this question, I examine toponymic justice and Indigenous/settler toponymic equity through thematically linked but separate articles, a public-facing blog, and an interactive art installation.

The prologue situates me as a settler scholar attempting to do anticolonial scholarship and art. The introduction frames my academic perspectives on toponyms and settler approaches to understanding Indigenous toponymic resurgence. In the first article, I discuss the PKOLS/Mount Douglas toponym(s) and renaming ceremony and explore "decolonization" through toponymic means. In the second article, I analyze toponymic power dynamics in the Salish Sea, by conceptualizing a "panoptonymy" — a toponymic version of a panopticon — and describing its toponymic-power functions through the example of the British Columbia Geographical Names Office. In the third article — through a skateboarding lens and the voices of some

Indigenous skaters, artists, and writers—I conceive of and define a “skatescape”: a geospatial awareness particular to skateboarders. The fourth article is a manifesto that details the theory and practice involved in building the first prototype of a “haptic map,” an interactive art-map installation that features audio recordings of both SENĆOŦEN (a language spoken by WSÁNEĆ Peoples) and English toponyms. The final article is a collection of the public-facing blog posts that discuss the construction of the first haptic map prototype, the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map, and provide thoughts and resources on toponyms.

I contend that the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map, and the way in which it was conceived and constructed, can serve as a model for future academic and artistic collaborations; it is one answer to the question of how to address Indigenous/settler toponymic inequities in the Salish Sea. Built with TEMOSEN (Charles “Chazz” Elliott), a professional artist and carver from WJOLELP (Tsartlip) First Nation, this unique map offers new ways to represent and combine Indigenous and settler spatial literacies and represents new methodologies for Indigenous/settler cartographic collaborations.

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Foreword

Rather than a manuscript, this dissertation is a portfolio that contains multiple articles that vary in length. The articles examine place names, or toponyms, from a variety of perspectives. While thematically congruent, the articles are intentionally different in tone, length, and rhetorical strategy. Article 1 (Prologue: My Current Perspective) is a subject-position and personal account, supported academically; Article 2 (Introduction) provides abstracts for each article, but it also frames my academic perspectives on toponyms and settler approaches to understanding Indigenous toponymic resurgence. Article 3 (Unfinished Business: PKOLS/Mount Douglas and Toponymic “Decolonization” on the Saanich Peninsula) begins with an anecdote but moves into an academically supported analysis of some of the issues around the PKOLS renaming ceremony. Article 4 (Analyzing Toponymic Power through a Foucauldian Panopticon: Challenging the Settler-State Namescape in British Columbia) is in tone and style the most classically academic article and the longest in the portfolio collection. Article 5 (Skateboarding in Place: Creating and Reclaiming Namescapes Through Skatescapes) is a survey piece intended to be accessible for non-academic audiences; it includes academic and non-academic sources—this article is bookended by a personal-journey narrative and, rather than providing in-depth analysis, it intends to encourage readers to consider toponyms in different ways and from different

perspectives, in part through the voices of some Indigenous skaters, artists, and writers. Article 6 (The Haptic Map Manifesto and the *Untitled TETÁĆES* Prototype) is a mix of academic and narrative writing on the theory, practice, and construction that built the first haptic map prototype, the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map. Article 7 (Namespace Blog: Evaluated Writing) is comprised of a collection of short, public-friendly Namespace.ca blog posts intended, along with details on the construction of the *Untitled TETÁĆES* art-map, to be the public-humanities portion of the dissertation project. Each article in the portfolio can be read alone; however, there is benefit to reading them in the order presented, as they do plot a progression of sorts, which begins with a subject-position framing in the Prologue through to offering one response (the haptic map concept) to the question of how to reimagine and place in new conversations shared Indigenous and settler namespaces.

Apologies to present or future readers if the term “Indigenous” causes offence. Gregory Younging’s *Elements of Indigenous Style* guides my use of the term Indigenous, but I also recognize that this term reflects for some I know yet another settler-state label among many that potentially homogenizes and categorizes diverse identities and perspectives. I also use the term “settler,” in lowercase, and intend this term to refer to non-Indigenous Peoples, with recognition of the complex relationships between Indigenous Peoples and settlers, and with the acknowledgment that many Indigenous Peoples in the lands known also as Canada have and continue to endure within the

dominion of the settler colonial state. While settler refers to anyone who is not Indigenous, it is important to acknowledge that settlers are a diverse group of people who have come to these territories in many different ways, myself included, as an immigrant who became a Canadian citizen in 2016. There are diversities among settler people and communities, but I recognize that white settlers benefit from living on Indigenous territories more than settlers from other communities, such as Black folks and People of Colour.

I use the singular pronoun “they” for gender pronouns, as informed by the Diversity Style Guide (www.diversitystyleguide.com), which I have done my best to incorporate: any misrepresentations or oversights in this respect reflect my ignorance and not the Guide’s intentions or practices. Note that this portfolio uses dual pagination: (1) standard academic page numbering, with author last name, at the top-right of the page and (2) global pagination at the bottom of the page, to which the portfolio’s table of contents refers. Finally, I acknowledge with gratitude that these and all the words that follow were written on the unceded territories of the ləkʷəŋən and WSÁNEĆ Peoples.

Acknowledgements

These acknowledgements include images of some of the people vital to making this project happen. The inclusion of images of people is a practice adopted in emulation of Dr. John Lutz's *Makúk: A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations*. The inclusion of portraits in academic contexts can for some be both memory-enhancing and humanizing: it is an attempt, also, to decrease a sense of academic distance from academic writing. Unless otherwise noted, these images appear already in publically available sources.

I have many people to thank for this project, but I want to start with TEMOSEN (Charles "Chazz" Elliott Jr.), whose creativity, kindness, patience, and good humour reminded me how much I love making art and of the power it has to make change. Helped by Matthew Parlby-Elliott, Ben Olsen, Jesse Campbell, we made art beyond my expectations and in an amazing studio in WJOLELP



Fig. 1. TEMOSEN (Charles "Chazz" Elliott Jr.) and Matthew Parlby-Elliott [r] working on the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map.¹

¹ Kim Shortreed (author), untitled photograph, 2022, figure 1.

(Tsartlip) First Nation, to which I feel privileged to be invited into by all whom I met there, including TEMOSEN̄FET (Charles Elliott) and others who built and now work there. My gratitude to Jon Rabeneck, who connected me with TEMOSEN̄. Here's to making more creations together.



Fig. 2. Dr. Moussa Magassa.²

This project began well before the PhD, through conversations with many kind people, including Moussa Magassa and Rob Hancock, whose perspectives and dialogues gave me additional confidence to take a social-justice approach to academia. Special thanks to Dawn siyaʔīsapt Smith for her example of activist scholarship and for taking the time to talk me through ways in which I can find a voice in the complex chorus of “decolonization.” Thanks to Rob Handcock again, and to those who created and now facilitate the Indigenous Cultural Acumen Training at UVic. It was after one of these workshops that Janelle Jenstad and I met to discuss the kind of work I wanted to do and the kinds of changes that Janelle wanted to make.



Fig. 3. Dr. Rob Hancock.³



Fig. 4. Dr. Dawn siyaʔīsapt Smith.⁴

² University of Victoria, “Q&A: Moussa Magassa,” accessed September 6, 2021, <https://www.uvic.ca/education/news/featured/current/moussa-magassa.php>, figure 2.

³ University of Victoria, “Rob Hancock,” UVic.ca, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www.uvic.ca/socialsciences/anthropology/people/faculty/hancock-rob.php>, figure 3.

⁴ Dawn siyaʔīsapt Smith, “About Dawn,” Dawn Siyaʔīsapt Smith (blog), accessed November 7, 2022, <https://dawnsiiaasmith.ca/about>, figure 4.

Janelle deserves thanks for so much more than I have mentioned here, but especially for supporting me through the SSHRC application process—even before agreeing to supervise me—and for taking a chance on an interdisciplinary approach that flexed the definitions of an English degree. Janelle’s expertise on toponyms and public-focused media content, and more, as well as her feedback, edits, and trust made this project surpass its original intentions, and I will be forever grateful for this. Janelle’s financial contributions also ensured that TEMOSEN and I could complete the haptic map prototype. Simply put, this project could not have happened without Janelle. Thanks to the UVic English Department, particularly Stephen Ross, for the department’s financial support, good will, and open-mindedness during these four years, and for the same departmental support during my BA and MA. Thanks to the Humanities Department and Alex D’Arcy for the guidance on the ethics application and for the financial support.

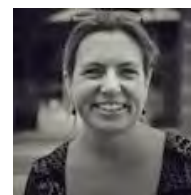


Fig. 5. Dr. Janelle Jenstad.⁵

In many ways this project began over ten years ago with my first Research Assistant position in the Humanities Computing and Media Centre. I cannot imagine this project happening without my years in the HCMC, years I consider vital to my

⁵ Janelle Jenstad, “About,” Janelle Jenstad (blog), March 27, 2012, <https://janellejenstad.com/about>, figure 5.

degree programs, both MA and PhD, and professional development. I have received countless hours of technical and professional guidance from Stewart Arneil, Greg Newton, Martin Holmes, and Patrick Szpak, and I had many opportunities to learn and make mistakes in a supportive space that I consider fundamental to my project's development and realization.

Thanks to Gordon Lyall for the comradeship and the work we created together over the years, with thanks to Ewa Czaykowska-Higgins and Sarah Kell as well for the conversations on all things linguistics. I am grateful to have met so many research assistants, work study students, and others that worked on the HCMC's *Colonial Despatches* project, the majority of whom would not have been there without my friend, and in many ways mentor, Susan Doyle. Special thanks to UVic English Department's Professional Communications program, which Susan, Elizabeth Grove-White, and others, worked to advance and maintain for so many years—the Professional Communications program changed my academic and professional life tangibly and profoundly. Continued specials thanks to John Lutz, who has had multiple roles in my academic and professional life over the last decade. As Academic Director

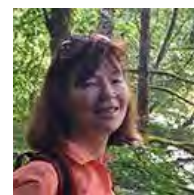


Fig. 6. Susan Doyle.⁶



Fig. 7. Dr. John S. Lutz.⁷

⁶ Susan Doyle, email attachment to author, 2022.

⁷ University of Victoria, "John Lutz," UVic.ca, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www.uvic.ca/humanities/history/people/faculty/profiles/lutzjohn.php>, figure 7.

of the *Despatches* project, graduate-studies teacher, and occasional guidance counselor, John nudged me toward what has bloomed into a life's work: it was John that ultimately steered me back to an artistic path, by insisting that I make the haptic map, not just write about it.

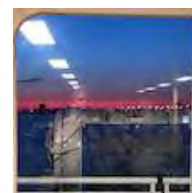


Fig. 8. Dr. Iain Higgins.⁸

Thanks to Iain Higgins for the enthusiasm, advice, supervision, editorial splendor, and open-minded encouragement of doing things differently.

These projects do not happen without direct and indirect organizational support, so thank you to the WSÁNEĆ

Leadership Council, the WSÁNEĆ School Board, the First

Peoples' Cultural Council, the Union of British Columbia Indian

Chiefs, the UVic Libraries Digital Scholarship Commons, and the

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council for the funding.

Thanks to UVic Libraries, and Ry Moran for the great, spontaneous

conversations and support in making the first haptic map prototype,

and thanks to Christine Walde for the same support and for grant-

crafting that led to funding for the *Despatches* project to hire and work alongside some



Fig. 9. Ry Moran.⁹



Fig. 10.
Christine
Walde.¹⁰

⁸ The Malahat Review, "Iain Higgins, Editor," accessed November 7, 2022, http://www.malahatreview.ca/staff/staff_iainhiggins.html, figure 8.

⁹ University of Victoria Libraries, "Library Executive," accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www.uvic.ca/library/about/ul/administration/index.php#rymoran>, figure 9.

¹⁰ University of Victoria Libraries, "Christine Walde," accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www.uvic.ca/library/help/librarians/cwalde/index.php>, figure 10.

amazing people. Lisa Schnitzler, Anthony Auchterlonie, Skye Lacroix, and Sydney Moore and I learned so much working together and I believe that we made lasting change where we could, and that our work will carry on. Sydney put me in touch with the kind folks at the First Peoples' Cultural Council, who, along with Tye Swallow at the W̱SÁNEĆ School Board, offered crucial guidance and support that made the haptic map prototype possible. Thanks to Legacy Art Galleries, especially Katies Holmes and Gillian Booth, and to UVic's History Department for the financial support for the haptic map prototype. Thanks to the Dildy family — Clifton, Jesse, and Ethan — for allowing me to make a creative chaos in your garage.

This project relied on the research, passion, and writing of so many, including Reuben Rose-Redwood and Brian Tucker, whose cartographic insights allowed me to explore new ways to understand toponyms, and Onowa McIvor whose work has broadened my understanding on the connections between languages and world views. The interdisciplinary nature of my work meant that I could read a range of perspectives and scholarship, but several people stand out as essential, including Phillip Kevin Paul — particularly for *The Care-Takers* Introduction — Dave Elliott Sr., Nicholas XEMFOLTW_Claxton, Umeek (E. Rich Atleo), Eve Tuck, K. Wayne



Fig. 11. Dr. Reuben Rose-Redwood.¹¹

¹¹ University of Victoria, "Reuben Rose-Redwood," UVic.ca, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www.uvic.ca/socialsciences/geography/department/our-people/faculty/rose-redwoodreuben.php>, figure 11.

Yang, Sarah de Leeuw, Sarah Hunt, William Kentridge, and finally Margaret Pearce, who inspired me to see the art in cartography.

To Rosanna Lockhart Jackson: who would have thought a couple of grubby, feral beach kids would live long enough to talk about all this stuff today? Thank you, SEMYOME Nation.

Heartfelt thanks to my family: Ross and Janet Shortreed, Colleen and Cyril Player, Candice Staple, John Player, Aleida Blanford, and Cohen and Sebastian. Special thanks to Cyril, who could not be with us to see this finished, but is in spirit. Thanks to our Nana, Colleen, whose curiosity, intellect, stories, and sense of humour kept me on track when I needed it. Finally, to my wife, Jillian

Player, who has ridden this rollercoaster with me over every white-knuckle bump and around every exhilarating curve: you are my heart forever, and I will always be grateful and humbled by your love and support with this and everything that comes next.



Fig. 12. Dr. Margaret Wickens Pearce.¹²



Fig. 13. Jillian Player (r) and Kim Shortreed.¹³

¹² Canadian-American Center, “‘Coming Home’ Map,” Coming Home to Indigenous Place Names in Canada (blog), accessed November 7, 2022, <https://umaine.edu/canam/publications/coming-home-map>, figure 13.

¹³ Kim Shortreed (author), untitled photograph, 2019, figure 15.

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<https://umaine.edu/canam/publications/coming-home-map>, figure 12.
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<https://janellejenstad.com/about>, figure 5.
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- The Malahat Review. "Iain Higgins, Editor." Accessed November 7, 2022.
http://www.malahatreview.ca/staff/staff_iainhiggins.html, figure 8.
- University of Victoria. "John Lutz." UVic.ca. Accessed November 7, 2022.
<https://www.uvic.ca/humanities/history/people/faculty/profiles/lutzjohn.php>, figure 7.
- — —. "Q&A: Moussa Magassa." Accessed September 6, 2021.
<https://www.uvic.ca/education/news/featured/current/moussa-magassa.php>, figure 2.
- — —. "Reuben Rose-Redwood." UVic.ca. Accessed November 7, 2022.
<https://www.uvic.ca/socialsciences/geography/department/our-people/faculty/rose-redwoodreuben.php>, figure 11.
- — —. "Rob Hancock." UVic.ca. Accessed November 7, 2022.
<https://www.uvic.ca/socialsciences/anthropology/people/faculty/hancock-rob.php>, figure 3.
- University of Victoria Libraries. "Christine Walde." Accessed November 7, 2022.
<https://www.uvic.ca/library/help/librarians/cwalde/index.php>, figure 10.
- — —. "Library Executive." Accessed November 7, 2022.
<https://www.uvic.ca/library/about/ul/administration/index.php#rymoran.>, figure 9.

Prologue: My Current Perspective

Kim Shortreed

Doctoral Dissertation Portfolio: Article 1

November 28, 2022

Inspired and guided by Indigenous research methodologies,¹ I want to tell you about me, where I come from, and why I am doing this work. I am not an Indigenous researcher but I am engaging in conversations with Indigenous academics, researchers, writers, artists, collaborators, and friends, and so I consider it a matter of respect and personal accountability to include a statement about who I am and why I am doing this work. As with all things related to how we self-identify, we change over time and from within and without.

My name is Kim Stuart Shortreed. I was born on the west coast of England, in a beach town called Weston-super-Mare, which is roughly halfway up the Bristol Channel, on the southern shore. Maternally my family has roots in England, Australia, and India. I have never known my biological father, but my stepdad, who's been with me since I was two years old, was born and raised in Treaty 6 territory, in Edmonton, next to the North Saskatchewan River, or *kisiskâciwanisîpiy* in Cree.² My family moved to White Rock, which I consider my home town, in SEMYOME (Semiahmoo) territory.³

¹ These methodologies are described in the following papers from which I take inspiration and guidance: Onowa McIvor, "I Am My Subject: Blending Indigenous Research Methodology and Autoethnography Through Integrity-Based, Spirit-Based Research," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 33, no. 1 (2010): 137–51, and Gregory Lowan-Trudeau, "Narrating a Critical Indigenous Pedagogy of Place: A Literary Métissage," *Educational Theory* 67, no. 4 (2017): 509–25, <https://doi.org/10.1111/edth.12261>. In terms of approach to this statement, I am indebted to settler scholar Brian Tucker's Master's thesis, "Inventing the Salish Sea: Exploring the Performative Act of Place Naming off the Pacific Coast of North America" (Thesis, UVic, 2013), <https://dspace.library.uvic.ca/handle/1828/4587>.

² Brandi Newton, "Saskatchewan River," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, May 4, 2017, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/saskatchewan-river>.

³ First Peoples' Cultural Council, "SEMYOME (Semiahmoo)," *First Peoples' Map of B.C.*, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://maps.fpcc.ca/content/semyome-semiahmoo>.

I grew up playing on the beach as an uninvited guest within and around the boundaries of the Semiahmoo Reserve.⁴ My childhood soundscape was seagull cries, surf, and passing trains, and my scentscape was dusty rosehip bushes, sunbaked kelp, steaming tidal pools, and rail line creosote, and that particular wet-bone tang of decayed sand dollars. To this day I cannot imagine living away from the sea. I spent countless hours staring across Semiahmoo Bay to W̱SÁNEĆ territory, or the Gulf Islands and Vancouver Island, in the distance. At the time, like most W̱ENITEM,⁵ or White, Anglo settlers, I knew nearly nothing about the Indigenous histories and ongoing presences on SEMYOME or W̱SÁNEĆ lands, despite the fact that when we were kids my brother and I used to hang out with Charlie Xwopokton (Chappell), who became SEMYOME Chief in late 2016.⁶ Charlie and I reconnected again in 2021 and I was reminded again of his warmth and optimism, and I got to learn more about the great work he is doing with the SEMYOME community.⁷ Despite growing up playing on and next to the

⁴ Reserve number “08047,” as categorized by Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada; see INAC, “First Nation Profiles: Semiahmoo,” Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, November 3, 2008, https://fnppn.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/FNP/Main/Search/RVDetail.aspx?RESERVE_NUMBER=08047.

⁵ My source for W̱ENITEM, SENĆOŦEN for White, Anglo person, is from the First Peoples’ Cultural Council’s First Voices website:

<https://www.firstvoices.com/explore/FV/sections/Data/THE%20SEN%C4%86O%C5%A6EN%20LANGUAGE/SEN%C4%86O%C5%A6EN/SEN%C4%86O%C5%A6EN/learn/phrases/0789ff7d-014f-4c8e-b79c-793be21cca62>. See also the “SENĆOŦEN Word List: Human Relations”:

<https://itservices.cas.unt.edu/~montler/saanich/wordlist/humanrelations#687>.

⁶ Tracy Holmes, “New Chief for Semiahmoo First Nation,” *Peace Arch News*, December 29, 2016, <https://www.peacearchnews.com/news/new-chief-for-semiahmoo-first-nation>.

⁷ To read more about Chief Harley Xwopokton see Semiahmoo First Nation, “Chief and Council,” Semiahmoo First Nation, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www.semiahmoofirstnation.ca/chief-and-council>.

Semiahmoo Reserve, I knew very little about SEMYOME traditions and nothing about SEMYOME language or place names, and we were never taught anything in school about the fact that we were guests in SEMYOME territory. The older I get the more I have come to acknowledge the ways in which that landscape informed so much of who I am today, and I am increasingly grateful for my time in SEMYOME territory. About 25 years ago I moved to ləkʷəŋən Territory, Victoria, and I have explored this region by land and sea ever since. I am grateful to have written these words on unceded W̱SÁNEĆ⁸ and ləkʷəŋən⁹ lands.

A personal and academic journey

Perhaps my perspective as an immigrant has encouraged me to think often about cultural and political identities, to wonder what it means to be “Canadian,” and what it means not to be. While working at the University of Victoria (UVic), I came to see the outcomes of my understanding of the Western settler psyche in new ways through the lens of Dr. Moussa Mougassa’s Equity and Human Rights workshops, which I attended while working at UVic from 2015-2019. These workshops also gave me new insights into UVic’s administrative operations and culture. Moussa and I had some inspiring and challenging conversations over the years, and he encouraged me to find ways to

⁸ W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council, “History & Territory,” W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://wsanec.com>.

⁹ Songhees Nation, “ləkʷəŋən Traditional Territory,” Songhees Nation, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www.songheesnation.ca/community/l-k-ng-n-traditional-territory>.

bring social justice practices into my work and daily life. Throughout the ten years spent studying and working at UVic prior to starting the PhD program, I met and listened to people who seemed to me to be finding ways to shift UVic systemically toward anti-racism and “decolonization.” I will explain below why I put this latter term in quotes.

Out of the many helpful and patient people with whom I spoke while trying to decide if I should try to do a PhD, Dr. Rob Hancock and Dr. Dawn siya?ihsapt Smith stand out. I knew Rob casually and socially for about twenty years before discussing PhD matters in his office at the First Peoples’ House. Among his many roles at UVic, Rob is a co-creator and co-facilitator of the Indigenous Cultural Acumen Training (ICAT) workshops, which have had tremendous success in training UVic’s faculty and staff to consider what they can do for themselves and their workplaces to respond meaningfully to the Calls to Action from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s (TRC) Final Report.¹⁰ Often, our conversations would lead to the subtleties of what I think of as “settlerism,”¹¹ the sometimes subconscious and

¹⁰ See University of Victoria, “Indigenous Cultural Acumen Training,” Indigenous Academic & Community Engagement, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www.uvic.ca/services/indigenous/facultystaff/icat/index.php>.

¹¹ Note that Dr. Smith also uses the term “settlerism,” but as drawn from Emma Lowman and Adam Barker’s articulations of “settler” in *Settler Identity and Colonialism in 21st Century Canada*. My definition intersects theirs, in terms of identity politics, but my definition attempts to describe an epistemological and ontological awareness and attitude. See Smith, “Hiił Kwii?ił Sił, 118 and Emma Lowman and Adam Barker,” *Settler: Identity and Colonialism in 21st Century Canada* (Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2015).

sometimes pathological condition of the settler psychology, a psychology, like many others, defined largely by the ways in which it protects itself from change or vulnerability, or, to draw on Dr. Robin DiAngelo's term, its settler fragility.¹² Through Rob I learned that the most well-meaning, educated, and liberal minded among us can sometimes be the most resistant to making change, as we can mistake intention — as important as that is — for practical action, a condition captured well through Umeek's question in *Principles of Tsawalk*: "Could it be argued that the *idea* of liberalism has triumphed but not necessarily the *practice* of liberalism?"¹³ I see the necessity of — and personal growth opportunities in — ICAT workshops and honest conversations with our settler and Indigenous peers, but the Calls to Action are exactly that: calls to *action*.

I was lucky enough to be able to talk with Dr. Smith about the work I hoped to do and the actions I hoped to take. I first met Dawn at a panel discussion at UVic, in which Moussa was also a panelist.¹⁴ The talk and follow-up discussion were looking at intersections of multiculturalism and Indigeneity. Eventually I met with Dawn at Camosun College to get a sense of what she thought about the work I was hoping to do. At the time I was concerned and still am that a white, male, cis-gendered settler would ultimately reify the systems around me to sustain my privileges, despite

¹² See Robin DiAngelo, *White Fragility: Why It's So Hard for White People to Talk About Racism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2018).

¹³ Umeek (E. Richard Atleo), *Principles of Tsawalk: An Indigenous Approach to Global Crisis* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 29.

¹⁴ Please note that I refer to Dr. Smith as Dawn, here, because this was the name she gave when we met.

my efforts otherwise. Dawn was exceptionally patient with me and said something that still guides me to this day: that my subject position allows me to say things to settler audiences that she might not be able to say the same way and that my words would be received differently, perhaps less defensively by some people. Dawn's words inspired me to find ways to be a monkey wrench, or to borrow a British expression, be a spanner in the works. This is not to say that I want to destroy anything. Rather, I hope to find novel and practical ways to encourage myself and other settlers to find positive, novel, and practical ways to nudge settler systems towards change and to look within to find what reconciliation means for each of us, and to embrace its opportunities for settlers and Indigenous Peoples to find *new* ways forward together.

The long road to reconciliation has to be about more than words, and I believe that settlers have to do the heavy lifting, given the imbalances of power across nearly all levels of Canadian society between settlers and Indigenous Peoples. Any rebalancing, as Judith Sayers asserts, starts with settlers understanding land and place in new ways: "First Nations don't need reconciliation. We need peace on our lands—and this begins with our relationship to the land and to each other."¹⁵ Reconciliation, whatever that looks like for each of us, can begin in many ways: maybe it starts with being a respectful and good guest on the land, or Googling "how to be a good Indigenous ally," or

¹⁵ Judith Sayers, "If We Are All Here to Stay...," *The Tyee* (June 29, 2017), <https://thetyee.ca/Opinion/2017/06/29/We-Are-All-Here-to-Stay>.

changing hiring practices to make space for Indigenous students and staff, or finding ways to support Indigenous Land Defenders or organizations that protect the environment. As Dr. Jeff Corntassel remarked in a talk entitled “Living Lands and Indigenous Climate Solutions: Responsibilities beyond Territorial Acknowledgements,” a “climate crisis is also a colonial crisis.”¹⁶ For my part, I saw opportunities to make change within UVic, but I also have what is, I hope, a healthy ambivalence about so-called higher education. I came to school later in life and after mixed fortunes, from several stints on welfare to decent-paying labour and administrative work, and much in between. I remember clearly a time when a university seemed to me to be a classist keep to which only the rich and educated inherited the keys—I did not resent this necessarily so much as see it as a social reality, which it still is in many ways.

I am grateful for the opportunities that Western education has provided, but I have also witnessed the ways in which universities limit learning and resist systemic change. After hearing stories from Indigenous-student peers over the years, I understand better how universities continue to accommodate racism against Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous ways of knowing. According to former Chief Commissioner of the TRC, Justice Murray Sinclair, in an APTN panel discussion entitled “Truth and Reconciliation, Five Years Later,” the TRC’s Calls to Action have

¹⁶ University of Victoria, *Living Lands and Indigenous Climate Solutions: Responsibilities beyond Territorial Acknowledgements*, Video (University of Victoria, 2021), <https://www.uvic.ca/climate-solutions/living-lands/index.php>.

had a positive effect on a variety of institutions across Canada.¹⁷ Sinclair highlights changes to curriculum, institutional implementations of the Calls to Action, and the inclusion of cultural competency training in workplace practices; Sinclair also points out that “these initiatives have not been consistently implemented across the country” and have, in some cases, met with open resistance.¹⁸ I do not know if settler institutions like UVic will ever make enough systemic changes in my lifetime to make equal space for Indigenous students, knowledges, and ways of knowing without ultimately subsuming that which it appears to embrace and support. However, I refuse to let this present circumstance deter my attempts to make systemic change where I can, especially if it leads to opening doors for those who might benefit most from post-secondary education. I am also lucky enough to have supervisors, collaborators, and friends who encourage me to pursue this work.¹⁹

One of the ways in which I thought I could make some change through PhD work was to try to challenge and complicate settler understandings of local histories through place names, or toponyms, and to focus on the historical “truth” portion of truth and reconciliation. The TRC's Executive Summary is unequivocal on the links between education and reconciliation:

¹⁷ APTN News, *Truth and Reconciliation, Five Years Later*, 2020, <https://youtu.be/48Kx3tlghfA?t=91>.

¹⁸ APTN News, *Truth and Reconciliation*.

¹⁹ In particular, I wish to acknowledge Dr. Janelle Jenstad's role as my English Department supervisor in supporting my work: if not for our sincere and frank conversation following an Indigenous Cultural Acumen Training workshop, I am not sure I would be on this path.

Much of the current state of troubled relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians is attributable to educational institutions and what they have taught, or failed to teach, over many generations. Despite that history, or, perhaps more correctly, because of its potential, the Commission believes that education is also the key to reconciliation. Educating Canadians for reconciliation involves not only schools and post-secondary institutions, but also dialogue forums and public history institutions such as museums and archives. Education must remedy the gaps in historical knowledge that perpetuate ignorance and racism.²⁰

Sinclair's words remind me of the importance of education and its power to make personal and broader societal change. Despite my occasional ambivalence about the ways universities teach and operate, I am heartened by the many people I have met at UVic dedicated to making the kinds of changes called for by Sinclair and the TRC.

Through my PhD and future work, I intend to raise awareness of Indigenous toponyms on and around Saanich Peninsula, in order to show that settler and Indigenous histories and namescapes are in some ways interrelated and that all connect to stories of some kind. Because of the ways in which educational and media institutions operate, settlers have mostly heard only settler histories and stories of and

²⁰ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, "Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada" (Ottawa, 2015), http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2015/trc/IR4-7-2015-eng.pdf.

around the Saanich Peninsula, and the Salish Sea. Many settlers, myself included, are not taught the Indigenous namescapes around us, which can give the false impression of toponymic erasure or suggest that Indigenous storyscapes are a thing of the past, despite continued Indigenous presence on the land and sea, and despite the creation of new Indigenous toponyms, such as the recent example in the city of Duncan, which voted unanimously to add Hul'q'umi'num names to seven downtown street names.²¹ I want to do what I can to complexify the namescapes around us, to find counterstories to and within settler histories, and to provide resources for Indigenous students and readers of all ages to learn more about Indigenous histories, which is especially important to do for patently colonial history resources like the *Colonial Despatches* project, a settler-history project upon which I have worked for many years, and which I discuss more below.

Listening to Elders and other Knowledge Keepers at events at the First Peoples' House,²² and now on Zoom,²³ has shown me the urgent need both to do anti-racist work

²¹ "The Hul'q'umi'num Signage Proposal" was presented by "Amanda Vance, Downtown Duncan BIA; Judy Stafford, Chair of the Rural Dividend Grant Committee and Executive Director of the Cowichan Green Community; Lucy Thomas, Cowichan Tribes Elder; Ian Locke, Creative Director at Downtown Duncan; Philomena Williams, Cowichan Tribes Elder." The City of Duncan Council voted to "install new street signs in Hul'q'umi'num and English on First, Second, Third and Fourth Street, Canada Avenue, Government Street, and Station Street as presented in their January 18, 2021 presentation at no cost to the City." See City of Duncan, "City of Duncan Minutes," January 18, 2021, <https://duncan.civicweb.net/filepro/documents/?preview=143036>. See a video proposal for this project, here: Cowichan Tribes, Downtown Duncan BIA, and City of Duncan, *Hul'q'umi'num Signage Project / Nanum Tu Sul-Hween i Tu Smuneem*, 2021, <https://youtu.be/oCPy0p5d3S0>.

²² See <https://www.uvic.ca/services/indigenous/house>.

²³ This prologue was written during the global COVID-19 pandemic, and Zoom is a video-conferencing software.

and to avoid sliding into anger and cynicism—and to take a breath and bring my good feelings into my dialogues, partnerships, and writing. I struggle with this imperative, as many do, and I try daily to encourage inward and outward questions over critique. I also acknowledge that the work of solidarity and social justice lies in the questioning and in the listening, and in getting out of the way to make space. I have observed in myself and others that endless critique can become a place to hide rather than a tool for change. I also saw and continue to see the enormous gaps in my early and adult education on Residential Schools, the Sixties Scoop, missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls, Indigenous histories, activism, and resilience. Canadian-state and Indigenous lives are intrinsically linked historically and presently, and yet most curricula continue to ignore Indigenous perspectives: Dr. Smith asserts that “[t]his absence of Indigenous ways of knowing and being, within education leaves little room to learn about the rich and diverse cultures of Indigenous peoples.”²⁴ This epistemological imbalance is starting to change, which I find very exciting, but we have a long road ahead. Now that the Government of British Columbia has ratified the United Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), it is no longer a matter of political whim to live up to UNDRIP’s terms, but a legal obligation.²⁵ Yet

²⁴ Smith, “Hiil Kwii?il Siλ, 10.

²⁵ See Scott Fraser, “Bill 41 – 2019: Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act,” Pub. L. No. 41 (2019), <https://www.leg.bc.ca/parliamentary-business/legislation-debates-proceedings/41st-parliament/4th-session/bills/first-reading/gov41-1>.

Judith Sayers understandably asks in a federal context, “Will the acceptance of UNDRIP into Canadian law help resolve the many issues and barriers facing Indigenous peoples? Will it envision an improved world for Indigenous people and Canadians?”²⁶

²⁶ Judith Sayers, “Canada’s UNDRIP Bill Holds Promise, But It’s All in the Doing,” *The Tyee* (December 4, 2020), <https://thetyee.ca/Analysis/2020/12/04/Canada-UNDRIP-Promise>.

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Introduction

Kim Shortreed

Doctoral Dissertation Portfolio: Article 2

November 28, 2022

[T]he WSÁNEĆ Leadership Council asks all government institutions, private companies, and individuals operating within WSÁNEĆ territory to help the WSÁNEĆ Nation in their efforts to revitalize WSÁNEĆ culture and re-establish a WSÁNEĆ presence on WSÁNEĆ lands.¹

My dissertation work, which focuses on place names, or toponyms, is personal (see Prologue) and driven by my attempts to use academic resources and support to effect Indigenous and settler social justice outcomes at the University of Victoria (UVic) and in broader communities. This work came about in part as a response to my time working on the *Colonial Despatches*, an online archive of settler-written letters from 1846-1871.² These 7,000-plus documents are primarily the correspondence between the British Colonial Office in London and the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia. Through the correspondence of well-known settlers like governors Richard Blanchard and James Douglas, and other architects of the Salish Sea region's flavour of colonialism, paternalism, and imperialism, I read the discourse of the colonial project as well as the contours of its motivations, intentions, and reactions. I also saw Indigenous interests and resistances at work in the correspondence. I came to see the different attitudes, ideologies, and practices that contributed significantly to present-day settler-

¹ WSÁNEĆ Leadership Council, "WSÁNEĆ Art Protocol," *WSÁNEĆ Leadership Council* (blog), accessed November 7, 2022, <https://wsanec.com/4482-2>.

² See <https://bcgenesis.uvic.ca>.

colonial mentalities and systems. I saw that settler laws, infrastructure, social policies, and ways of seeing the world had roots in what Marie Battiste calls “cognitive imperialism” and considers to be “cultural racism”: “the imposition of one worldview on a people who have an alternative worldview, with the implication that the imposed worldview is superior to the alternative worldview.”³ In an educational context, I see cognitive imperialism in assumptions that Western thinking and learning are naturally superior to other ways of knowing—it is an assumption based in part on Enlightenment notions of reason, rationalism, duality, and compulsive categorization as these were put into practice in varying ways since the later eighteenth century. I agree with Umeek’s assertion in *Tsawalk* that “today there is some question about the surety of the foundation upon which Western civilization is built.”⁴ I see what Dr. Dawn siya?iḥsapt Smith characterizes as “epistemological dominance” as a lens through which to question Western civilization’s sense of itself.⁵

One crucial mode of cognitive imperialism and epistemological dominance, the mode that is the subject of this dissertation, is the colonial practice of imposing its names on others’ territories, especially in the process of occupying them for settlement. Toponymic domination, when Western worldviews subjugate others through naming

³ Battiste, Marie. *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000, 192-93.

⁴ Umeek (Richard Atleo), *Tsawalk* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), xix.

⁵ See pages 8-10 in Dawn Marie Smith, “Hiil Kwii?iḥ Siḥ (Bringing Something Good from Way Back: A Journey to Humanize Post-Secondary Education,” PhD dissertation (Vancouver, UBC, 2018), <https://open.library.ubc.ca/cIRcle/collections/ubctheses/24/items/1.0371220>.

practices and systems, draws precisely on the kind of epistemological dominance Smith describes. Smith observes that “Indigenous peoples did not write history, instead European settlers wrote of a barren territory where only backwards, uncivilized [Indigenous] savages roamed the landscape”⁶ and it was upon this imagined landscape that settlers narrativized their worldviews in various ways, including through naming places. Place names are necessary for human navigation and shared reference points: as Smith says, “[a]s a human race we could not get by in life without naming.”⁷ Besides imposing their own names on places, early settlers sometimes borrowed and Anglicized Indigenous toponyms; however, it is one thing to name a place and another to assume that yours is the superior or only name and, by extension, the only narrative of place. To name places is to make and contribute to larger stories of place. Over time “storyscapes”⁸ emerge from the toponymic and conceptual web of markers that comprise, ultimately, landscape epistemologies, ways we learn about and feel belonging to the worlds around us. What I see in the Salish Sea is a namescape dominated by Western worldviews and colonial narratives. I visualize this Western namescape as a shroud laid over the land in an attempt to conceal, even to efface, Indigenous namescape layers below.

⁶ Smith, “Hiił Kwiiłił Sił, 9.

⁷ Smith, “Hiił Kwiiłił Sił, 104.

⁸ Reuben Rose-Redwood, “‘Reclaim, Rename, Reoccupy’: Decolonizing Place and the Reclaiming of PKOLS.” *ACME*, 15, no. 1 (2016): 188.

This attempted toponymic concealment or effacement suggests to me an ontological arrogance manifest as bigotry: a resistance at both a state and personal level to allow for a distinct but reciprocal and respectful coexistence of namespaces and by extension worldviews. Indigenous toponyms have been, to draw from Umeek, “primitivized” or categorized as “traditional” and not acknowledged fully for their rich histories, complexities, and meanings: that is, when they have not been erased altogether, they have been relegated to a supposedly superceded past. Umeek frames a way for me to better understand some tensions and possible harmonies between Indigenous and settler namespaces, noting for early European settlers “that those humans who told tales were unscientific and therefore could have no substantive and reliable knowledge about the nature of existence. Legends, myths, and origin stories belong to a ‘primitive’ phase of human evolution.”⁹ If settlers, past and present, understand myths as primitive and Indigenous place names as reflective “merely” of “myths,” ignoring their multiple and contemporary meanings, I worry that this primitive-myth understanding continues a pattern of Indigenous dehumanization, an understanding of Indigeneity as “primitive.” I read an echo of this dehumanizing language in the BC Geographical Names Office’s entry for Mount Douglas, in which PKOLS is classified in a way that emphasizes its mythical pastness: “PKOLS is the *traditional* name of Mount Douglas,” renamed from “Cedar Hill” to honour that “James

⁹ Umeek, *Tsawalk*, xix.

Douglas gave this and surrounding land to the City of Victoria (date not cited), and the descriptive ‘hill’ changed to ‘mountain’ as befitting a person held in such high esteem.”¹⁰ This settler characterization of “traditional” echoes a WENITEM¹¹ “tradition” of subjugating and dehumanizing Indigenous Peoples and characterizing Indigenous worldviews as “lesser-than.” PKOLS is a traditional toponym in its use by WSÁNEĆ Peoples since time immemorial, but it is also a *current* toponym, one that Tsawout hereditary Chief WEC’KINEM (Eric Pelkey) has been fighting for years to be acknowledged appropriately by the WENITEM toponymic system.¹² As Barnd observes, “Indigenous geographies have quietly overlapped and coexisted in tension with the geographies of the settler colonial state. They have been submerged, but not

¹⁰ BC Geographical Names Office, “Mount Douglas,” BC Geographical Names, accessed November 7, 2022, <http://apps.gov.bc.ca/pub/bcgnws/names/14790.html>; my emphasis. Note that on August 15, 2022, the District of Saanich Council approved a request by the WSÁNEĆ Leadership Council Board of Directors (featuring representatives from Tsartlip, Tseycum and Tsawout) to “actively move forward with the restoration of the original name” of PKOLS. See WSÁNEĆ Leadership Council, “‘PKOLS (Mount Douglas Park)’ Restored as Official Name of Mount Douglas Park,” WSÁNEĆ Leadership Council (blog), accessed November 7, 2022, <https://wsanec.com/pkols-mount-douglas-park-restored-as-new-official-name-of-mount-douglas-park>. However, Saanich Council “can rename the park but will have to ask the province [the BCGNO] to rename the mountain itself.” See CBC News, “Mount Douglas or PKOLS? Park Getting Closer to New Name Requested by Local First Nations,” CBC, July 7, 2021, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/pkols-renaming-decision-1.6093382>.

¹¹ Mavis Kathleen Underwood notes that the SENĆOŦEN word WENITEM, which “translates to ‘white people’ . . . is derived from the word, ‘TWE,NITEM’, which translates to ‘they just arrived here’.” See Mavis Kathleen Underwood, “The Education of an Indigenous Woman: The Pursuit of Truth, Social Justice and Healthy Relationships in a Coast Salish Community Context” (University of Victoria, 2018), 3, https://search.library.uvic.ca/permalink/01VIC_INST/12198k2/alma9957657539507291.

¹² David Ball, “Saanich People Launch Campaign to Restore Traditional Landmark Names,” Ammsa.com, 2013, <https://www.ammsa.com/publications/ravens-eye/saanich-people-launch-campaign-restore-traditional-landmark-names>. See also Sarah Petrescu, “Saanich Removes Aboriginal-Name Sign from Mount Douglas over Safety Concerns,” *Times Colonist*, October 19, 2013, <https://www.timescolonist.com/local-news/saanich-removes-aboriginal-name-sign-from-mount-douglas-over-safety-concerns-4600912>.

eliminated.”¹³ In addition to their many meanings, Indigenous and settler toponyms connect to narratives of place: they tell their own stories and so do the ways in which settlers discuss and present Indigenous toponyms. As Barnd notes, one answer to this toponymic subjugation is for Indigenous Peoples to push back by re-narrating the current toponymic paradigm on non-settler terms:

Given the distinctive space-centered epistemologies that form the bases of indigenous relationships with the land it is not surprising that indigenous communities and individuals seek to re-narrate place or reclaim indigenous geographies rather than merely capitulate to the force of national ‘progress’ and inclusion.¹⁴

How have or how will settlers react to this Indigenous-led re-narration and reclamation? In what ways and why are Western cartographic models, systems, and organizations unsettled by what Dr. Gregory Lowan-Trudeau describes as “Indigenous countermapping,” or any “cartographic counternarratives” for that matter?¹⁵

Indigenous countermapping and toponymic reclamation can challenge Western toponymic imperialism—Smith notes that an “important principle embedded in imperialism,” is “that of order” —but is Western toponymic order challenged truly if its

¹³ Natchee Blu Barnd, *Native Space: Geographic Strategies to Unsettle Settler Colonialism* (Corvallis: Oregon State UP, 2017), I.

¹⁴ Barnd, *Native Space*, I-II.

¹⁵ Gregory Lowan-Trudeau, “Mapping (as) Resistance: Decolonizing<->Indigenizing Journalistic Cartography,” *Media+Environment*, March 4, 2021, 1–23, <https://doi.org/10.1525/001c.19057>.

systems of legitimization remain ultimately unchanged?¹⁶ I do not have definitive answers to these questions, but I do see the need to bring them to light in order to better understand the ways in which the WENITEM mindset continues to sustain, openly or not, ongoing colonialism through its toponymic order.

Contracolonialism

It has taken nearly ten years of work to begin to “decolonize” the content in the *Despatches* archive. I place “decolonizing” in quotation marks because I agree with critics like Dr. Eve Tuck and Dr. K. Wayne Yang, who argue in “Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor” that decolonization cannot ultimately happen until the land question is addressed in good faith.¹⁷ Dr. XEMFOLTW (Nick Claxton) and Dr. John Price make a similar claim in “Whose Land Is It? Rethinking Sovereignty in British Columbia,” when they state that “for us, moving reconciliation forward will depend very much on the degree to which the settler government in this province is willing to recognize, in words and actions, Indigenous sovereignty over the land.”¹⁸ I write this roughly one year on

¹⁶ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 2012), 70.

¹⁷ Tuck and Yang declare that “decolonization in the settler colonial context must involve the repatriation of land simultaneous to the recognition of how land and relations to land have always already been differently understood and enacted; that is, *all* of the land, and not just symbolically. This is precisely why decolonization is necessarily unsettling, especially across lines of solidarity.” See Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, “Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1 (2012): 7, <https://doi.org/10.1632/pmla.2008.123.5.1743>.

¹⁸ Nicholas XEMFOLTW Claxton and John Price, “Whose Land Is It? Rethinking Sovereignty in British Columbia,” *BC Studies*, no. 204 (Winter 2019/2020): 137.

from when many of us joined Wet'suwet'en land defenders on the steps of the British Columbia Legislature, and the Wet'suwet'en People and allies continue to resist at the Unist'ot'en Camp.¹⁹ I write this as 1492 Land Back Lane Land Defenders continue their efforts on the land and in the courts to stop the Mackenzie Meadows housing development project on what is Haudenosaunee land.²⁰ I have come to believe like many others that the land question is the ultimate threat to the settler state, politically, financially, and ontologically, and the Canadian state, whether in its federal or provincial forms, seems to respond accordingly: that is, defensively and often violently. I am optimistic about institutional efforts to "decolonize," but I also detect at times a settler rhetoric that reminds me of the early days of "greenwashing," when using "eco" as a prefix promised convenient moral absolution for those in positions of power but offered very little in the way of tangible change or accountability. Put another way, "decolonization" must be more than an "issue" to add to a *PowerPoint* presentation or a box to tick at the end of a human resources workshop; it must be, as Dr. Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes, "a long-term process involving the bureaucratic, cultural, linguistic and psychological divesting of colonial power."²¹ One "decolonization" challenge I see for

¹⁹ See <https://unistoten.camp>.

²⁰ See <https://www.facebook.com/1492LandBackLane>.

²¹ In Bob Joseph, "A Brief Definition of Decolonization and Indigenization," March 29, 2017, <https://www.ictinc.ca/blog/a-brief-definition-of-decolonization-and-indigenization>.

universities and similar settler institutions is to find ways to make tangible systemic changes from within a system that benefits from ongoing colonization.²²

As I see it, decolonization remains a long way off. However, I do think that settler institutions can do what I call “contracolonial” work, that is, find ways and means to challenge a status quo that maintains epistemological and educational bigotry both within us and without. As much as I agree with Tuck, Yang, Price, and XEMFOLTW’s expectations for “decolonization,” I also acknowledge that “decolonization” has become a common term to signal an intention to create spaces for Indigenous perspectives, teachings, and languages in content and practices, educationally and administratively.²³ As a term, contracolonialism is influenced by Dr. Edward Said’s concept of contrapuntal reading, through which Said asks readers to understand novels in the light of their structural dependencies—the spaces, places, and cultural realities required to make stories possible—and to read forgotten others back into texts.²⁴ My dissertation work intends to read toponymic namescapes, the places

²² See Marie Battiste, Lynne Bell, and L. M. Findlay, “Decolonizing Education in Canadian Universities: An Interdisciplinary, International, Indigenous Research Project,” *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 26, no. 2 (2002): 82–95.

²³ Tuck and Yang contend that “decolonization in the settler colonial context must involve the repatriation of land simultaneous to the recognition of how land and relations to land have always already been differently understood and enacted; that is, *all* of the land, and not just symbolically.” See Tuck and Yang, “Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor,” 7. Dr. Smith offers another take on settler efforts to “decolonize”: “As I venture into aspects of settlerism, I do so to pay homage to those who bravely call themselves *settlers* and engage in the difficult, but rewarding work of decolonization.” See Smith, “Hiił Kwii?ił Sił., 117; emphasis in original.

²⁴ Said argues “that contrapuntal reading must take account of both processes, that of imperialism and that of resistance to it, which can be done by extending our reading of the texts to include what was once forcibly excluded,” and I submit that Indigenous toponymic ontologies have been, historically and less

that comprise collective narratives of place, in light of their colonial dependencies and to introduce forgotten or ignored Indigenous toponymies back into the “banal” settler storyscape.²⁵

From what I have observed during my time at UVic, what I think of as contracolonial practice occurs through changes to language in curricula, public-facing and inter-campus content, and occasionally in changes to policies and procedures. Contracolonialism will not necessarily lead to decolonization, as it is unlikely for example that UVic would suddenly cede ownership over its lands and return it officially to the *ləkʷəŋən* (Lekwungen) Peoples, “on whose traditional territory the university stands,” according to UVic’s own “Territory acknowledgement.”²⁶ However, contracolonialism could shift settler understandings of Indigenous histories, current

so, presently, forcibly excluded from settler colonial namespaces in British Columbia. However, Indigenous toponyms do appear in BC’s historical record and maps, so to declare outright exclusion is misleading, as contrapuntal readings are not binary, nor should their outcomes polarize. Rather, Said observes that

contrapuntal analysis should be modeled not (as earlier notions of comparative literature were) on a symphony but rather on an atonal ensemble; we must take into account all sorts of spatial or geographical and rhetorical practices—inflections, limits, constraints, intrusions, inclusions, prohibitions—all of them tending to elucidate a complex and uneven topography.

See Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1994), 69, and 255-56.

²⁵ Lawrence Berg, “Banal Naming, Neoliberalism, and Landscapes of Dispossession,” *ACME* 10, no. 1 (2011): 17. On page 20, citing another scholar, Berg uses the Okanagan city of Vernon to argue that white Vernonites construct a story of ‘European settlers as bearers of civilization, while simultaneously trapping Aboriginal people in the pre-modern’ (Razack, 2002: 2), thus excluding them from participating in modern life (Berg et al., 2006: 400-401). In this way, whites are able to safely ignore Aboriginal people, and banal names lend a sense of the everyday to processes that reinforce the effacement of this dispossession and marginalization of Aboriginal people.

²⁶ University of Victoria, “Territory Acknowledgement,” Indigenous Academic & Community Engagement, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www.uvic.ca/services/indigenous/facultystaff/territory-acknowledgment/index.php>.

presence on the land, and worldviews, to place relations on more reciprocal footing within UVic's settlerdom. Contracolonial practices could encourage settlers to aspire to something more than "best practices."

Indeed, I believe that we settlers have to challenge the whole notion of "best practices." In my experience, they are mainly a language and a rhetoric constructed to deflect litigation rather than inspire systemic change. Typically, when we merely work to achieve best practices, we adhere to and propagate systems already in place. I appreciate Dr. Paige Raibmon's definition of "transformational listening" when it comes to settlers working with Indigenous Peoples or doing contracolonial work: "transformational listening" is "a transformative experience of learning and unlearning [. . .] it requires that we bring intellectual patience and cultural humility to all the learning situations in our lives, not just those that occur in school."²⁷ As I was doing coursework for my PhD, I was also working on the *Colonial Despatches* project as a Research Assistant and Project Manager funded by a grant from the Victoria Foundation²⁸ in partnership with UVic Libraries. The *Colonial Despatches* project used most of this funding to hire Indigenous students to work specifically on ways to introduce Indigenous perspectives and histories into the project's various media,²⁹ and

²⁷ Paige Raibmon, "Learning Is a Process," *As I Remember It: Teachings (ʔəms taʔaw) from the Life of a Sliammon Elder*, accessed November 7, 2022, <http://publications.ravenspacepublishing.org/as-i-remember-it/transformational-listening>.

²⁸ See <https://victoriafoundation.bc.ca>.

²⁹ Thanks to Dr. John Lutz, Stewart Arniel at the Humanities Computing and Media Centre, and Gender Studies and Grants and Awards Librarian Christine Walde, MLIS, who wordsmithed and submitted the

in consultation with and guidance from the First Peoples' Cultural Council and the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs. Thanks to their hard work, professionalism, and patience, the students—Lisa, Skye, Anthony, and Sydney—exceeded all our expectations, and we are working to try to keep Indigenous students as part of the project from now on.³⁰ I would like to think that we all did our best to introduce a contracolonial approach to how we write, discuss, and think about the *Despatches* website and colonial archival materials. I carry the intentions and spirit of our work on the *Despatches* project into my PhD project and outcomes.

Portfolio project

My PhD is administered through the English department at UVic, but my work is interdisciplinary: I engage with toponym, or place-name, studies and draw from a mix of geohumanities, cartography, Salish Sea history, media studies, digital humanities, Indigenous studies, and settler colonial studies. I am focused broadly on the settler-politics and social-justice side of namescapes, the way we make and maintain a sense of place and history through naming landscapes. My motivation for a

grant. And special thanks to Renee Livernoche, LE, NONET Experiential Learning Coordinator, who invited the *Colonial Despatches* project to have a table at the 2019 Indigenous Career Fair in the First Peoples' House at UVic.

³⁰ See the following pages on the *Colonial Despatches* website: Colonial Despatches Team et al., "Glossary of Terms," *Colonial Despatches*, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://bcgenesis.uvic.ca/glossaryIP.html> Colonial Despatches Team et al., "Decolonizing the Despatches," *Colonial Despatches*, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://bcgenesis.uvic.ca/decolonizing.html>.

“portfolio” PhD output—a mix of academic articles, blog writing, and an interactive art installation—is guided by the aims of public humanities, a field that emphasizes novel knowledge exchange between non-academic and academic audiences.³¹ The academic articles link thematically but each article is intended to stand alone. The blog writing, intended for non-academic audiences, discusses the “haptic map” prototype from theoretical, motivational, and practical perspectives.³²

The first article, “Unfinished Business: PKOLS/Mount Douglas and Toponymic ‘Decolonization’ on the Saanich Peninsula” discusses the ways in which settler institutions on and around the Saanich Peninsula, in WSÁNEĆ First Nations (Tsartlip, Tseycum, and Tsawout) territories are attempting to incorporate, acknowledge, or challenge Indigenous toponymic resurgence. This paper uses the District of Central Saanich’s recent resolution, which is minuted under “Unfinished Business,” to work with the WSÁNEĆ leadership council to develop a program for the gradual incorporation of traditional WSÁNEĆ names, as a way into broader exploration of similar instances of Indigenous toponym acknowledgment and incorporation into shared storyscapes. I provide a background on the PKOLS/Mount Douglas toponyms and then discuss the PKOLS renaming ceremony in order to explore “decolonization”

³¹ See University of British Columbia, “Defining the Public Humanities,” Public Humanities Hub, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://publichumanities.ubc.ca/about/what-are-the-public-humanities>.

³² Blog URL: www.namescape.ca.

through a toponymic lens. I close with the suggestion that “toponymic harmony” is indeed unfinished business.

The second article, “Analyzing Toponymic Power through a Foucauldian Panopticon: Challenging the Settler-State Namescape in British Columbia,” examines how toponyms wield power and systems of power wield toponyms. This exploration paper draws on Foucault’s descriptions and characterizations, in *Discipline and Punish*, of Jeremy Bentham’s panopticon to sketch definitions and qualities of what I conceive of as a panoptic toponymy, and all-seeing place-name system constructed as a symbolic icon to an idealized toponymic state, a “panoptonymy.” To investigate applications for the term panoptonymy, I look at the case of the Salish Sea toponym, which complicates Indigenous/settler interrelationships of toponymic power in a number of ways. A namescape is not a literal prison, but I contend conceptually, and in some ways administratively, that there are some congruencies and resonances in Foucault’s descriptions of Jeremy Bentham’s panopticon. I examine the ways in which the settler state of British Columbia administers its toponymic power. This paper employs a Foucauldian reading of toponymic power to reveal some unfamiliar qualities of the functions of power within settler-colonial namespaces. This exploration of the naming of the “Salish Sea” intends to complicate binary interpretations of Indigenous and settler toponymies. I conclude with the contention that those in power make the namescape and that this namescape maintains those in power on the landscape.

The third article, “Skateboarding in Place: Creating and Reclaiming Namescapes through ‘Skatescapes’,” is intended for academic and non-academic audiences; it explores ways in which personal namescapes differ from official, or state-sanctioned namescapes, and asks what skateboarders, and Indigenous skateboarders especially, can teach us about alternative ways to understand space, place, and toponyms. I discuss some ways in which skaters comprehend and experience place in a particular way, what I think of as a “skatescape”: a toponymic web composed of skater-known names for skate spots and local knowledge of their particular suitability to certain tricks. I reflect on personal namescapes and how they inform understandings of space, place, landscape, and narrative. Through a skateboarding lens I then consider these intersecting understandings to attempt to broaden the definition of a skatescape and in so doing speculate on how we create, share, and navigate our unique and personal namescapes. I argue that namescapes, personal or otherwise, inform how we understand the worlds around us and our places within them. I reveal that appreciating Indigenous skatescapes has illuminated a blind spot in my settler mindset—that up until recently, I had not acknowledged fully that each and every spot where I skated, then and now, was and is Indigenous land.

The fourth article, “The Haptic-Map Manifesto: Re-Imagining SENĆOTEN and Colonial Namescapes through Interactive Soundscapes,” considers ways in which an interactive art-object could defamiliarize status-quo conceptions of place and toponymy

through motion, touch, and sound. I propose one way to understand the cartographic self and toponymies through a three-dimensional, interactive object, a “haptic storymap”: a haptic (touch/motion-activated) topographic representation that “speaks” aloud Indigenous and settler toponyms. I posit that if we experience bodily the manner in which we construct our understandings of place, we may observe our compulsion to “belong” to place in a new light—I argue that this compulsion is informed through an intermixing of sensory, epistemological, cultural, and political influences. I submit that haptic map installations offer new ways to understand cominglings of settler and Indigenous spatial literacies through orality and that it is one possible response to calls from Indigenous Elders, Knowledge Keepers, artists, and scholars to place orality at the forefront of learning about language through landscape and place.

Coextensive with writing, I prototyped a working version of a haptic map called the *Untitled TETÁCES* map, which I co-created with artist and carver TEMOSEN in his studio in the Tsartlip First Nation.³³ In the “Haptic Map Manifesto” I describe the particular technologies employed and how the installation will work and look in terms of materials and scale, respectively. I also discuss this project’s partners and collaborators and the theoretical, political, and personal motivations driving the map’s creation. The *Untitled TETÁCES* map plays audio clips of spoken toponyms in SENĆOTEN and English. This version of a haptic map portrays a representation of the

³³ See <https://tsartlip.com>.

Saanich Peninsula's landscape and seascape but without roads, signs, buildings, or the usual Western cartographic marks. Instead, people are invited to engage physically with a representational topography, moving inside and interacting with the installation's landscape features to hear what they are called.

Finally, my blog writing on the namespace.ca website reports on various aspects of the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map. Intended for a public audience, each post is roughly 1,000 words in length and written in a friendly, journalistic style. Posts have two categories: "creating" and "reflecting." The former details resources and construction techniques for others wanting to make similar installations and the latter discusses the conceptual and collaborative thinking that inspired the installation's design and construction.

Contracolonial outcomes?

Through my dissertation and contracolonial work on the *Despatches* project, I will do what I can to shift my own and other settler understandings of Indigenous histories. I am inspired by conversations on the little things that make a difference, like ensuring that Métis is always capitalized or working behind the scenes to challenge the unexamined assumption of neutrality in the technologies that underpin and present digital content. The haptic map concept has two broad aspirations: to invite curiosity about how we experience connections to place through landscape and place names and

to provide new ways to learn orally about Indigenous and settler namescapes through curiosity and play. The haptic map is also my attempt to discover novel and creative ways for Indigenous and settler toponymies to coexist in what is normally a settler-dominant namescape and to encourage settlers to experience “Native geographies that unsettle” as ontological equals rather than “ontological disturbances.”³⁴ In a small way I hope that the haptic map, and my academic and community work, can address in some ways this passage in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s Summary: “The education system itself must be transformed into one that rejects the racism embedded in colonial systems of education and treats Aboriginal and Euro-Canadian knowledge systems with equal respect.”³⁵ I see namescapes, the web of place names we create, as a kind of knowledge system in urgent need of working toward an equal respect. Maybe the haptic map concept and the *Untitled TETÁCES* map will encourage new ways to experience Indigenous and settler namescapes.

³⁴ Natchee Blu Barnd, *Native Space: Geographic Strategies to Unsettle Settler Colonialism* (Corvallis: Oregon State UP, 2017), 6.

³⁵ TRC, “Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future,” 239.

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**Unfinished Business: PKOLS/Mount Douglas and Toponymic “Decolonization” on
the Saanich Peninsula**

Kim Shortreed

Doctoral Dissertation Portfolio: Article 3

November 28, 2022

The practice of naming often entails superimposing narratives that belong to those who gain the right to 'appropriate' places.¹

Thanks to a local news article, I found myself scrolling excitedly through the District of Central Saanich's Council minutes, an activity I would usually describe as the reading equivalent of white noise, no offense to Council or their minute taker. The news article reported that "Central Saanich is beginning work to add -traditional W̱SÁNEĆ names to road signs in the municipality, after a unanimous vote by council,"² and I was interested in the wording Council used to ratify this resolution. To borrow from their legalese, therefore be it resolved that I quote what I see as the key paragraph:

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT: the District of Central Saanich work with the W̱SÁNEĆ leadership council to develop a program for the gradual incorporation of traditional W̱SÁNEĆ names for key collector and arterial roads within the District of Central Saanich [. . .].³

¹ Anna Mongibello, "Place-Names and Self-Determination: Toponyms in Indigenous News Discourse," in *Shifting Toponymies: (Re)Naming Places, (Re)Shaping Identities*, ed. Luisa Caiazzo and I.M. Nick (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2020), 118. I interpret the word "gain" as a reference to those who have the cultural and political power to maintain a dominant toponymic order.

² Roxanne Egan-Elliott, "Central Saanich to Work with W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership to Add Traditional Names to Signs," *Times Colonist*, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www.timescolonist.com/news/local/central-saanich-to-work-with-w-sáneć-leadership-to-add-traditional-names-to-signs-1.24275157>.

³ The Corporation of the District of Central Saanich, "Regular Council – 25 Jan 2021," January 25, 2021, <https://centralsaanich.civicweb.net/Portal/MeetingInformation.aspx?Org=Cal&Id=1210>.

This resolution reminded me of the language used by the BC Geographical Names Office (BCGNO), in the BC Geographical Names Information System (BCGNIS) entry for Mount Douglas, in which the W̱SÁNEĆ name of “PKOLS” is described as a “traditional,” as opposed to the “official” name of Mount Douglas.⁴ I applaud the Central Saanich Council’s intentions to acknowledge W̱SÁNEĆ toponymies and, by extension, continued presence on the land, but I wonder about the differences between official and traditional toponyms, and what these distinctions mean in a toponymic-equity context. I am guided by several open-ended questions for my inquiry: what does toponymic legitimacy mean in the context of Indigenous-settler relations? What does it mean when settler bureaucracies, like the BCGNO and the Central Saanich Council, differentiate between so-called official and traditional names?⁵ What does “decolonization” look like through a toponymic lens? I wonder what the toponymic

⁴ BC Geographical Names Office, “Mount Douglas,” BC Geographical Names, accessed November 7, 2022, <http://apps.gov.bc.ca/pub/bcgnws/names/14790.html>. Note that on August 15, 2022, the District of Saanich Council approved a request by the W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council Board of Directors (featuring representatives from Tsartlip, Tseycum, and Tsawout) to “actively move forward with the restoration of the original name” of PKOLS. See W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council, “‘PKOLS (Mount Douglas Park)’ Restored as Official Name of Mount Douglas Park,” *W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council* (blog), accessed November 7, 2022, <https://wsanec.com/pkols-mount-douglas-park-restored-as-new-official-name-of-mount-douglas-park>. However, Saanich Council “can rename the park but will have to ask the province [the BCGNO] to rename the mountain itself.” See CBC News, “Mount Douglas or PKOLS? Park Getting Closer to New Name Requested by Local First Nations,” CBC, July 7, 2021, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/pkols-renaming-decision-1.6093382>.

⁵ “The BC Geographical Names Information System contains the master database of B.C. place names and holds approximately 50,000 current and former B.C. names.” See BC Geographical Names Office. “BC Geographical Names.” Accessed November 7, 2022. <http://apps.gov.bc.ca/pub/bcgnws>.

story of PKOLS/Mount Douglas can teach us, if anything, about what to expect from the Central Saanich Council's resolution.

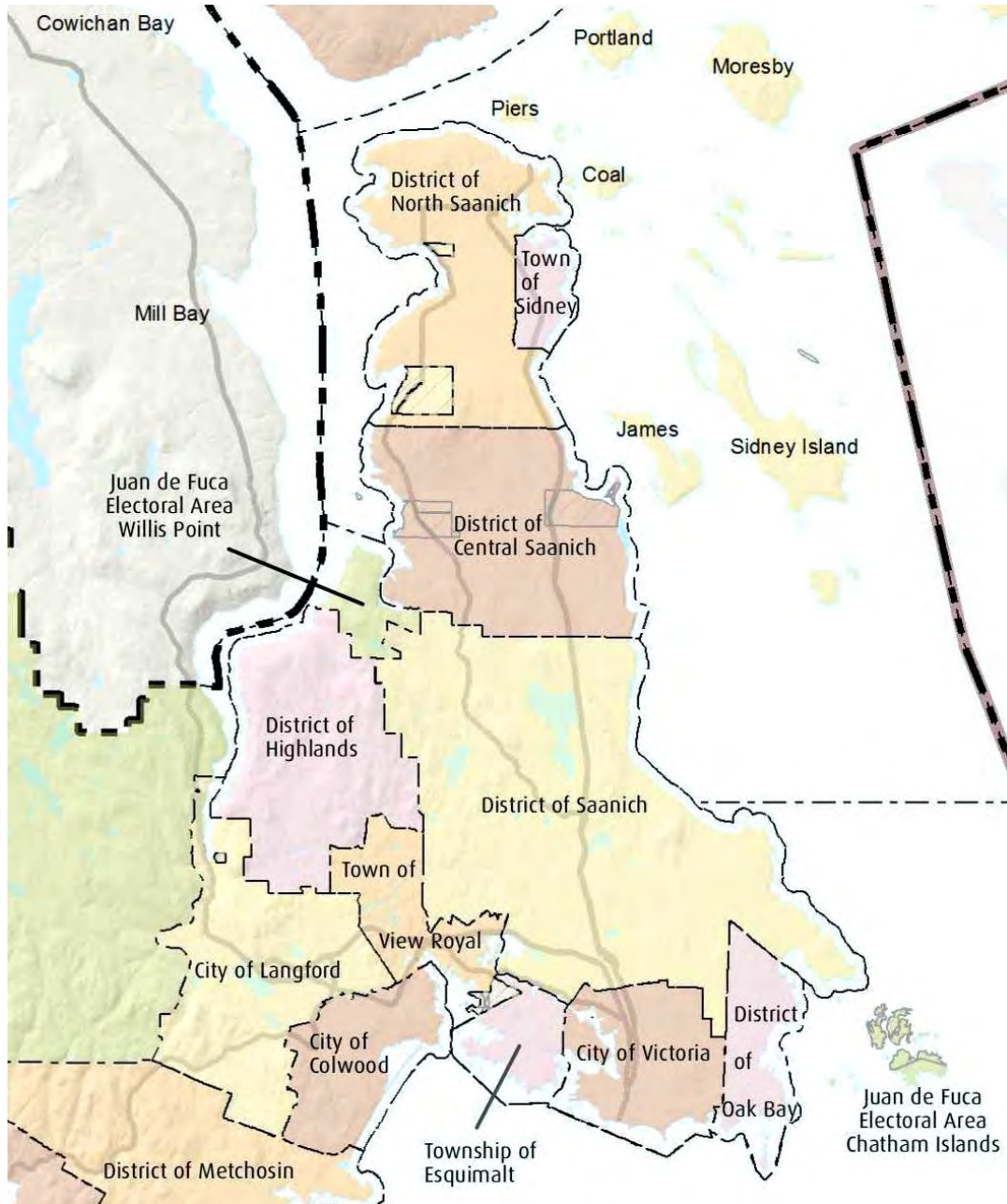


Fig. 1. Map showing the municipality of the District of Central Saanich on the Saanich Peninsula.⁶

⁶ Capital Regional District, "Capital Regional District Administrative Boundaries," (CRD, 2017), <https://www.crd.bc.ca/docs/default-source/crd-document-library/maps/administrative-boundaries/crd-admin-boundaries.pdf>.

The Central Saanich Council's resolution reflects similar instances of Indigenous toponym acknowledgment and incorporation into local namescapes. Note the word "incorporation" in the resolution: does this imply that Indigenous toponyms will be co-legitimized, officially and historically, or absorbed into an existing, dominant toponymic system? Most readers, especially on the West Coast, will have heard of the Salish Sea, which has undergone a similar toponymic journey, one that Reuben Rose-Redwood and Brian Tucker describe in "Decolonizing the Map? Toponymic Politics and the Rescaling of the Salish Sea":

given that the term 'Salish' is a direct reference to the Indigenous peoples who have inhabited these lands and travelled these waters since time immemorial, it is critical to consider the extent to which this act of place naming can be seen as another step toward 'decolonizing the map' (Huggan 1989) or whether it reinforces neocolonial relations of socio-spatial dispossession by further normalizing the authority of the state in the 'colonial present' (Gregory 2004).⁷

One reading of Tucker and Rose-Redwood is that any *settler-led* incorporation of Indigenous-related toponymies is a continued colonization, or recolonization, of historical and current Indigenous space; they suggest that an independent, Indigenous

⁷ Brian Tucker and Reuben Rose-Redwood, "Decolonizing the Map? Toponymic Politics and the Rescaling of the Salish Sea," *The Canadian Geographer* 59, no. 2 (2015): 196, <https://doi.org/10.1111/cag.12140>.

namespace could never exist *within* a settler naming “authority.” Adoptions like that of the Salish Sea and the toponyms proposed by the Central Saanich Council risk continuing the legacy, as Tucker and Rose-Redwood argue, of Indigenous “toponymic dispossession,” whereby “pre-existing systems of Indigenous place naming were ignored, selectively adopted, or systematically expunged from colonial maps at the same time as many places were renamed in accordance with various European traditions of geographical nomenclature.”⁸ Tucker and Rose-Redwood’s critiques are both understandable and essential for speaking truth to toponymic power, but toponymic dispossession is more complex than they suggest. I also see cause for onomastic optimism in the recent rise in Indigenous-led toponymic reclamation, as in the example of PKOLS, and creation, as in the example of bilingual Hul’q’umi’num street signs in the city of Duncan.⁹

Settler authorities like the Central Saanich Council and settler gazetteers like the BC Geographical Names Office¹⁰ administer English toponyms from particular cultural

⁸ Tucker and Rose-Redwood, “Decolonizing the Map?,” 198.

⁹ See Kim Shortreed, “Place-Name Changes in and around the Salish Sea,” accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www.namescape.ca/2022/08/name-changes-list.html>.

¹⁰ The BCGNO notes that “the application of names to geographical features is a public trust, carried out for the benefit of present and future generations,” and the “BC Geographical Naming Policy and Procedures” document, to which the BCGNO adheres, specifies that the “Ministry of Forests, Lands, Natural Resource Operations and Rural Development is responsible for naming geographical features in British Columbia.” See Province of British Columbia, “Geographical Names,” accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/governments/celebrating-british-columbia/historic-places/geographical-names> and “British Columbia’s Geographical Naming Principles, Policy and Procedures” document: https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/british-columbians-our-governments/our-history/historic-places/documents/heritage/geog_naming_policy_2017.pdf.

perspectives and through neocolonial systems, but these same systems and administrative bodies are composed, like any sociopolitical entity, of people potentially swayed by the influence of public opinion, and these opinions can influence policies. The toponymic activist in me finds the settler state agonizingly slow to honour, respect, and support Indigenous-led namescape recognition, but I do see increased evidence of toponymic discourse in public media, as seen through the example of PKOLS/Mount Douglas, in WSÁNEĆ (Saanich) Territory. An examination of the PKOLS renaming of Mount Douglas can teach us something about shared Indigenous/settler toponymies past and present and about what possible toponymic futures might emerge. To begin, I will sketch my understanding of the various origins and meanings of PKOLS/Mount Douglas.

Some Toponymic Origins of PKOLS/Mount Douglas



Fig. 2. My photograph from the top of “Pkaals (p’q’a-ls),”¹¹ or Mount Tolmie.

I have multiple, personal experiences of PKOLS. When I was bike racing seriously, we trained and raced on its steep, paved climb to the top—it was as agonizing as one might expect to climb almost 200 metres in around 1.5 kilometers.¹² My years as a trail runner and racer made me memorize its every labyrinthine route, although I still get pleasantly lost there occasionally. I have also come to learn that the area around PKOLS has its own micro-climates and an accordingly diverse flora and fauna. I can always orient myself when lost if I can see the bold, rocky peak, and so it makes intuitive sense to me that Dave Elliot Sr., in *Saltwater People*, translates PKOLS as “white head.”¹³ Phillip Kevin Paul, in *The Care-Takers*, has the same translation: “white head.”¹⁴ However, the First Peoples’ Map of B.C. translates PKOLS, for the languages of SENĆOTEN, Malchosen, Lekwungen, Semiahmoo, and T’sou-ke, as “white rock.”¹⁵ Settlers like me might be taught to see this difference as a contradiction, but Paul shares, through his understanding of W̱SÁNEĆ Peoples’ oral naming practices, that “[w]ords

¹¹ This is the ləkʷəŋən word for this feature. See Wilson Duff, “The Fort Victoria Treaties,” *BC Studies*, no. 3 (1969): 27, <https://doi.org/10.14288/bcs.v0i3.607>.

¹² District of Saanich Parks notes the overall height of “Mount Douglas” as 225 metres. See District of Saanich, “Mount Douglas Park,” <https://www.saanich.ca>, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www.saanich.ca/EN/main/parks-recreation-community/parks/parks-trails-amenities/signature-parks/mount-douglas-park.html>. Note the absence of any mention of “PKOLS” on this web page.

¹³ Dave Elliott Sr., *Saltwater People* (Saanich: School District 63, 1983), 27.

¹⁴ Phillip Kevin Paul, *The Care-Takers: The Re-Emergence of the Saanich Indian Map* (Sidney: Institute of Ocean Sciences, 1995), 9, <https://waves-vagues.dfo-mpo.gc.ca/Library/181814.pdf>.

¹⁵ First Peoples’ Cultural Council, “PKOLS,” First Peoples’ Map of B.C., August 27, 2019, <https://maps.fpcc.ca/place-names/pkols>.

in my people's language often express a more general idea than the words in the English language" and that "[t]his concept allows the intent of an idea to clearly outweigh the details used to depict."¹⁶ In light of Paul's words, I do not see contradictions between "white head" and "white rock" because both carry an effective and descriptive *intent* and, in my experience, depending on my sense of the space, weather, trick of the light, or position on the slopes, it can look like one or the other, or both.¹⁷

In 1969, settler historian Wilson Duff, in "The Fort Victoria Treaties," cites Elders "Mrs. Sophie Misheal and Mr. Ned Williams"¹⁸ as the naming source for "Pkaals (p'q'a-ls)," which refers to "the name of Mount Tolmie."¹⁹ Duff adds that "another elderly Songhees gentleman, Jimmy Fraser,"²⁰ mentions "the same name for 'a beach outside Cadboro Bay'."²¹ I read the intent of these toponyms as signaling features that stand out, contrasting in "white" in this case, within the surrounding landscape—such descriptions could apply to a sandy beach along a dark, rocky shore, which is a

¹⁶ Paul, *The Care-Takers*, 1.

¹⁷ It is worth noting that concepts of "colour" vary linguistically and culturally and that to understand "white" as Paul describes it is potentially, as Anna Wierzbicka argues, to fall into a "trap of Anglocentrism." See Anna Wierzbicka, "Why There Are No 'Colour Universals' in Language and Thought," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 14, no. 2 (2008): 421, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9655.2008.00509.x>.

¹⁸ Duff, "The Fort Victoria Treaties," 27.

¹⁹ Duff, 50. Mount Tolmie is roughly four kilometres SSE of PKOLS/Mount Douglas and it is also crowned in light-coloured rock.

²⁰ Duff, 27.

²¹ Duff, 50.

common characteristic for the area described by Jimmy Fraser. Mark Palmer and Cadey Korson, in “Decolonizing World Heritage Maps Using Indigenous Toponyms, Stories, and Interpretive Attributes,” provide another way to interpret toponymic variability when they describe “entangled toponymies,” whereby toponyms represent “fragments of cultural landscapes,”²² which suggests that differences in cultural use and interpretation of shared landscapes would be reflected toponymically and, in the case of PKOLS, between the ləkʷəŋən People, known today as the Esquimalt and Songhees Nations,²³ and the W̱SÁNEĆ People,²⁴ respectively.

Settler culture has its own names for PKOLS, and the place known also as Mount Douglas has its own toponymic entanglements and story to tell. Michael Layland’s *The Land of Heart’s Delight: Early Maps and Charts of Vancouver Island* relates that Mount Douglas used to be known to settlers as “Cedar Hill,” as “this was where, in 1843, the pickets for the fort [Fort Victoria] had been harvested.”²⁵ The hill became a mountain in name only because a settler surveyor, Henry Richards of the Royal Navy, bent a cartographic rule:

²² Mark Palmer and Cadey Korson, “Decolonizing World Heritage Maps Using Indigenous Toponyms, Stories, and Interpretive Attributes,” *Cartographica: The International Journal for Geographic Information and Geovisualization* 55, no. 3 (2020): 185, <https://doi.org/10.3138/cart-2019-0014>.

²³ Songhees Nation, “Ləkʷəŋən Traditional Territory,” accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www.songheesnation.ca/community/l-k-ng-n-traditional-territory>.

²⁴ W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council, “Á,LEŊENEŁ ŁTE—Our Homeland,” *W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council* (blog), accessed November 7, 2022, <https://wsanec.com/history-territory>.

²⁵ Michael Layland, *The Land of Heart’s Delight: Early Maps and Charts of Vancouver Island* (Victoria: TouchWood Editions, 2013), 118-19.

The Admiralty's standard hydrographic instructions decreed that no topographic feature less than 1,000 feet (304 metres) high could be called a mountain, and Mount Douglas measured only 696 feet (211.6 metres). Rather than give offence to the governor—'the father of British Columbia'—by demoting the feature to 'Douglas Hill,' Richards bent the rule to retain the local usage.²⁶

Richards bent the rule further, in terms of height for the hill, at only 120 metres (394 feet),²⁷ illustrating that cartographic tenets have exceptions and that toponymic influences and stories can be correlational. Roderick Finlayson, the officer in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Victoria, contributes to Mount Douglas's naming story with this part of a journal entry for August 12, 1846:

The *Cadboro* is said to be still in the offing, being detained with the mildness of the weather. The fires now run in all directions between this {place} & Cedar Hill & one of our carters got to the hay in time to save what remained exposed of it in that quarter. Captain Kellett finding no cedars on the hill called by that name, the cedar being about two miles beyond it, called it by the name of 'Mount Douglas' which we shall hereafter term it.²⁸

²⁶ Layland, *The Land of Heart's Delight*, 119.

²⁷ District of Saanich, "Mount Tolmie Park," <https://www.saanich.ca>, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www.saanich.ca/EN/main/parks-recreation-community/parks/parks-trails-amenities/signature-parks/mount-tolmie-park.html>.

²⁸ Roderick Finlayson, "Victoria Post Journal August 1846," ed. Graham Brazier (University of Victoria), accessed November 7, 2022, <http://www.fortvictoriajournal.ca/1846-august.php>.

Finlayson may have committed to calling Cedar Hill “hereafter” Mount Douglas, but settler charts took some time to make this shift, and for a while this toponym was in transition between colloquial and formal usage. In June of 1851, Richard Blanshard, the first governor of Vancouver Island, reports to Henry George Grey, British parliamentary under-secretary at the Colonial Office, that

The [Hudson’s] Bay Company have commenced a survey of the land reserved to themselves, which is bounded by a line drawn nearly due North from the head of Victoria harbour to a hill marked on the charts as Cedar Hill, or Mount Douglas, and thence running due East to the Canal de Arro.²⁹

In 1852, eight years after Finlayson’s declaration, and a year following Blanshard’s double-name usage, surveyor Joseph D. Pemberton’s *Map showing Haro Strait and Cordova Bay* calls it “Douglas Hill”³⁰ despite it being already established by then as Mount Douglas (see fig. 3.).

²⁹ Richard Blanshard, “Blanshard, Richard to Grey, Henry George 15 June 1850, CO 305:2, No. 7378, 57,” *Colonial Despatches*, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://bcgenesis.uvic.ca/V50003.html>.

³⁰ Joseph D. Pemberton, “Map Showing Haro Strait and Cordova Bay,” *Colonial Despatches*, 1852, <https://bcgenesis.uvic.ca/G1-130.html>.



Fig. 3. Map section showing “Douglas Hill,” with my bounding box added.³¹

Pemberton may have intended wryly to knock Douglas down a cartographic peg, from mountain to hill, or he may have used a toponym based on local, settler usage at the time; regardless of the many possible explanations, Pemberton’s map captures a moment of toponymic flux before it settled into the BCGNO’s current “official” name of Mount Douglas. The BCGNO tells its own story about this toponym’s origins, both in its historical sources and the language it uses to present and legitimize the information.

³¹ Pemberton, “Map Showing Haro Strait and Cordova Bay.”

Under “Origin Notes and History” they note that ““Mount Douglas (not Cedar Hill)” was “adopted in the 9th Report of the Geographic Board of Canada, 1910, as labelled on J.D. Pemberton's 1855 map of Southeastern Districts of Vancouver Island, prepared for the Hudson's Bay Company.”³² A BCGNO “BC place name card” is cited to speculate on Cedar Hill/Douglas Hill’s renaming: “Presumably the feature was renamed when James Douglas gave this and surrounding land to the City of Victoria (date not cited), and the descriptive ‘hill’ changed to ‘mountain’ as befitting a person held in such high esteem.”³³ The BGCNO’s description is curious to me for two reasons. First, I find it interesting that an administrative body like the BCGNO, the self-proclaimed keepers of “official” names, nevertheless relies on a presumption for part of its origin—to offer another presumption, there may be no way to verify in the settler historical record why exactly this feature was named after Douglas. Second, I wonder what Tsawout hereditary Chief WEC’KINEM Eric Pelkey would make of the declaration that Douglas “gave” the “surrounding land” away, especially since WEC’KINEM recounts that it was atop PKOLS that “James Douglas and his men” met with WSÁNEĆ Chiefs in 1852 to discuss and sign a treaty between the local Indigenous Peoples and settlers.³⁴

³² BC Geographical Names Office, “Mount Douglas.”

³³ BCGNO, “Mount Douglas.”

³⁴ Rabble staff, “PKOLS: First Nations Plan Day of Action to Reclaim Original Name of Mount Douglas in Victoria,” Rabble.ca, May 21, 2013, <https://rabble.ca/news/2013/05/pkols-first-nations-plan-day-action-to-reclaim-original-name-mount-douglas-victoria>. See also David Ball, “Saanich People Launch Campaign to Restore Traditional Landmark Names,” Ammsa.com, 2013, <https://www.ammsa.com/publications/ravens-eye/saanich-people-launch-campaign-restore-traditional-landmark-names>.

PKOLS “Reclaimed”



Fig. 4. Image from the “Reclaim PKOLS” ceremony on May 22, 2013.³⁵

WEC’KINEM, interviewed prior to the 2013 event to “Reclaim PKOLS,” affirms that “PKOLS is a part of our creation story within the W̱SÁNEĆ nation; and it’s where our treaty was first agreed to in 1852.”³⁶ The “Reclaim PKOLS” event certainly is a reclamation within the context of a dominant, settler namescape; direct actions like the renaming ceremony and placing of the PKOLS sign are about more than toponyms, as WEC’KINEM articulates: “Our ancestors must have been wondering when we would

³⁵ Bruce Stotesbury, Photograph, May 22, 2013, *Times Colonist*, https://images.glaciermedia.ca/polopoly_fs/1.228917.1369287042!/fileImage/httpImage/image.jpg_gen/derivatives/landscape_804/a1-best1-9226-jpg.jpg.

³⁶ Rabble staff, “PKOLS.”

start reacting to the things that have been done to us.”³⁷ In addition to this ancestral connection, artist TEMOSEŅTET Charles Elliot, who carved the PKOLS sign, describes the reclamation/reassertion of this toponym as “a small bit of decolonization.”³⁸ I see also that WŚÁNEĆ toponymic assertion is a way to remind settlers that WŚÁNEĆ namespaces existed thousands of years prior to colonization.³⁹

³⁷ Judith Lavoie, “It’s Pkols, Not Mount Douglas, Marchers Proclaim,” *Times Colonist*, May 22, 2013, <https://www.timescolonist.com/news/local/it-s-pkols-not-mount-douglas-marchers-proclaim-1.228920>.

³⁸ Louise Dickson, “Reclaimed Pkols (Mount Douglas) a Source of First Nation Pride,” *Times Colonist*, May 22, 2014, <https://www.timescolonist.com/news/local/reclaimed-pkols-mount-douglas-a-source-of-first-nation-pride-1.1072179>.

³⁹ For example, David Ball writes, as told by Chief WEC’KINEM, that in “WŚÁNEĆ tradition, the mountain [LÁU,WELNEW (Mount Newton)] helped save inhabitants from rising floodwaters 10,000 years ago,” what WEC’KINEM recounts as “the Great Flood.” See Ball, “A People’s Geography of BC: Renaming of Saanich Mountain Latest in Campaign to Reclaim Indigenous Landmarks,” *The Tyee*, May 27, 2013, <https://thetyee.ca/News/2013/05/27/Peoples-Geography-BC>. Tsawout Chief and scholar Nicholas XEMFOLTW Claxton attests that “The WŚÁNEĆ people have lived on the lands and waters of the WŚÁNEĆ territory since time immemorial.” See Nicholas XEMFOLTW Claxton and John Price, “Whose Land Is It? Rethinking Sovereignty in British Columbia,” *BC Studies*, no. 204 (2020 2019): 117.



Fig. 5. Image of the PKOLS sign.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ My transcription of the sign's text is as follows:

Located in W̱SÁNEĆ territory and on the border of Lekwungen territory, this has been, and remains, an important meeting place for many Nations. This reclamation of PKOLS to replace the colonial name of Mount Douglas recognizes the nation-to-nation agreements negotiated here and supports ongoing efforts of Indigenous and settler people to restore balanced relationships to the lands they call home.

Image modified from Ed Wiebe, PKOLS Sign on Mount Douglas in Saanich, BC, Photograph, March 26, 2017, Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:PKOLS_sign_on_Mount_Douglas_in_Saanich,_BC.jpg.

In the same way that “the Douglas Treaty was never upheld,” will the name PKOLS be forgotten or will it be acknowledged officially?⁴¹ In part, it depends upon the degree to which this toponym is “performed.” Tucker and Rose-Redwood argue, in the case of the adoption of the Salish Sea toponym, that “the naming process itself must be reframed as part of a broader theory of performativity, which considers how the repetitious performance of material-discursive practices helps constitute the embodied identities of both people and places.”⁴² Tucker and Rose-Redwood evoke a kind of toponymic presencing on the land by way of speaking a place into being, through a collective toponymic embodiment.⁴³ Through the lens of settler toponymic normativity PKOLS is relatively newly embodied,⁴⁴ not quite as formed in West Coast settler usage

⁴¹ Ball, “Saanich People Launch Campaign.”

⁴² Tucker and Rose-Redwood, “Decolonizing the Map?,” 196.

⁴³ Leanne Betasamosake Simpson asserts that, regardless of their names, “All Canadian cities are on Indigenous lands,” and that “Indigenous presence is attacked in all geographies,” of which I include conceptual geographies, like the ones theorized by Tucker and Rose-Redwood. See Simpson, “Land as Pedagogy: Nishnaabeg Intelligence and Rebellious Transformation,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education + Society* 3, no. 3 (2014): 23.

⁴⁴ Lawrence Berg suggests one way to see settlers’ approach naming normativity—the expected and understood, or hegemonic, namescape—through the lens of “banal” namespaces, through which toponyms “pass relatively unremarked” by settlers, but nevertheless perpetuate a toponymic paradigm in which “whites are able to safely ignore Aboriginal people, and banal names lend a sense of the everyday to processes that reinforce the effacement of this dispossession and marginalization of Aboriginal people.” See “Banal Naming, Neoliberalism, and Landscapes of Dispossession,” *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies* 10, no. 1 (2011): 20. I see Berg’s characterizations as distinct from what Glen Coulthard defines as “grounded normativity,” from which we could imagine a grounded toponymy also defined by the “modalities of Indigenous land-connected practices and longstanding experiential knowledge that inform and structure our ethical engagements with the world and our relationships with human and nonhuman others over time.” See Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (Minneapolis: Minnesota UP, 2014), 13. Sarah de Leeuw and Sarah Hunt augment Coulthard’s definition as “the ability to maintain land- and water-based practices through which Indigenous knowledge is fostered,” from de Leeuw and Hunt, “Unsettling Decolonizing Geographies,” *Geography Compass* 12, no. 7 (2018): 9, <https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12376>.

as, for example, Haida Gwaii, formerly Queen Charlotte Islands in the settler toponymic record.⁴⁵ Could we say that the use of one toponym dis-embodies another? This is an important question to consider as Indigenous Peoples and settlers work together to grapple with what it means to “decolonize” namescapes, especially in cases of name replacements as opposed to co-naming.⁴⁶ WEC'KINEM wants “to replace the colonial name of Mount Douglas” in order to support “ongoing efforts of Indigenous and settler people to restore balanced relationships.”⁴⁷ WEC'KINEM is unequivocal that PKOLS should replace the name Mount Douglas, not just colloquially, but in the settler-state’s toponymic authority, the BCGNO, to whom WEC'KINEM wrote “an official application” for a change of name: “We request that the province of B.C. officially recognize the traditional name Pkols to replace the colonial name Mount Douglas in the Geographic Names Registry.”⁴⁸ Rose-Redwood, in ““Reclaim, Rename, Reoccupy”:
Decolonizing Place and the Reclaiming of PKOLS,” summarizes the outcome of WEC'KINEM’s request as follows:

Although neither the Saanich government nor the Province of British Columbia have officially endorsed the use of PKOLS as a geographical designation, the

⁴⁵ See BC Geographical Names Office, “Haida Gwaii,” BC Geographical Names, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://apps.gov.bc.ca/pub/bcgnws/names/61561.html>.

⁴⁶ See the relatively recent example of ŁÁU, WELŃEW_/ John Dean Park as an example of an official co-naming toponym. See BC Geographical Names Office, “ŁÁU, WELŃEW_/ John Dean Park,” accessed November 7, 2022, <https://apps.gov.bc.ca/pub/bcgnws/names/73601.html>.

⁴⁷ Wiebe, *PKOLS Sign*.

⁴⁸ Lavoie, “It’s Pkols, Not Mount Douglas.”

reinstallation of the sign by Saanich government employees was a tacit acknowledgement of its legitimacy.⁴⁹ The provincial government has also now listed PKOLS as the ‘traditional’ name of Mount Douglas in its ‘Original Notes and History’ section of the BC Geographical Names webpage, thereby recognizing PKOLS yet relegating it to the realm of ‘history’ while maintaining Mount Douglas as the official name of this landmark in the settler-colonial geographical lexicon.⁵⁰

My reading of Rose-Redwood is that the settler state offers PKOLS a “legitimacy” that stops halfway: acknowledged but not official. However, it is important to remember that the renaming and the ceremony were about so much more than toponymic legitimacy within the dominant settler namescape; it was, as Rose-Redwood asserts, also

about more than reacting to injustice of colonial dispossession; rather, it was a performative enactment of Indigenous ways of knowing and being with the land, a declaration of cultural resurgence, and an assertion of the right to authorize the

⁴⁹ Note that the Saanich Parks & Recreation Department removed the sign shortly after its original installation. See Sarah Petrescu, “Saanich Removes Aboriginal-Name Sign from Mount Douglas over Safety Concerns,” *Times Colonist*, October 19, 2013, <https://www.timescolonist.com/local-news/saanich-removes-aboriginal-name-sign-from-mount-douglas-over-safety-concerns-4600912>.

⁵⁰ Reuben Rose-Redwood, “‘Reclaim, Rename, Reoccupy’: Decolonizing Place and the Reclaiming of PKOLS,” *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 15, no. 1 (2016): 192, <https://acme-journal.org/index.php/acme/article/view/1215/1167>.

decolonization of ‘place’ without seeking prior permission from the settler-colonial state.⁵¹

For settlers who might feel challenged by Indigenous names,⁵² it is crucial to remember that historical and ongoing colonization is predicated in part on a ceaseless and systemic state of imbalance between Indigenous and settler cultures and languages.⁵³

The current toponymic landscape reflects hegemonic cartographies of settler revisionism; and this same metaphorical landscape is apparently resists Indigenous toponymic reclamation—in the case of Queen Charlotte Islands > Haida Gwaii, for example, it took the administrative cudgel of Bill 18: the Haida Gwaii Reconciliation Act to affect toponymic change.⁵⁴ The rebalancing of Indigenous and settler toponymies will require multiple approaches, including the one ratified by Central Saanich Council at the municipal level. Any “decolonizing” of namespaces begins with settlers and settler institutions making toponymic space for Indigenous presence and doing the work, as called for by the W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council, “to help the W̱SÁNEĆ Nation in their

⁵¹ Rose-Redwood, “‘Reclaim, Rename, Reoccupy’,” 191.

⁵² See Glenn Jim, “Comment: Take the Time to Learn Proper Pronunciation of Indigenous Names,” *Times Colonist*, June 23, 2021, <https://www.timescolonist.com/opinion/op-ed/comment-take-the-time-to-learn-proper-pronunciation-of-indigenous-names-1.24334359>.

⁵³ Rose-Redwood remarks that

the reactionary politics that often surface within the settler society when the norms of colonial hegemony are challenged indicate how settler colonialism in British Columbia, and in Canada more generally, is an *ongoing* project that depends upon the continuous reiteration of colonial ways of knowing and being-in-the-world.

See “‘Reclaim, Rename, Reoccupy’,” 198.

⁵⁴ See Province of British Columbia, “Haida Gwaii Reconciliation Act” (2010), https://www.bclaws.gov.bc.ca/civix/document/id/complete/statreg/10017_01.

efforts to revitalize W̱SÁNEĆ culture and re-establish a W̱SÁNEĆ presence on W̱SÁNEĆ lands.”⁵⁵ A “decolonized” namespace is also one that welcomes current and future Indigenous toponymies. Early in 2021, the City of Duncan’s Downtown Duncan Business Improvement Area association’s press release announced that “Duncan City Council has passed our initiative to install bilingual Hul’q’umi’num and English street signs in downtown Duncan.”⁵⁶ The “Hul’q’umi’num Signage project, or ‘Nanum tu Sul-hween i tu Smuneem’” is intended to “reflect the downtown business community’s leadership in building relationships and fostering meaningful connections with Cowichan Tribes”⁵⁷ and, as the project-awareness video describes it, takes “a positive step towards reconciliation.”⁵⁸ In this project, Indigenous voices are reacting to and naming settler spaces: “[s]ome of the Hul’q’umi’num names are direct or close translations of their English counterparts, while others represent items of cultural significance to Cowichan Tribes,” and this kind of “working together,” as Elder Lucy

⁵⁵ W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council, “W̱SÁNEĆ Art Protocol,” W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council (blog), accessed November 7, 2022, <https://wsanec.com/4482-2>.

⁵⁶ Downtown Duncan Business Improvement Area, “Hul’q’umi’num Signage Project / Nanum Tu Sul-Hween i Tu Smuneem” (City of Duncan, January 18, 2021), https://duncan.ca/wp-content/uploads/dlm_uploads/2021/01/Press-Release-Hul%E2%80%99q%E2%80%99umi%E2%80%99num-Signage-Project-Nanum-tu-Sul-hween-i-tu-Smuneem.pdf.

⁵⁷ DDBIA, “Hul’q’umi’num Signage Project / Nanum Tu Sul-Hween i Tu Smuneem.”

⁵⁸ Cowichan Tribes, Downtown Duncan BIA, and City of Duncan, *Hul’q’umi’num Signage Project / Nanum Tu Sul-Hween i Tu Smuneem*, 2021, <https://youtu.be/oCPy0p5d3S0>. Note that this video also provides Hul’q’umi’num pronunciations for each of the new toponyms.

Thomas says,⁵⁹ can serve as a reminder that Indigenous toponyms are living, vital, and current, not just reflective of namespaces of the “realm of ‘history’.”⁶⁰ Chair of the First Peoples’ Cultural Foundation and professor emeritus at the University of Victoria Lorna Wanosts’a7 Williams proposes that initiatives like the Hul’q’umi’num Signage project is a step toward “turning back the whole tide of the way that this country has been established” and a way to knit language of place with places themselves:

For people to see our languages in a written form, I think, is a big thing . . . it makes people realize that there’s a whole world that they don’t even know about. [. . .] And because the languages really were born on that land, if they are part of that land, then the language has to be a part of them. It’s their responsibility. If they’ve adopted that land, then they’ve adopted the voice of that land.⁶¹

In light of the semiotic symbiosis between language and place that Lorna Wanosts’a7 Williams describes, it should be no surprise that Indigenous toponymic resurgence is intrinsic to Indigenous land reclamation and anti-colonial work. Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, writing on the PKOLS renaming, echoes Williams’s words with the declaration that “the reclamation of PKOLS is an extraordinarily important act for the

⁵⁹ Carla Wilson, “Bilingual Hul’q’umi’num Street Signs Coming to Downtown Duncan,” *Times Colonist*, January 19, 2021, <https://www.timescolonist.com/news/local/bilingual-hul-q-umi-num-street-signs-coming-to-downtown-duncan-1.24269901>.

⁶⁰ Rose-Redwood, “Reclaim, Rename, Reoccupy,” 192.

⁶¹ Wilson, “Bilingual Hul’q’umi’num Street Signs.”

STÁUTW, Songhees and the WSÁNEĆ because it physically connects them to a powerful place, alive with story, and breathing with history.”⁶² It should also come as no surprise that we can expect to see increased Indigenous toponymic resurgence, as in the examples discussed here, and others like the series of recent municipal votes in Haida Gwaii in support of changing “12 priority names,” names, according to Village of Queen Charlotte mayor Kris Olsen, “that basically need some changing due to colonialism.”⁶³ I am excited to see how renewed, acknowledged, and new Indigenous namescapes will alter settler understandings of Indigenous presence, to shift it, as Lyn Carter suggests in “Naming to Own Place Names as Indicators of Human Interaction with the Environment,” from a *place* of history to a *space* of the present.⁶⁴

⁶² Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, “Restoring the Original Name of Mount Douglas,” HuffPost Canada, May 23, 2013, https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/leanne-simpson/mount-douglas-name-change_b_3315257.html.

⁶³ Karissa Gall, “All-Islands Protocol Table Working to Restore Haida Place Names,” *Haida Gwaii Observer*, July 24, 2020, <https://www.haidagwaiiobserver.com/news/all-islands-protocol-table-working-to-restore-haida-place-names-on-haida-gwaii>.

⁶⁴ Carter, speaking to an English/Māori context, observes that historical discourses in English have always portrayed Māori in a temporal context within New Zealand rather than in a spatial one. This idea of ‘past Māori occupation’ firmly established Māori in another time, occupying some distant past. This renders their stories of occupation and ongoing relationships with the landscape as seemingly irrelevant in a contemporary situation. See Lyn Carter, “Naming to Own Place Names as Indicators of Human Interaction with the Environment,” *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples* 1, no. 1 (December 1, 2005): 9, <https://doi.org/10.1177/117718010500100102>.

Toponymic harmony is unfinished business

When we settlers come to learn about the living and historical palimpsestic meanings of many Indigenous toponyms around us, we might better understand the urgency with which these namespaces need to be restored, created, and championed. This is not to say that some settlers do not feel an affinity for settler pasts and present as experienced through the lens of toponyms. Toponymic harmony will likely prove as difficult as any aspect of reconciliation; it may remain eternally unfinished business, continually “contested processes through which places are brought into being by an assortment of naming practices.”⁶⁵ Furthermore, there is a difference between administrative (official, settler gazetteers) and public (every-day) recognition, as illustrated earlier through the toponymic journey of PKOLS > Cedar Hill > Douglas Hill > Mount Douglas > PKOLS. It is important to remember that an uprising of one namespace alongside another need not be an expunging of either, and I can envisage a toponymic future in which the settler state and public become at least more cognizant of toponymic complexities around them. This awareness might lead to a non-dualistic sense of namespaces, that is, as *either* “Indigenous” or “settler,” and afford toponyms the flexibility and adaptive nature we expect of language, as seen, for example, in Chinook jargon, which John Lutz, in *Makúk: A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations*,

⁶⁵ Rose-Redwood, “‘Reclaim, Rename, Reoccupy,’” 192.

describes as, in part, “a language of cultural interaction, of improvisation, and it was built cooperatively.”⁶⁶ Inspired by Lutz’s description of Chinook jargon as the “quintessential language of hybridity,” or “a semantic hybrid,” we might ask, could any of the past, present, and future namescapes around us demonstrate toponymic hybridity? This question is beyond the scope of this paper, but it bears consideration because many of the toponyms around us are hybrids of sorts, as Anglicized versions of Indigenous words.⁶⁷ Through Russian philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin’s definitions, Lutz relates that semantic hybrids reflect two intentions and two consciousnesses, but not necessarily a mix of either, noting that one language needs another in order to know itself.⁶⁸ Indigenous languages and toponymies knew and know themselves entirely without the need for a settler foil; however, in a contemporary context, the resurgence of Indigenous toponymies is revealing much about the settler-colonial consciousness that built and maintains settler-colonial namescapes and by extension worldviews.

⁶⁶ John S. Lutz, *Makúk: A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009), 29.

⁶⁷ The Government of Canada mentions that Canada has “close to 30 000 official place names . . . of Indigenous origin,” noting that there were “23 303 confirmed Indigenous names,” “6272 probable Indigenous names,” and “84 Indigenous languages or dialects represented in these names,” as of 2016. See Natural Resources Canada, “Indigenous Place Names,” June 9, 2017, <https://natural-resources.canada.ca/earth-sciences/geography/indigenous-place-names/19739>. See also Google Earth’s (web application) “guided tour” of “Canada’s Original Place Names”: Google LLC, “Canada’s Original Place Names,” earth.google.com, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://earth.google.com/web/search/Canad/@55.9507777,-79.3264198,-1415.23886731a,5912052.17642248d,35y,23.89357227h,0t,0r/data=CkwSIhIgYmVjMmFjMDczMzhlMTFIOGEzYTfmZjM4NTk0YmQ5ZmEiJgokCQAAAAAAAAAAAAEQAAAAAAAAAAGQAAAAAAAAAAAIQAAAAAAAAAAA>.

⁶⁸ Lutz, *Makúk*, 29.

Every toponym reclaimed, created, or celebrated, to draw from Lutz, is a potential opportunity “for a dialogue between” toponymic “*wawas*.”⁶⁹

At the beginning of this exploration my reading of Tucker and Rose-Redwood’s position was that it suggests that an independent, Indigenous namescape cannot exist *within* a settler naming “authority,” and I can understand this position, particularly in light of the ways in which settler naming authorities like the BCGNO and the Central Saanich Council characterize Indigenous toponyms as “traditional.” However, Tucker and Rose-Redwood’s position does not prevent the possibilities for multiple naming authorities to coexist. The First Peoples’ Cultural Council, who already produce an excellent resource in the First Peoples’ Map, could come to serve a broader cartographic mandate, as guided by their intention that their map depict “a living and interactive space that represents our diverse yet interwoven languages, arts, and cultural heritage.”⁷⁰ Perhaps settlers will eventually stop naming places after those they see as famous, historically and presently or, as Lorna Wanosts’a7 Williams says, embrace their responsibility to adopt “the voice of [the] land”⁷¹ they occupy.⁷² Recent calls to rename

⁶⁹ Lutz, *Makúk*, 29. Lutz notes that “the Chinook added the ‘Nootka Jargon’ to their own trading jargon, which they then taught to other foreign traders. This Chinook ‘jargon,’ or “*wawa*” (to distinguish it from the language spoken by the Chinook people), then spread to other aboriginal groups via the fur traders.” See Lutz, IX.

⁷⁰ First Peoples’ Cultural Council, “First Peoples’ Map,” *First Peoples Cultural Council* (blog), accessed November 7, 2022, <https://fpcc.ca/stories/first-peoples-map>.

⁷¹ Wilson, “Bilingual Hul’q’umi’num Street Signs.”

⁷² Simpson, writing on the PKOLS “re-naming,” addresses non-Indigenous peoples’ “responsibility to the land”:

British Columbia challenge settler namescapes and histories on a provincial and national scale, and I am eager to see what conversations and changes result from such calls.⁷³ I cannot predict our shared toponymic future, but I agree with Rose-Redwood that resurgent Indigenous namescapes need to be Indigenous-led and legitimized, like that of PKOLS, and that we must not “conflate liberal-pluralist efforts to be recognized by the sovereign state in officially-sanctioned geographical nomenclature with Indigenous assertions of their *own* authority over the naming of places within settler-occupied Indigenous territories.”⁷⁴ With this acknowledgment in mind, I see ways in which settlers and settler institutions like the Central Saanich Council can play their part to champion Indigenous toponymic resurgence and awareness in their regions. Following the historic transfer of SISØENEM (Halibut Island) to WSÁNEĆ Leadership

I hope for non-Natives living in Victoria that it instills in them a sense of responsibility to the land and to the peoples whose homelands they live in—a responsibility to learn what that means on the terms of the STÁUTW, Songhees and the WSÁNEĆ nations. I hope it reminds every non-Indigenous visitor to PKOLS that we are still here—as living, breathing, intelligent, creative peoples committed to living in and protecting our homelands.

See “Restoring the Original Name of Mount Douglas.”

⁷³ See artist Lawrence Paul Yuxweluptun’s “#RenameBC” video, which asks rhetorically, “Why do we have ‘British Columbia’? Why do we have to have this name when they’ve never paid for it?” See Museum of Anthropology, #RenameBC: Lawrence Paul Yuxweluptun, 2016, <https://youtu.be/qH2-I2t-qQY>. See also Nicholas XEMFOLTW Claxton and John Price, “Whose Land? Whose Laws? B.C. Needs to Change Its Name,” *Times Colonist*, February 12, 2020, sec. Opinion, <https://www.timescolonist.com/opinion/op-ed/comment-whose-land-whose-laws-b-c-needs-to-change-its-name-1.24074510>; Stephen Collis, “Rename British Columbia,” *The Walrus* (blog), June 16, 2020, <https://thewalrus.ca/rename-british-columbia/>; Crawford Kilian, “We Should Consider Changing the Name of British Columbia,” *The Tyee*, June 16, 2020, <https://thetyee.ca/Analysis/2020/06/16/Changing-British-Columbias-Name/>; and, Mel Woods, “Is It Time To Change British Columbia’s Colonial Name?,” *HuffPost Canada*, June 25, 2020, https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/entry/british-columbia-name-change-columbus_ca_5ef50036c5b63220fcca435e.

⁷⁴ Rose-Redwood, “‘Reclaim, Rename, Reoccupy,’” 193.

Council, Chief Don Tom reminded us that “everyone living in W̱SÁNEĆ Territory is a subject to the Douglas Treaties. W̱SÁNEĆ people have Douglas rights and Aboriginal rights and title, and settlers have obligations to protect and honour those rights.”⁷⁵ Chief Tom’s words remind me that toponymic colonialism is linked intrinsically to legacies of broader systemic colonialism. Douglas is many things to many people, but he is also an architect and symbol of colonial violence, sometimes using “violence, through gunboat diplomacy and the courts, to enforce dispossession.”⁷⁶ I see the settler state’s historical and continued toponymic dispossession of Indigenous namescapes as unfinished business among the truths that need to be acknowledged and addressed for meaningful and lasting reconciliation to begin.

⁷⁵ Chief Tom is from Tsartlip First Nation and is W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council Chairman. See W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council, “TLC to Transfer SISŁENEM (Halibut Island) to W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council,” W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council (blog), accessed November 7, 2022, <https://wsanec.com/tlc-to-transfer-siszenem-halibut-island-to-wsanec-leadership-council>. See Government of Canada, “Douglas Treaties—Treaty Texts,” November 3, 2008, <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1100100029052/1581515763202>.

⁷⁶ In their article “Nothing ‘Liberal’ About Colonial Policy Prior to Confederation,” Nicholas XEMFOLTW Claxton and John Price write that Douglas “often threatened violence, through gunboat diplomacy and the courts, to enforce dispossession.” See Claxton and Price, “Nothing ‘liberal’ about Colonial Policy Prior to Confederation,” *Times Colonist*, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www.timescolonist.com/islander/nothing-liberal-about-colonial-policy-prior-to-confederation-1.24302926>. I omit the word “often” from Claxton and Price’s quote, as Douglas, in the *Colonial Despatches* archive, notes only one instance of gunboat deployment, the *Forward*. See James Douglas, “Douglas, James to Lytton, Edward George Earle Bulwer, 27 November 1858, CO 60:1, No. 1053, 447,” *Colonial Despatches*, <https://bcgenesis.uvic.ca/V63016.html>.

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**Analyzing Toponymic Power through a Foucauldian Panopticon: Challenging the
Settler-State Namescape in British Columbia**

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*We are neither in the amphitheatre, nor on the stage, but in the panoptic machine, invested by its effects of power, which we bring to ourselves since we are a part of its mechanism.*¹

In “Deconstructing the Map,” John Brian Harley declares that “cartographers manufacture power: they create a spatial panopticon.”² If so, toponymists—those who study toponyms, or place names—as state agents and participants in official cartographic systems, must also manufacture a type of cartographic power and therefore contribute to the creation of a spatial panopticon. This paper examines some of the functions of toponymic power in order to map out some of the ways in which toponymic power functions in a settler-colonial state, using British Columbia as the principal example; to identify some of the ways in which Indigenous toponymies challenge the state’s panoptonymic authority, again with a principal focus on British Columbia; and to contextualize toponymic reconciliation within the broader work of reconciliation in British Columbia. Despite the rich diversity of and approaches to cartographies, mapping, wayfinding, and place naming, and the fact that many individuals, communities, and organizations consider, collaborate, and produce

¹ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan, Second Vintage Books edition (New York: Vintage, 1995), 217.

² John Brian Harley, “Deconstructing the Map,” *Cartographica: The International Journal for Geographic Information and Geovisualization* 26, no. 2 (1989): 13, <https://doi.org/10.3138/E635-7827-1757-9T53>.

varieties of maps and promote new ways of understanding toponyms, ultimately “official” names emanate from an authoritative body vested with state power. The Salish Sea has many toponymic influences, reflected in names like Kanaka Bluff (“kanaka” being Hawai’ian for “human being”),³ and Quadra Island (after Spanish naval officer Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra),⁴ and many others that speak to the multiple and blended cultural and colonization experiences in this region. In addition to other naming practices, “explorers” like Captain George Vancouver, through meticulous coastal charts “made space visible and legible in ways that fostered processes of imperial re-territorialization, framed colonial development and [. . .] still inform late twentieth-century struggles” between Indigenous and non-Indigenous British Columbians “over land and resources.”⁵

For the Province of British Columbia, official settler-state toponymy falls under the dominion of the British Columbia Geographical Names Office (BCGNO), which administers and maintains the state’s toponymic authority and power; the BCGNO describes itself as “the authoritative database for place names in British Columbia.”⁶

“Authoritative” means that it has the authority to decide on the official names of places.

³ Andrew Scott, *The Encyclopedia of Raincoast Place Names: A Complete Reference to Coastal British Columbia* (Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing, 2009), 300.

⁴ Scott, *The Encyclopedia of Raincoast Place Names*, 483.

⁵ Daniel W. Clayton, “On the Colonial Genealogy of George Vancouver’s Chart of the North-West Coast of North America,” *Ecumene* 7, no. 4 (2000): 372, <https://doi.org/10.1177/09674608000700401>.

⁶ Province of British Columbia, “Geographical Names,” BC Geographical Names Office, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/governments/celebrating-british-columbia/historic-places/geographical-names>.

For example, if an NGO were to produce and distribute a community map, with its own toponyms for landscape features, these toponyms would not be recognized as “official” by the BC Government, and therefore would not appear in Government-produced maps and gazetteers unless they were ultimately approved by the BCGNO, and after following state-set criteria and procedures for creating new official toponyms. It is also important to acknowledge that the Indigenous lands known also as British Columbia are named in diverse ways and for diverse reasons. Among other points, this paper discusses some distinctions between WSÁNEĆ and settler toponyms, but I also recognize that settler and newcomer, or WENITEM,⁷ toponyms are diverse in creation and cultural significance; moreover, it would be misleading to suggest that toponyms are either strictly settler or Indigenous, particularly in the Salish Sea, which has many Anglicized Indigenous-language toponyms, such as Saanich for WSÁNEĆ.

I focus on the BCGNO’s functions as a toponymic power system, in part through the lens of its approach to Indigenous toponyms, because challenging BC’s current settler-state toponymic paradigm connects ultimately to broader efforts toward reconciliation and because, like John Ralston Saul, I would argue that reconciliation is “the single most important issue before us, whether we are recently arrived in Canada

⁷ Timothy Montler, “SENĆOFEN Word List: Place Names,” <http://saanich.montler.net/WordList/placenames.html#1969>.

or have been here for centuries.”⁸ Furthermore, if “the recognition and implementation of Indigenous rights is critical to reconciliation,” then I would contend that toponymic rights are part of this critical work of recognition and implementation.⁹ I argue that the BCGNO, as “the authoritative database for place names in British Columbia,”¹⁰ is a “panoptonymy” and part of a settler-colonial cartographic state rooted in European, imperial, geospatial epistemologies. The term “panoptonymy” is a neologism that combines panopticon and toponymy.¹¹ The intention of this analysis is not to vilify the BCGNO as a willful agent of historical and ongoing colonial violence. Rather, I intend to better understand and define the ways in which some sometimes obvious and sometimes muted systemic institutional legacies may be impeding toponymic reconciliation work both generally and at the BCGNO. As with the other settler institutions, like universities, museums, and libraries, the BCGNO has declared its intentions to course-correct from its colonial path to one that acknowledges Indigenous presences, perspectives, and the need to work differently and collaboratively; moreover,

⁸ John Ralston Saul, “Truth and Reconciliation Is Canada’s Last Chance to Get It Right,” *LawNow Magazine*, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www.lawnow.org/truth-and-reconciliation-is-canadas-last-chance-to-get-it-right>.

⁹ Carolyn Bennett, “Government of Canada to Create Recognition and Implementation of Rights Framework,” Government of Canada, February 14, 2018, <https://pm.gc.ca/en/news/news-releases/2018/02/14/government-canada-create-recognition-and-implementation-rights>.

¹⁰ Province of British Columbia, “Geographical Names.”

¹¹ Bentham’s panopticon concept is a “circular prison with cells arranged around a central well, from which inmates can be observed at all times,” but the guards cannot; the word derives from Greek (*pan*, or all, plus *opticon*, having to do with sight/seeing) and means “seen by all” or “fully visible.” See *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “panopticon, n.” See also Janet Semple, *Bentham’s Prison: A Study of the Panopticon Penitentiary* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993).

the BCGNO is institutionally bound to account differently for Indigenous toponymies following the BC Government's adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), noting its website's landing page that "the BCGNO is committed to working respectfully with Indigenous governments and communities to better recognize their geographical names, languages, orthographies, and naming conventions."¹² It remains to be seen as to what extent and in what tangible and practical ways the BCGNO can "better recognize" Indigenous toponymies. This paper therefore considers some institutional practices and inheritances that may need to be addressed in order to realize the BCGNO's decolonial aims.

To begin, I draw on Foucault's analyses of Jeremy Bentham's panopticon to describe an apparatus for overseeing and enforcing the official naming of places, using the BCGNO as an example of a panoptonymic institution. Next, I explore ways in which some Indigenous approaches to naming defy the BCGNO's toponymic hegemony. Specifically, I use Philip Kevin Paul's *The Care-Takers* to observe that Paul's descriptions of SENĆOŦEN vs. English toponyms represent epistemological paradoxes to Western toponymic paradigms, as maintained by administrative bodies like the BCGNO.¹³ Finally, I use the toponyms of Salish Sea and ŁÁU, WELŦEW_ / John Dean

¹² Province of British Columbia, "Geographical Names."

¹³ See Phillip Kevin Paul, *The Care-Takers: The Re-Emergence of the Saanich Indian Map* (Sidney: Institute of Ocean Sciences, 1995), <https://waves-vagues.dfo-mpo.gc.ca/Library/181814.pdf>. SENĆOŦEN is a language spoken by W̱SÁNEĆ Peoples in W̱SÁNEĆ territory, known also as the Saanich Peninsula and the coastal lands in and around the Salish Sea. For more, see W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council, "History & Territory," W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council (blog), accessed November 7, 2022, <https://wsanec.com/history-territory>.

Park as a way into a discussion of some of the complexities of creating and pairing Indigenous and settler toponyms. I recognize that Indigenous namescapes will endure regardless of whether or not the BCGNO's panoptonymy learns to share its toponymic power, but I contend that toponymic reconciliation, like other forms of reconciliation, will require new approaches and unsettling conversations. To conclude, I argue that important questions around Indigenous/settler toponymic parity will continue to arise and demand practical and equitable answers, especially in light of Indigenous toponymic resurgence(s) and the BCGNO's recent mandate to implement UNDRIP.

The panoptonymy

In "Deconstructing the Map," Harley argues that the standard Western "cartographic process" generally intends to compile, categorize, and provide "a set of rules for the abstraction of the landscape."¹⁴ Similarly, the standard Western "toponymic process" assigns, compiles, and categorizes place names, often through a state regulations and standards office, resulting in a panoptonymy: a set of

¹⁴ Harley, 13. I refer to Western-style, English-language maps that enforce "Europe's ideological centrality through projections such as those of Mercator," designed as ostensibly "'scientific' maps" informed by "'the rules of the order of geometry and reason'." See Harley, "Deconstructing the Map," 6, 2. In *How to Lie with Maps*, Mark Monmonier characterizes these maps as those produced and maintained, respectively, through "Western values (geometric precision, consistency, completeness, cost-effectiveness) as well as the professional subcultures of mapmaker-bureaucrats and, more recently, online map providers." See Monmonier, *How to Lie with Maps*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: Chicago UP, 2018), 112.

enforceable rules and practices for the abstraction and protection, respectively, of a namespace. I define a namespace as a collection of toponyms in a given geographical region. Toponyms have practical, navigational utility as markers of location in space, a far more convenient conveyor of verbal information than asking a friend with a GPS to meet you at 48°29'34"N, 123°20'48"W.¹⁵ Settler toponyms on settler maps, for example, transmit and affirm settler geospatial epistemologies. In using the language of their namers, toponyms convey and maintain cultural and sociopolitical power. Traditional Western-map elements like cardinal directions, borders, and scale are culturally specific geospatial abstractions to represent and understand as well as exploit space, place, and landscape in certain ways. As Daniel Clayton observes, “maps, like other signs and images, express the mandate and world-view of their makers and compound specific modes of understanding.”¹⁶ Like maps, toponyms “have politics” and operate as “a silent arbiter of power”¹⁷ through offices like the BCGNO, whose mandate is to reify the toponymic power of the settler state. Through its primary, public-facing resource,¹⁸ the

¹⁵ This is the BC Geographical Names Office’s “approximate centre” for Mount Douglas, or PKOLS. See Province of British Columbia, “Mount Douglas,” BC Geographical Names, accessed November 7, 2022, <http://apps.gov.bc.ca/pub/bcgnws/names/14790.html>.

¹⁶ Clayton, “On the Colonial Genealogy of George Vancouver’s Chart,” 375.

¹⁷ Harley, “Deconstructing the Map,” 13.

¹⁸ Note that the Government of Canada publishes the “Gazetteer of British Columbia,” a “spreadsheet of all official place names, including feature type, feature code, mapsheet, and latitude & longitude.” This gazetteer “is extracted from the BC Geographical Names Information System (BCGNIS), the master database of British Columbia place names.” See Government of Canada, “BC Gazetteer,” Canada.ca, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://open.canada.ca/data/en/dataset/d92224ee-03ef-4904-be53-b677d8e01ac4>.

BC Geographical Names Information System (BCGNIS)—a searchable, Internet-published gazetteer—the BCGNO maintains “the authoritative database for place names in British Columbia and is the reference source for all official maps and charts created nationally or internationally.”¹⁹ The settler cartographic state is one in which settlers control and administer cartographic information, policy, and law, and punish transgressions of the law: it is a facet of the larger settler-colonial state and has its roots in a European, imperial, and “discovery”-driven understandings place. Paul Carter, in *The Road to Botany Bay*, characterizes the colonial, discovery-driven approach to place as predicated “on the assumption of a world of facts waiting to be found, collected and classified, a world in which the neutral observer is not implicated,” adding that this type of exploration “lays stress on the observer’s active engagement with his environment: it recognizes phenomena as offspring of his intention to explore.”²⁰ Settler namescapes are in part offspring of settler-colonizers’ explorations and interests, simultaneously mapping and instantiating location, presence, and implying colonial ownership over a landscape. Clayton, for example, posits that early cartographers, like Vancouver, “helped to create an anticipatory geography of colonialism – an imperial context in which colonialism could take root.”²¹ In *Native Space*, Natchee Blu Barnd argues that “colonialism fundamentally describes a geographic relationship, one in

¹⁹ Province of British Columbia, “Geographical Names.”

²⁰ Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay* (Minneapolis: Minnesota UP, 1987), 25.

²¹ Clayton, “On the Colonial Genealogy of George Vancouver’s Chart,” 386.

which ‘differing’ geographies serve as a mechanism for producing and maintaining unequal power relations with a ‘home’ geography.”²² Barnd describes settler colonialism as “a form of colonialism wherein nonindigenous or ‘settler’ populations implant themselves in new lands,” adding that “in settler colonialism, however, land rather than people proves the most immediate mechanism for domination and the core point of contention for both colonizer and colonized.”²³ Toponymic colonialism, to draw on Barnd, is a form of colonialism in which settler populations implant their namescapes into existing Indigenous namescapes. A panoptonymy is one mechanism that maintains BC’s colonial toponymic domination over its namescapes, and for the purposes of this analysis, Indigenous namescapes.

Michel Foucault’s analyses in *Discipline and Punish* of Jeremy Bentham’s prison, the panopticon, provide constructive ways to interpret mechanisms of toponymic power of the settler namescape and that power’s attendant epistemological and enforcement apparatuses. A namescape is not a literal prison, but conceptually and administratively there are congruencies and resonances between Foucault’s descriptions of Bentham’s panopticon and the settler state of British Columbia’s administration of its toponymic power, through centralizing organizations like the BCGNO. For Foucault, Bentham’s panopticon “is at one and the same time an

²² Natchee Blu Barnd, *Native Space: Geographic Strategies to Unsettle Settler Colonialism* (Corvallis: Oregon State UP, 2017), 3.

²³ Barnd, *Native Space*, 9.

architectonic concept and the embodiment of its own ideology”²⁴ and, similarly, a panoptonymy is a toponymic concept and an embodiment of an ideology of the settler toponymic state. In the following image, the central guard tower in one of Bentham’s designs is symbolized as the BCGNO and the surrounding captives the toponyms it surveils. Toponyms thus surveilled may not be prisoners in this scenario, but they are nevertheless subject to the toponymic gaze and central authority of a settler-colonial toponymic system.

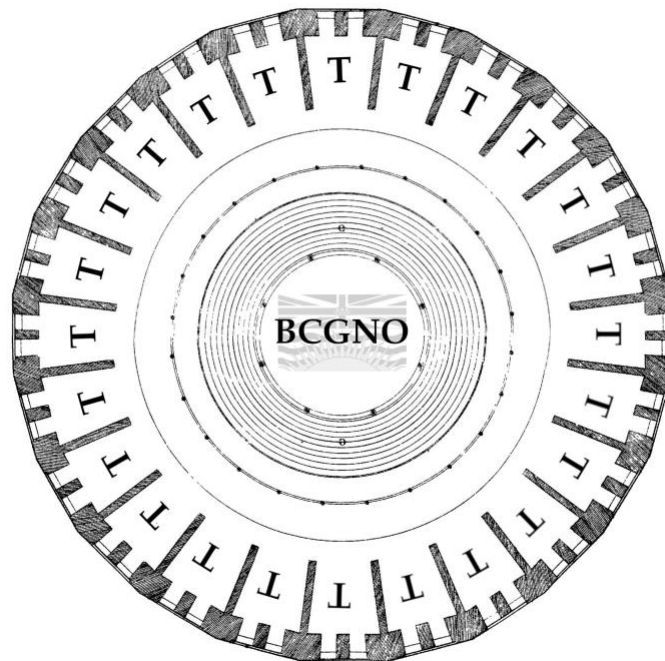


Fig. 1. Model of a panoptonymy. My modification of one drawing of Bentham’s designs [see Appendix for original image] is an attempt to visualize an idealized outcome for the British Columbia Geographical Names Office’s settler gazetteer: the BCGNO as the warden and keeper of an orderly and complete index of toponymic subjects (T)—it is, in the Foucauldian sense, a “house of certainty.”²⁵

²⁴ Dario Melossi and Massimo Pavarini in Semple, *Bentham’s Prison*, 9.

²⁵ Foucault, 202.

For Foucault the physical manifestation of the panopticon in architectural form is only part of a “generalized model of functioning; a way of defining power relations.”²⁶ It is also a way of seeing the world through an authoritative mechanism that “function[s] according to a double mode; that of binary division and branding (mad/sane; dangerous/harmless; normal/abnormal)” —I would add settler/Indigenous and toponym/endonym to Foucault’s binaries.²⁷ Peter Jordan’s definition of endonym— which the *OED* defines as “a name for something, esp. a place, a group of people, or a language, that is used internally in that place, or by that people or language community themselves”²⁸—addresses sociological aspects of the term as specific to geographical features in a “community’s own territory,” noting that “endonyms in this sociological sense are symbols of appropriation: Whoever owns a feature usually has the right to name it.”²⁹ Jordan’s definition points to a divisive mechanism in endonyms, between those with the power to own through naming and those without that power: “who has the power to assign the name usually also has the power over this feature or at least responsibility for it.”³⁰ Indigenous Peoples had and have power to name places and

²⁶ Foucault, 205.

²⁷ Foucault, 199.

²⁸ “Endonym, n.,” in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed November 7, 2022, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/90696310>.

²⁹ Peter Jordan, “Role of Place Names in Relating People and Space,” in *Handbook of the Changing World Language Map*, ed. Stanley Brunn and Roland Kehrein (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020), 2039-40, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-02438-3_48.

³⁰ Jordan, “Role of Place Names,” 2040.

maintain namescapes in a variety of ways, from maps to oral traditions, but this is distinct from having these namescapes recognized as official, that is, what is acknowledged by the settler legal system, through The Ministry of Forests, Lands, Natural Resource Operations and Rural Development, which delegates to the BCGNO in accordance with the *Land Act*.³¹ A salient function of the panoptonymy's "dualistic mechanisms of exclusion" is to enforce "constant division" between the owned and the unowned, "the normal and the abnormal,"³² what I conceptualize as the settler and the Indigenous toponym, the *hegemonic* and the *unsettling*, respectively.

Barnd echoes this conceptualization through Henri Lefebvre, explaining that "spatial productions," of which toponyms are a part, "express and secure dominance most effectively when seen as merely existing — as supposed natural expressions of the world-as-it-is."³³ Barnd articulates that any created "space must fundamentally hold the exercise of power as one of its principal features" and, in the "settler colonialism" and "neocolonialism" context,

³¹ The *Land Act*, Part 1.5 states that "The minister [for The Ministry of Forests, Lands, Natural Resource Operations and Rural Development] is responsible for geographical names in British Columbia." See Government of British Columbia, "Land Act [RSBC 1996] Chapter 245," November 2, 2022, https://www.bclaws.gov.bc.ca/civix/document/id/complete/statreg/96245_01#section5. See also BC Geographical Names Office, "British Columbia's Geographical Naming Principles, Policy and Procedures" (Geographical Names Office Heritage Branch, January 2000), 1, https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/british-columbians-our-governments/our-history/historic-places/documents/heritage/geog_naming_policy_2017.pdf.

³² Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 199.

³³ Barnd, *Native Space*, 13.

space is imbued with power since it is not only hegemonic in conveying a sense of the geography of the nation-state as being just ‘common sense,’ but it has also been actively utilized in dispossession and disempowerment toward the benefit of one group of peoples over another.³⁴

Barnd’s description of hegemonic settler-colonial geographies resonates through Foucault’s observation that panoptic power often feels like its opposite, something “natural,” unquestioned, and not so much externally enforced as functionalized in situ, regardless of its location: “it is a way of making power relations function in a function, and of making a function through these power relations.”³⁵ The hegemonic, settler-toponymic state, to draw on Harley again, is “a silent arbiter of power.”³⁶ Through its union of function and power, an official toponym is not only a conceptual location in an imagined namescape, or a marker of a physical place, but also a part of, in the Foucauldian sense, a function of power relations within landscapes. The panoptonymy, like the Panopticon, is concerned primarily with the “characterization and classification” and “with the analytical arrangement of space”³⁷ or, toponymically speaking, the arrangement of indexed place names. The panoptonymy is a closed

³⁴ Barnd, 13.

³⁵ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 207. Foucault observes that “the Panopticon also does the work of a naturalist,” in the sense that it appears to arrange and observe that which is presumed to be naturally present already, such that acts of “furtive power,” really, are perceived as the natural consequences of “observation,” a bringing-into-being, not an enforcement. See Foucault, 203.

³⁶ Harley, “Deconstructing the Map,” 13.

³⁷ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 203.

system, a toponymic ouroboros. In the panoptonymy's idealized "peripheric ring"³⁸ the namescape appears whole, with all toponyms within it accounted for, evoking what Matthew Sparke characterizes as "the enframing effect of colonial cartography."³⁹ This "panoptic schema" that "was destined to spread throughout the social body," as Foucault contends,⁴⁰ spreads into the toponymic body, the namescape, but also the body of land, the landscape. I will next examine some outcomes of its power-functions on bodies of land and bodies of people.

Another type of power wielded through a panoptonymy is that of power over the body, in both the landscape and corporeal sense. A colonized body of land is one marked with points of settler-state power. These points or marks could be toponyms on street signs, geocoordinates on digital maps, urban property boundaries, provincial borders or, to reduce this point of power to its most basic element, the surveyor's monument: a simultaneous marker of an imagined "exact" place and a legally enforced physical object of colonial authority.⁴¹

³⁸ Foucault, 202.

³⁹ Matthew Sparke, "A Map That Roared and an Original Atlas: Canada, Cartography, and the Narration of Nation," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88, no. 3 (1998): 476, <https://doi.org/10.1111/0004-5608.00109.476>.

⁴⁰ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 207.

⁴¹ The CCG, in "Canadian Generally Accepted Land Surveying Principles," notes that exact or permanently fixed locations are subject to change—"Boundaries defined by natural features such as a river or lake may migrate over time [. . .]"—and that "the accuracy of measurements and areas can be influenced by the period of survey, blunders and the migration of natural features; thus are normally qualified and stated by land surveyors as being 'more or less' in legal land descriptions." See Canadian Council on Geomatics, "Canadian Generally Accepted Land Surveying Principles" (Natural Resources Canada), 4, accessed November 7, 2022,



Fig. 2. An example of a surveyor's "monument" or marker. Note the following warning: "SEVEN YEARS IMPRISONMENT FOR REMOVAL."⁴²

Surveyors' monuments are an interesting example of state-enforced geospatial power because they represent places where conceptualizations of settler-colonial geospatialities meet concrete punitive powers in the body of land, being literally anchored to landscape features, and through incarceration as the penalty for "interfering" with them, the imprisonment of human bodies. According to the Government of Canada's Lands Surveys Act, in the "Offenses and Punishment" section, "every person who, knowingly and willfully, pulls down, alters, defaces or removes

<https://www.nrca.gc.ca/sites/www.nrca.gc.ca/files/earthsciences/pdf/CanadianGenerallyAcceptedLandSurveyingPrinciples.pdf>.

⁴² Professional Surveyors Canada, "Preservation of Survey Monuments," 2016, <https://www.psc-gpc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Survey-Monuments-Pamphlet.pdf>.

any monument erected, planted or placed by a surveyor in carrying out his duties” — apparently, all surveyors identify as men — “is guilty of an indictable offence and liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding seven years.”⁴³ Like toponyms, borders, and geocoordinates, surveyor monuments are components of a totalizing geospatial system of power; these components perform various functions, but important to this analysis of panoptonymic power is to understand the disciplinary work these functions do to *integrate* a particular way of understanding place, from the symbolic/conceptual through to the corporeal/juridical.

Foucault provides a framework to better understand ways in which conceptualizations of toponymic power function as social power, “techniques for assuring the ordering of human multiplicities.”⁴⁴ The “tactics of power” to enforce disciplinary powers are threefold: (1) “to obtain the exercise of power at the lowest possible cost,” (2) “to bring the effects of this social power to their maximum intensity and to extend them as far as possible, without either failure interval,” and (3) “to link this ‘economic’ growth of power with the output of the apparatuses (educational, military, industrial or medical) within which it is exercised.”⁴⁵ I would add “cartographic” to Foucault’s list of power-interlinked apparatuses and toponyms as one

⁴³ Government of Canada, “Canada Lands Surveys Act,” L-6 § (1985), <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/l-6/FullText.html>.

⁴⁴ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 218.

⁴⁵ Foucault, 218.

of its outputs. Settler toponymies are one type of “ordering of human multiplicities,” that is, the ordering of what settlers deem as unnamed landscapes encountered during historical and ongoing colonization,⁴⁶ into ordered and indexed namespaces.⁴⁷

Toponymic-power apparatuses maintain and enforce this geospatial discipline in many of the ways Foucault suggests, but I will focus on integration, the extent to which toponymic power extends, as Foucault says, “as far as possible,” from earth to the heavens: that is, from the point of surveyor’s pin, anchored to an actual landscape, to the global-scale views provided by earth-orbiting Geographic Information Systems (GIS) satellites. Integration is one pillar of the geospatial power apparatus, and this power travels in a particular direction: up from the surveyor’s pin and pen as well as down from the all-seeing eye and its institutional body or bodies.

Foucault notes that power tends to travel vertically from top to bottom and from bottom to top. This vertical-integration of power, which Foucault describes as “procedures of partitioning and verticality,”⁴⁸ flows in the geospatial sense from the conceptual micro on the ground, as symbolized in the surveyor’s pin on the landscape,

⁴⁶ Clayton notes that Captain Vancouver, when mapping and naming Vancouver Island, had imputed a series of spatial distinctions: between the domesticated outskirts of space (domesticated because they had come under the cartographer’s gaze) and the unmapped wilds of the interior (as untamed as the Indian); between the dots on the map linking up the coastline and the cartographic blankness of the interior [of Vancouver Island]. It was in such blank–mysterious–wild spaces that colonists placed the Indian and situated their dreams of colonial lucre.

See Clayton, “On the Colonial Genealogy of George Vancouver’s Chart,” 389.

⁴⁷ Foucault, 218.

⁴⁸ Foucault, 220.

up to the macro of geospatial abstractions, symbolized in borders and toponyms, then still further upward to the oversight and governance of the state-authority/-validator for geospatial governance. For geospatial-power apparatuses to be successful and totalizing they must be integrated with other power-apparatuses and flow vertically from the physical landscape up to centralized authoritative bodies. The Canadian Council on Geomatics, in a “Rationale” section of a document entitled “Canadian Generally Accepted Land Surveying Principles,” illustrates geospatial power’s integration with other “apparatuses” of state power, declaring that

integrated land management is fundamental to peace, order and good governance. A reliable parcel and boundary fabric based on the legal principles established by Canadian society is the foundation that supports community and natural resource development and administration, public registration of rights and peaceful occupation of land.⁴⁹

This passage relates the Canadian settler-state’s conceptual and practical geospatial integrations, integrated vertically from practical land management up to its oversight mechanisms of power: legal principles—it is a part of a panoptonymic power that links the land itself to the abstract laws and policies of its oversight.

⁴⁹ Canadian Council on Geomatics, “Canadian Generally Accepted Land Surveying Principles,” 1. My emphasis.

In another passage, the CCG suggest a version of a Foucauldian verticality in describing a demarcation relationality, through surveyors, that binds the theoretical with the earthbound physical, emphasizing that any abstract “boundaries must be clearly identifiable on the ground”:

land surveyors provide the physical link to the land from the paper documentation of rights and restrictions affecting the land such as Aboriginal treaties, international or inter-provincial/territorial legislation, private property titles, leases and easements and rights on Crown land. All activity on the land from the construction of a house to the development of a mine must be related to well-defined boundaries.⁵⁰

This passage illustrates another quality of panoptonymic power: the work this power does to link geospatial conceptualizations to strictly demarcated physical bodies of land with clearly defined boundaries. This “physical link” is motivated by a particular cartographic intention, and this intention carries legal authority, as seen in another passage from the same document:

boundaries defined by theoretical measurements such as geographic coordinates are an expression of intent and in most cases require subsequent action by a land surveyor such as the placement of, or reference to a monument or connection to a

⁵⁰ CCG, 1.

physical feature. This action is also required to apply legal authority to a boundary in Canada's common law provinces.⁵¹

Foucault offers a way to look at this interlinking function of “theoretical measurements” with a “connection to a physical feature,” legally enforced as a product of the “homogeneous effects of power,”⁵² through a lens of power and subjugation. Foucault asserts that a “real subjugation is born mechanically from fictitious relations,”⁵³ and there is a fictitious relationship, metonymically, between the sign of the toponym and the place signified; in other words, the place name is not the physical place.⁵⁴ The panoptonymy functions as one part of the settler state’s cartographic mechanisms that “apply legal authority,”⁵⁵ to landscapes. A panoptonymy is also a method for understanding place, a kind of conceptual and administrative technique derived from the geospatial doctrines baked into the epistemological assumptions and expectations of its producers. One of these assumptions is that landscapes must be perpetual frontiers for new toponymic conquest, and therefore remain in part toponymically *terra nominanda*, land to be named. Clayton suggests that this assumption is informed by

⁵¹ CCG, 1.

⁵² Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 202.

⁵³ Foucault, 202.

⁵⁴ Daniel Chandler, in *Semiotics: The Basics*, declares that the “external world is not tidily divided into separate ‘things’,” and this is true of places. Chandler also points to another intriguing line of inquiry into toponyms, through a Whorfian lens, through which one could imagine both a toponymic determinism and a toponymic relativism as siblings of their linguistic parents, one which determines “reality” and the other differing “worldviews.” See Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics* (London: Routledge, 2017), 73-75, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315311050>.

⁵⁵ CCG, “Canadian Generally Accepted Land Surveying Principles,” 1.

early settler cartographies, like Captain Vancouver's maps, which "denoted and conveyed a colonialist conception of space—the configuration of overseas territory as fertile yet vacant, auspicious yet undeveloped."⁵⁶

A panoptonymy's power is by definition incomplete, partly because of systemic biases towards settler knowledges and cartographic systems, but also because it is perpetually unrealized: it is "the utopia of the perfectly governed city,"⁵⁷ or by extension for this exploration, the toponymic utopia of a perfectly governed namescape. By definition, however, utopias can never be realized. If the panoptonymy were wholly complete, with every place known and fixed in place within its metaphorical walls, its mechanisms of toponymic dominance—functioning through collection, categorization, and indexing—would persist. The panoptonymy favours self-perpetuation over toponymic apotheosis: it wants continually to index and order more than it wants to conclude itself. A partially italicized passage in the BCGNO's policy document, "British Columbia's Geographical Naming Principles, Policy and Procedures," speaks to this ambition for perpetually nameable landscapes: "Underlying the naming process is the recognition that *not all features need a name at this time.*"⁵⁸ The "at this time" implies in principle that every currently unnamed feature in British Columbia is part of a namescape perpetually awaiting toponymic discovery. That

⁵⁶ Clayton, "On the Colonial Genealogy of George Vancouver's Chart," 389.

⁵⁷ Foucault, 198.

⁵⁸ BC Geographical Names Office, "British Columbia's Geographical Naming Principles," 1.

landscape features require names is presumed, de facto, and so what remains is to determine toponymic worth, something the Policy addresses in another italicized passage: “proponents are asked not only to explain the significance and meaning of the proposed name, but also to provide a valid reason for naming the particular feature.”⁵⁹ This value-based aspect of the panoptonymy doctrine aligns with the surveyor’s “hierarchy of evidence doctrine,” which, according to the CCG, “dates back to the 1800’s when surveys were less accurate, so evidence of boundaries found on the ground” were considered ““things which people are least likely to mistake””; the CCG does not define which “people” or what qualifies as a “mistake.”⁶⁰ The surveyor’s evidence doctrine has its toponymic equivalent in the requirement to provide to the BCGNO a feature’s relative significance and a “*valid reason*”⁶¹ for its potential naming—these are both hierarchical doctrines in which a weight of “evidence” is “used to resolve ambiguity”⁶² in boundaries and locations, respectively. Validation is part of the BCGNO’s panoptonymic model of power because, ultimately, it is the BCGNO that holds the

⁵⁹ BC Geographical Names Office, “Policy and Procedures,” 1. Note that the BCGNO “is responsible for naming features such as lakes, rivers, mountains, islands and bays. The jurisdiction of the office also includes unincorporated inhabited areas such as present and past communities or settlements.” See Province of British Columbia, “Geographical Names.”

⁶⁰ CCG, “Canadian Generally Accepted Land Surveying Principles,” 6.

⁶¹ BC Geographical Names Office, “Policy and Procedures,” 1.

⁶² The CCG explains that

weight is assigned based on all technical information available, new and old, along with a thorough analysis of each piece of evidence giving consideration to vintage and origin and what may have changed since the original survey. A land surveyor considers the human activity that has taken place on the land over time and the dynamic nature of natural boundaries and inaccuracies in their original documented positions.

See CCG, “Canadian Generally Accepted Land Surveying Principles,” 6.

power to ordain toponyms as official. What counts as official represents particular epistemological assumptions about which features deserve names and which do not, and it is important to remember that settler state toponymies are one among multiple possible toponymies within a given namespace.⁶³

Consider that each of the 53 First Nations on Vancouver Island has at least a corresponding number of epistemologies of place and an according diversity of namespaces; toponymically, multiplicity is a matter of course.⁶⁴ In terms of settler land-title systems, however, the aim of any disambiguation is to resolve who “owns” which pieces of land with as much precision as possible. The Canadian Council on Geomatics (CCG), for example, refers to land surveyors as “measurement scientists and land information professionals” who “maintain a current knowledge of changes to land related legislation and the evolving body of jurisprudence impacting boundary determination.”⁶⁵ This characterization casts surveyors as corporeal manifestations of an official “expression of intent” to mark land as owned by the settler state. The use of the word “intention” also implies that despite Western applications of geospatial functions, scientific applications, the weight of colonial law, and a vast toponymic archive in the BCGNO, the panoptonymy is necessarily incomplete, a power perpetually

⁶³ Toponymic ontologies is my definition for describing unions of place names and worldviews and the ways in which these elements co-influence and -inform to narrativize a sense of belonging to place.

⁶⁴ See the “First Peoples’ Map of British Columbia” at <https://maps.fpcc.ca>.

⁶⁵ CCG, “Canadian Generally Accepted Land Surveying Principles,” 3.

aspirational. In terms of physical area, this incompleteness has one simple explanation in the fact that any given named landscape has far more unnamed than named places within it. One understanding of Western-style namescapes is that they nest vertically and hierarchically from, for example, Earth > Canada > British Columbia > Salish Sea > Gulf Islands, and so on, to a level of toponymic granularity that soon becomes regionally nodal and dense; at certain point, the panoptonymic gaze metaphorically ceases to zoom in any farther.

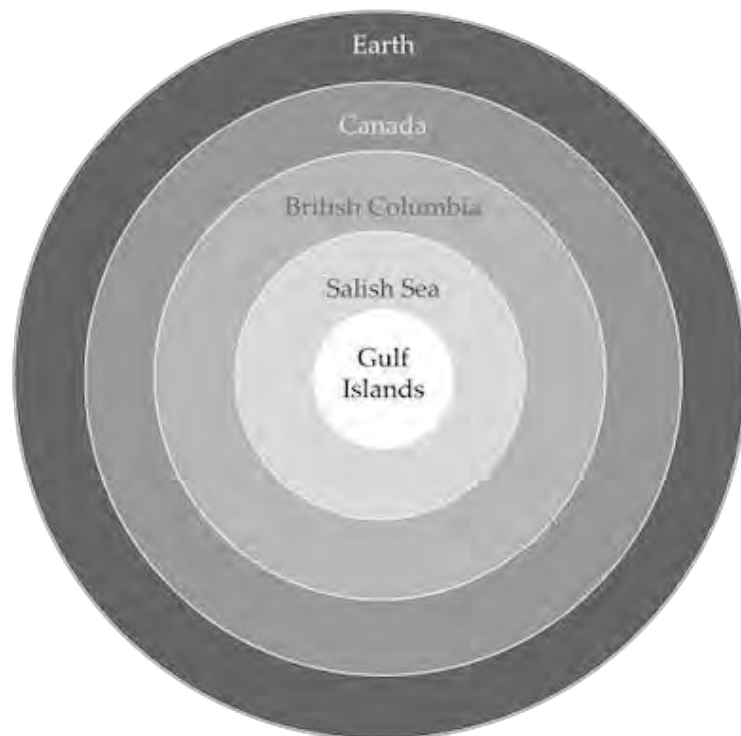


Fig. 3. My visualization of Western-style namescapes, nesting vertically and hierarchically, within distinct spatial conceptualizations.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Peter Jordan offers a similar demarcation model through a “community” structure. See “Fig. 2 Multiple space-related identities.” See Jordan, “Role of Place Names in Relating People and Space,” 2041.

Totalizing as this variation on the panoptonymic model appears, the panoptonymy's indexing functions only down to a certain granularity. For example, a city park might have a name, but the space taken up by each tree within it would not. These relatively small features remain unnamed because "the geography of the nation-state" has determined to what extent toponymic granularity serves its version of "common sense"⁶⁷—which one could read as the point of granularity at which settler understandings of landscape become too toponymically complex to contend with practically. As Barnd observes, however, common sense in the geospatial sense is culturally relative and can be "actively utilized in dispossession and disempowerment toward the benefit of one group of peoples over another."⁶⁸ Geographically, in the panoptonymic model, there are more unnamed than named places, and one possible reason for this is that the panoptonymy requires this toponymic state to self-perpetuate. Foucault suggests that the panoptonymy's intention to index must remain perpetual when he observes the panoptic principles that "knowledge follows the advances of power," and that this power hungers for the "discovering new objects of knowledge . . . over all the surfaces on which power is exercised"; a landscape is one such "surface."⁶⁹ A panoptonymy can only ever provide a fiction of completeness because its namespaces remain incomplete. The panoptonymic process is in part an

⁶⁷ Barnd, *Native Space*, 13.

⁶⁸ Barnd, 13.

⁶⁹ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 204.

expression of a desire for a perpetually namable frontier, a desire that resonates in some ways with another settler-colonial conception of power over landscapes, in the “Doctrine of Discovery”; Barnd’s interpretations of this doctrine provide ways to articulate an equivalent doctrine, a doctrine of toponymy, as another element of panoptoponymic power.⁷⁰

Like the Doctrine of Discovery, this toponymic version of the Doctrine claims power over an imagined “virgin” namescape ready for naming, but as a kind of conquest that also relies upon “a Western spatiality rooted in intentional, observable, and demarcated human interventions in the processes of the natural world,” a world “quickly overlaid with abstract space to render it recognizable, manageable, and alienable”⁷¹—what I consider through Foucault as an example of the “penetration of regulation into even the smallest details of everyday life through the mediation of the complete hierarchy that assured the capillary function of power.”⁷² The settler impulse

⁷⁰ Barnd characterizes the Doctrine of Discovery and terra nullius as follows:

At the onset of colonialism, the Doctrine of Discovery predicated conferral of dominion on both the inability and the unwillingness of Europeans to recognize or respect indigenous spatialities (treaty or not). Thus, we find concepts like terra nullius and the “virgin landscape,” both of which relied on a Western spatiality rooted in intentional, observable, and demarcated human interventions in the processes of the natural world. This world was thus quickly overlaid with abstract space to render it recognizable, manageable, and alienable. ... Settlers simply interpreted indigeneity as either lacking proper spatiality or without sufficient authority and moral capacity.

See Barnd, *Native Space*, 14.

⁷¹ Barnd, 14.

⁷² Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 198.

to ratify and codify places,⁷³ through toponyms and gazetteers, in physical manifestations such as street and park signs is a subjugating function and a toponymic example of soft power, a power maintained through cultural influence and an ease of operations for that which the power favours sociospatially: settler toponyms in a settler landscape.⁷⁴ The panoptonymy functions in part to make landscapes for settlers feel known, or tamed, through toponymic interventions, and to provide a mechanism for alienability,⁷⁵ one that the settler state works to protect through both soft and hard forms of state power.

⁷³ According to the OED, “ratify,” in a now-obsolete usage, could mean “to confirm the possession of (*land, goods, etc.*)” See “Ratify, v.,” in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed November 7, 2022, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/158476>. My emphasis.

⁷⁴ Joseph S. Nye identifies three modes of soft power: “threats of coercion (‘sticks’), inducements and payments (‘carrots’),” and such power also “rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others,” and given that the BCGNO is the sole toponymic authority in BC, it controls wholly how settler citizens come to understand toponymic systems. See Nye, “Public Diplomacy and Soft Power,” *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (March 1, 2008): 94–95, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716207311699>.

⁷⁵ This type of alienability furthers a sense of an already seen, named, and claimed landscape, which works to alienate the actual original inhabitants and their descendants; it is a function of power analogous to what Mark Rifkin defines as settler-colonial “temporal sovereignty,” in which “settler colonialism produces its own temporal formation, with its own particular ways of apprehending time, and the state’s policies, mappings, and imperatives generate the frame of reference.” Moreover, Rifkin argues that this type of temporal sovereignty affects “more than just . . . ideologies or discourses of time”: it is a “network of institutionalized authority over ‘domestic’ territory” much like a panoptonymy, which also “powerfully shapes the possibilities for interaction, development, and regularity within it.” Panoptonymic alienability, like temporal sovereign power, is an “imposition” that can also “be understood as the denial of Indigenous temporal sovereignty” or toponymy, “in the sense that one vision or way of experiencing time” or landscape “is cast as the only temporal” or toponymic formation. Finally, this panoptonymic alienability also alienates non-Indigenous latecomers, who themselves might have alternative “claims” (culturally, narratively, and personally) to landscapes. See Mark Rifkin, *Beyond Settler Time* (Durham: Duke UP, 2017), 2.

Panoptoponymic power is underpinned by a curious contradiction to at once enforce punitively but also to avoid confrontation with potential challenges to its schema, an example of “a perpetual victory that avoids any physical confrontation and which is always decided in advance.”⁷⁶ Like its laws, the settler state’s system of geospatial soft power appears benign until transgressed, when it becomes a type of hard power, a power based in state-sanctioned threat to human bodies. The surveyor’s pin, for example, is for all but surveyors a relatively meaningless geospatial object, but effacing it could result in imprisonment, making it hardly worth the effort to attempt its removal; as such, this punitive threat disciplines its subjects, the general public, into leaving its power literally and figuratively in place. Foucault, in discussing manifestations of discipline, provides a possible answer as to which effects are subjugated in this panoptoponymic model of power: “it must neutralize the effects of counter-power that spring from them and which form a resistance to the power that wishes to dominate it: agitations, revolts, spontaneous organizations, coalitions— anything that may establish horizontal conjunctions.”⁷⁷ In the namespace sense, toponymic horizontal power-conjunctions threaten vertical power-conjunctions, which are backed by the highest power in the landscape: colonial law courts. One such counter-power that challenges the panoptoponymic vertical-power model is Indigenous

⁷⁶ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 203.

⁷⁷ Foucault, 219.

namespaces, which I define as namespaces in Indigenous languages that are created and maintained by Indigenous Peoples and organizations.

Indigenous toponymies challenge panoptonymic authority

Indigenous namespaces unsettle and challenge the BCGNO's vertical-power, hegemonic panoptonymy in multiple ways. I will focus on what I see as two prominent challenges to the BCGNO's panoptonymic model of power, the first being that Indigenous namespaces represent unpredictable and unfixed "horizontal conjunctions"⁷⁸ to the panoptonymy's fixed, vertical-power model and, second, that Indigenous toponymies represent ontological "agitations"⁷⁹ to settler toponymic epistemologies.

Unfixed horizontal conjunctions

In the Salish Sea region,⁸⁰ recent and multiple instances of Indigenous toponymic resurgence—First Nations asserting for themselves and for settler governments and

⁷⁸ Foucault, 219.

⁷⁹ Foucault, 219.

⁸⁰ Brian Tucker, in "Inventing the Salish Sea," notes that the term "Salish" is not a word Indigenous to the local area. However, "Salish" refers to the linguistic classification of the Indigenous peoples of the region—including Interior, Strait, and Coast Salish—that was initially devised by Western anthropologists yet is now in widespread use among many Indigenous peoples themselves (for a more extensive discussion of the origins and use of the term "Salish," see Stuttles, 1990).

See Tucker, "Inventing the Salish Sea: Exploring the Performative Act of Place Naming off the Pacific Coast of North America" (Thesis, UVic, 2013), 6, <https://dspace.library.uvic.ca/handle/1828/4587>. Note that Tucker does not list a full reference for "Stuttles," which is likely a typo of "Suttles," as in US

media their toponymic histories, creation, and presence—represent a challenge to the vertical power model of panoptonymy because they arise unpredictably and non-centrally. Some recent examples of Indigenous toponymic resurgence include PKOLS (Mount Douglas),⁸¹ the addition of ŁÁU, WELNEW_ to John Dean Park,⁸² ts'uḵw'um (Wilson Creek), skelhp (Saltery Bay),⁸³ and the twelve, and possibly more, Haida toponyms slated to replace settler ones throughout Haida Gwaii.⁸⁴ The aforementioned examples are only those that apply to BCGNO's definitions of a "feature," but other Indigenous toponyms are appearing throughout the Salish Sea region at a remarkable rate.⁸⁵ These instances of toponymic resurgence and reclamation are Nation- and region-specific, and unpredictable to the panoptonymy: they are "horizontal conjunctions"⁸⁶ compared to the relatively centralized, vertical, settler-namescape model of the BCGNO as the metaphorical pinnacle of the toponymic tower. There is no single, fixed authority

anthropologist Wayne P. Suttles, who wrote extensively on Indigenous Peoples. I assume that Tucker refers to Suttles's *Handbook of North American Indians: Vol. 7, Northwest Coast*. For more on Suttles see OCLC Inc., "Suttles, Wayne P. 1918-2005," OCLC WorldCat Identities, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://worldcat.org/identities/lccn-n88065409>.

⁸¹ For an examination of some of the issues around PKOLS/Mount Douglas, see my article entitled "Unfinished Business: PKOLS/Mount Douglas and Toponymic 'Decolonization' on the Saanich Peninsula."

⁸² See Government of British Columbia, "John Dean Provincial Park Renamed to Include Indigenous Name," June 3, 2019, <https://news.gov.bc.ca/releases/2019ENV0025-001109>.

⁸³ See The Canadian Press, "2 Indigenous Place Names Restored on B.C.'s Sunshine Coast," CBC, August 19, 2021, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/indigenous-place-names-restored-sunshine-coast-1.6146631>.

⁸⁴ See Karissa Gall, "All-Islands Protocol Table Working to Restore Haida Place Names," Haida Gwaii Observer, July 24, 2020, <https://www.haidagwaiiobserver.com/news/all-islands-protocol-table-working-to-restore-haida-place-names-on-haida-gwaii>.

⁸⁵ See my Namescape.ca blog for a running list of place-name changes in and around the Salish Sea: <https://www.namescape.ca/2022/08/name-changes-list.html>.

⁸⁶ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 219.

controlling Indigenous toponymic resurgence and emergence, which is being read by some as connected to broader anti-imperialist aims. Reuben Rose-Redwood, et al., observe that “in recent years, the reclamation of Indigenous place naming has been employed as a spatial strategy of Indigenous resurgence around the world,” in part by decentering and complicating “the intellectual imperialism and White privilege embedded in expectations of standardized legibility that result in the homogenization of Indigenous peoples and cultures.”⁸⁷ Reading through this observation one could argue that another panoptonymic function is to deter and attempt to “neutralize,” as Foucault says, any “organized multiplicity” perceived as “unpredictable”;⁸⁸ the panoptonymy functions to homogenize and totalize. These latter two functions are challenged when multiple Nations in multiple languages and regions (re)introduce Indigenous toponyms in the public consciousness, and in so doing sometimes replace, or unfix, settler toponyms from the landscape.

Foucault observes that panoptic disciplinary power craves permanence: “one of the primary objects of discipline is to fix; it is an anti-nomadic technique.”⁸⁹ Anti-nomadism—nomadism being in part a lifestyle predicated on organized multiplicities of shifting presences in multiple places—is one objective of settler colonialism, as

⁸⁷ Reuben Rose-Redwood et al., “Decolonizing the Map: Recentering Indigenous Mappings,” *Cartographica: The International Journal for Geographic Information and Geovisualization* 55, no. 3 (2020): 155, <https://doi.org/10.3138/cart.53.3.intro>.

⁸⁸ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 219.

⁸⁹ Foucault, 218.

evidenced in settler-colonial understandings of borders and mapping.⁹⁰ While not “nomadic,” recent examples of Indigenous toponymic resurgence would appear to the panoptonymy as decentralized and “unpredictable” incidents of “organized multiplicities” that challenge at a local-level the settler-colonial mapping and namescape model of centralized power.⁹¹ Rose-Redwood, et al., contend that “as a political technology, mapping has long played a key role in the world-making practices of colonialism through the appropriation, demarcation, naming, and partitioning of territory,” arguably anti-roaming aims, and through “the process of colonization and the assertion of imperial rule over peoples and places.”⁹² Rose-Redwood, et al, describe a specific, colonial geospatiality that suggests ways in which a panoptonymy could be threatened systemically by multiple and competing non-centralized namescapes.⁹³

Brian Tucker, in “Inventing the Salish Sea: Exploring the Performative Act of Place

⁹⁰ Amanda Murphyao and Kelly Black submit that “the naming, categorization, and documentation of the places, people, and animals of a *terra incognita* was key to imperial projects and historic colonialism,” adding that settler naming “was motivated by Enlightenment knowledge systems and a contest for global conquest.” See Murphyao and Black, “Unsettling Settler Belonging: (Re)Naming and Territory Making in the Pacific Northwest,” *American Review of Canadian Studies*, The ‘Nature’ of Canadian Studies in the United States, 45, no. 3 (2015): 326-27, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02722011.2015.1063523>.

⁹¹ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 219.

⁹² Rose-Redwood et al., “Decolonizing the Map,” 152.

⁹³ Murphyao and Black provide one example of competing toponymies in Tl’chés/Discovery and Chatham islands:

In essence, comparing the Songhees name of [Tl’chés] and the Settler names, Discovery and Chatham, demonstrates the ways in which Settlers can misunderstand and misrepresent territory in everyday language and maps. Affixing the myth of separate islands in this way transforms and erases Songhees territory; [Tl’chés] becomes mapped and claimed as two distinct spaces.

See Murphyao and Black, 323. Elise Gabrielle Forest-Hammond, in a thesis called “A Human History of Tl’chés, 1860-1973,” notes that “Tl’chés,” or “‘Island’ in Lekwungen,” is “situated within the traditional territory of the Songhees people.” See Elise Gabrielle Forest-Hammond, “A Human History of Tl’chés, 1860-1973” (Thesis, 2020), 1, <https://dspace.library.uvic.ca/handle/1828/11713>.

Naming off the Pacific Coast of North America," examines toponymic fixity through the concepts of performance and rescaling; Tucker describes the "Salish Sea" toponym and its creation in terms of "performance" and as

a newly conceptualized geographical scale, a scale defined by bioregionalist interests overlaid atop existing places defined by alternative scales including those conceived of as nation-states, traditional territories, and local communities.⁹⁴

Tucker's definition of "performance" suggests that any given toponym's "spatial identity" is furthered by the diversity and constancy of its use, or "the reiterations and citational uses of the name."⁹⁵ Over time, this spatial identity "stabilizes enough to appear to be fixed, despite the ongoing sequence of performative acts that continue to construct it as they go."⁹⁶ Further, Tucker observes this notion of fixity through the construction of spatial scale and its self-reinforcement:

the fixity of identity (associated with scale in this context) is just an effect, an illusion of sorts, as while associations may sediment over time, further reiterations and citations have the potential to stir up new meanings, or place

⁹⁴ Tucker, "Inventing the Salish Sea," 12-13.

⁹⁵ Tucker, 45.

⁹⁶ Tucker, 41.

greater emphasis on existing meanings, and in this manner shift the identity of that which is being referred to.⁹⁷

Toponymic performance is not a particularly complicated process: the more a toponym is used by a given population, the more likely it is to remain associated with a given feature. The concerning part of this fixity, especially if attempting to “decolonize” a namescape, is that these long-performed toponyms become entrenched, locked into cartographic landscape.⁹⁸ In Tucker’s reading of it, toponymic colonialism becomes in part about containment, a coextensive fixing and bounding of a geospatial conceptualization, “the illusion of sorts,”⁹⁹ onto state-approved demarcations of physical landscapes. Tucker credits Judith Butler’s “notions of performance” as vital to developing a toponymic version of “performativity theory.”¹⁰⁰ Tucker transposes Butler’s theories on identity and “the effect of boundary, fixity, and surface” from the body onto namespaces.¹⁰¹ While this transposition is effective, it is the use of the word

⁹⁷ Tucker, 46.

⁹⁸ Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang state that

though the details are not fixed or agreed upon, in our view, decolonization in the settler colonial context must involve the repatriation of land simultaneous to the recognition of how land and relations to land have always already been differently understood and enacted; that is, *all* of the land, and not just symbolically.

Later, they expand their definition: “decolonization eliminates settler property rights and settler sovereignty. It requires the abolition of land as property and upholds the sovereignty of Native land and people.” See “Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1 (2012): 7, 23, <https://doi.org/10.1632/pmla.2008.123.5.1743>.

⁹⁹ Tucker, 46.

¹⁰⁰ Tucker, 45.

¹⁰¹ Tucker, 41.

“fixity” that stands out, as it echoes Foucault’s observation that “one of the primary objects of discipline is to fix.”¹⁰² What Tucker and Rose-Redwood describe as “neocolonial geographical imaginary” is something like a toponymic diorama in which “the power of the state” constructs, legitimizes, and rescales cartographic spaces it invents in order to fix them in place.¹⁰³ This toponymic diorama emulates the panoptonymy in that its process of naming links conceptualizations of places directly to the cartographic power that curates them, a way to wield power through its self-actualizing mechanisms. However, panoptonymic power does not operate unchecked.

The panoptonymy maintains the “effects of power,”¹⁰⁴ but this does not mean that this epistemological model has remained unchallenged or unshifted by Indigenous namespaces; moreover, this seeming “house of certainty”¹⁰⁵ cannot be certain that it has accounted for all toponyms within the territories it surveils, in part because of the richness of the namespaces that long preceded its initial colonial presence. As with toponyms, “the history of Indigenous mapping extends back long before European colonizers began mapping the world. In a very real sense, then, mapping has always

¹⁰² Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 218.

¹⁰³ Brian Tucker and Reuben Rose-Redwood, “Decolonizing the Map? Toponymic Politics and the Rescaling of the Salish Sea,” *The Canadian Geographer* 59, no. 2 (2015): 203, <https://doi.org/10.1111/cag.12140>.

¹⁰⁴ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 202.

¹⁰⁵ Foucault, 202.

been Indigenous.”¹⁰⁶ Indigenous cartographies resist being overlooked or expunged, sometimes in colonial law courts. Matthew Sparke, in “A Map That Roared and an Original Atlas: Canada, Cartography, and the Narration of Nation,” draws on Harley in reference to *Delgamuukw v. the Queen*, a case in which “the Chief Justice’s overall view might also be said to have dispossessed the Gitksan and Wet’suwet’en ‘by engulfing them with blank spaces’”¹⁰⁷—one reading of this statement being that the colonial state attempted to create a toponymic *terra nominanda*, a “to be named” frontier, out of an already toponymically inhabited Indigenous namescape. This statement also implies a resistance to the potential effects of a “counter-power,” or in this case of *Delgamuukw v. the Queen*, a counter-cartography.¹⁰⁸ Sparke suggests that the Chief Justice’s words express an intent for a perpetual blank slate of a frontier also abundant with toponymic potential, and that in order to make this toponymic fertility possible, settler-imagined Indigenous toponymies must be made continually ahistoric, what Sparke describes as a “proleptic cartography,” a teleological performance that self-instantiates and cultivates a ceaseless geospatial imperialism.¹⁰⁹ Put differently, Indigenous namespaces cannot threaten panoptonymic power if they are perpetually characterized as former and not

¹⁰⁶ Reuben Rose-Redwood et al., 154.

¹⁰⁷ Sparke, “A Map That Roared,” 477.

¹⁰⁸ See Sparke’s section on “contrapuntal cartographies,” which examines “the contrapuntal dualities of *Delgamuukw v. the Queen*,” and the ways in which this famous land-claims case “made the location of national discourse a contentious question through a repeated return to maps.” See Sparke, 468-70.

¹⁰⁹ Sparke, 487, 484. I employ geospatial imperialism as a variant on what Sparke describes as a “European epistemological imperialism,” which, in his reading, attempts “a terminological homogenization of first peoples.” See Sparke, 484.

contemporary — one can imagine that settler-colonial myths of “vanishing Indian” toponymies comprise part of the assumptions about “vanishing Indians.”¹¹⁰ Of course, Indigenous namescapes have not vanished; they have instead, as Umeek suggests, been largely overlooked or Anglicized into toponyms like Saanich and Nanaimo. The BCGNO website’s homepage speaks to some aspects of Umeek’s observation when it writes that

While most B.C. place names in the BCGNIS (and therefore labelled on maps) are in the English language, there are many names in B.C. that have Indigenous origins or roots that have been anglicized, poorly interpreted or applied to something for which the original name was never intended.¹¹¹

Colonization is one influence among many, such as language, topography, history, and culture, that influences toponymies. Toponymic adoption can occur in multiple ways and for multiple reasons. In the case of the “Salish Sea,” for example, one could assume that this is an Indigenous-created name, but it is not. As I discuss below, a name that a settler scientist created to describe a bioregion has been both embraced and maligned by Indigenous Peoples in the Salish Sea. Certainly, toponyms are as complicated as the cultures that create them. For all the work that the “panoptic mechanism” does to

¹¹⁰ See Brewton Berry, “The Myth of the Vanishing Indian,” *Phylon* 21, no. 1 (1960): 51–57, <https://doi.org/10.2307/273734>. Note that Berry, despite his critiques of the myth of the “vanishing Indian,” uses racist language as well as other topics that could cause trauma to some readers.

¹¹¹ Province of British Columbia, “Geographical Names.”

arrange “spatial unities that make it possible to see constantly and to recognize immediately,”¹¹² the BCGNO’s panoptonymy does not recognize as fully as it could the multiplicities of Indigenous toponymies in its dominion of names. The simplicity of the single authority name in the BCGNO may be for epistemology-preserving reasons.

Epistemological agitations

Indigenous namescapes challenge the dominance of BC’s panoptonymic model because they have not been incorporated fully into the settler-state’s toponymic epistemological model of wholly indexed namescapes subject to the panoptonymic gaze. The “territorializing logics of colonialist and statist cartographies,”¹¹³ of which the panoptonymy is a function, have not historically or presently accounted for every toponym in overlapping Indigenous/settler namescapes; to draw on Umeek’s analysis in *Tsawalk*, the panoptonymic mechanism has failed to account for all toponymic variables.¹¹⁴ Umeek explains that “Western thought,” with some exceptions, has “a prevailing tendency to compartmentalize experience and thus assume that some parts have no relations to the other parts,” and that this “need to focus on isolated variables automatically obscures any assumptions about the general nature of interrelationships

¹¹² Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 200.

¹¹³ Rose-Redwood et al., “Decolonizing the Map,” 153.

¹¹⁴ Umeek (Richard Atleo), *Tsawalk* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), xii-xiii. See also chapter 7 for more on the theory of Tsawalk.

and connections between variables;” the panoptonymy conceptually is an example of this type of “fragmentation of Western thought” manifested administratively, its “monotopomania” — the pathological desire for a single toponymic system in a single language—¹¹⁵ being predicated on the exclusion of multiple namescapes, especially Indigenous namescapes.¹¹⁶ I contend that the BCGNO’s panoptonymic power system, in its current iteration, cannot endorse or perhaps imagine heterogeneous namescapes, while in reality there are multiple examples of Indigenous toponymic resources that exist outside of the BCGNO’s panoptonymic gaze.

There are more, of course, but I will present three examples of toponymic resources that fall outside the BCGNO’s panoptonymic purview and authority. First, is the First People’s Cultural Council’s online map, the “First Peoples’ Map of B.C.,” which allows public viewers to search for places, people, languages, and more, and in Indigenous languages.¹¹⁷ This map also provides “Arts” and “Heritage” information, integrating living toponymies and cultural histories and presences within a cartographic interface. Second is the Musqueam Place Names Mapping Portal, a mapping and toponymy resource that combines “information on Musqueam Place Names,” audio clips of “hən̓q̓əmin̓əm̓ language from Musqueam elders,” and

¹¹⁵ The BCGNO’s “Geographical Naming Principles, Policy and Procedures” states that “geographical name should be adopted in a single language form” and “in Roman orthography using the standard letters and diacritics available.” See “Geographical Naming Principles, Policy and Procedures,” 3.

¹¹⁶ Umeek, *Tsawalk*, xiii.

¹¹⁷ “First Peoples’ Map,” First Peoples Cultural Council, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://fpcc.ca/stories/first-peoples-map>.

“historical photographs” in the same interface: a searchable, digital map centred on $x^w m \theta k^w \dot{a} y \dot{a} m$ (Musqueam) territory in and around the lands also known as Vancouver.¹¹⁸ The Musqueam Place Names map also combines stories about place and culture in the form of a “Story Lines” layer, which integrates geospatial information with an illustrated “series of 8 lines of a story from the story book “ $k^w \theta \dot{a} s \dot{\lambda} \dot{a} n \dot{a} q \text{ ?} \dot{a} \dot{\lambda} \text{ ?} \dot{a} y \dot{a} l m \dot{a} x^w$ ” (Potlatch at Jericho Village).”¹¹⁹ My final example of a non-panoptonymic resource is the SENĆOTEN-toponyms map available on the WSÁNEĆ Leadership Council’s website.¹²⁰ This map of SENĆOTEN toponyms is presented alongside valuable epistemological information, particularly the telling of the “The Legend of ŁÁU, WELNEW_,” a name of understandable cultural importance and now acknowledged officially by the BCGNO as the dual-language and arguably dual-epistemology toponym ŁÁU, WELNEW_/ John Dean Park, which I discuss below as a possible model for shared settler-Indigenous toponymies.¹²¹ The aforementioned toponym sources exist outside the BCGNO’s panoptonymy. They represent a

¹¹⁸ Note that this map was created through a collaboration between the Language and Culture Department and Treaty, Lands and Resources Department at Musqueam, and Musqueam community contributors. See Musqueam Indian Band, “Musqueam Place Names Map,” Musqueam Place Names Mapping Portal, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://placenamemap.musqueam.bc.ca>. This source was used with permission from Musqueam First Nation.

¹¹⁹ Musqueam Indian Band, “Musqueam Place Names Map.”

¹²⁰ See WSÁNEĆ Leadership Council, “History & Territory,” WSÁNEĆ Leadership Council (blog), accessed November 7, 2022, <https://wsanec.com/history-territory>. Note that this map is indebted to Dave Elliott Senior’s *Saltwater People*, which presents a similar map on page 20. See *Saltwater People* (Saanich: School District 63, 1983), <https://wsanec.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/saltwater-people-1983-delliott-sr-compressed.pdf>.

¹²¹ BC Geographical Names Office, “ŁÁU, WELNEW_/ John Dean Park,” accessed November 7, 2022, <https://apps.gov.bc.ca/pub/bcgnws/names/73601.html>.

challenge to the panoptonymic system, in part by re-narrating Indigenous toponymic epistemologies or, to draw on Barnd, reasserting Indigenous geographies:

Given the distinctive space-centered epistemologies that form the bases of indigenous relationships with the land it is not surprising that indigenous communities and individuals seek to re-narrate place or reclaim indigenous geographies rather than merely capitulate to the force of national 'progress' and inclusion.¹²²

Barnd raises an important point about Indigenous re-narrations of place, of which toponyms play a part, and that is that Indigenous toponymies, their resurgence and creation, do not require inclusion into the settler toponymic hegemony in order to flourish on their own terms, and for the Nations and regions they represent. Rose-Redwood asserts a similar position for toponymies, specifically:

Indigenous peoples do not require the 'expertise' of non-Indigenous scholars and activists in order to develop critical theories and practices that challenge settler colonialism through the reclaiming of Indigenous toponymies or by other means.¹²³

I agree with both Barnd and Rose-Redwood and would add the reminder that Indigenous toponymies have existed and will always exist on their own terms and in

¹²² Barnd, *Native Space*, I-II.

¹²³ Reuben Rose-Redwood, "'Reclaim, Rename, Reoccupy': Decolonizing Place and the Reclaiming of PKOLS," *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 15, no. 1 (2016): 201.

their own languages. Recent examples of Indigenous toponymic resurgence¹²⁴ have illuminated ways in which settlers and settler institutions maintain toponymic power, and this resurgence has (re-)raised an irreconciled tension present since colonization began: the extent to which settlers' and Indigenous Peoples' epistemologies can share power and coexist undiminished and to the mutual benefit, respect, and dignity of each. Toponymically speaking, there are as many responses to these epistemological tensions as there are First Nations, and this is part of the problem for the panoptonymy, which is decidedly monolingual¹²⁵ in its aims and centralized in its nature; indeed, the BCGNO declares itself as "responsible for naming geographical features and managing *all official* place names in the province of British Columbia."¹²⁶ Given the number of Indigenous toponymic alternatives to the BCGNO, including the examples I have shown above, the claim of universal toponymic responsibility reads more like a delusion than a declaration. However, it is true to say that these toponymies are not recognized as official by the settler-state and for some, like WSÁNEĆ Hereditary Chief WEC'KINEM (Eric Pelkey), this type of official toponym status clearly matters.

Chief WEC'KINEM and the WSÁNEĆ Leadership Council have spent roughly a decade trying to change the name "Mount Douglas" to the SENĆOTEN name PKOLS

¹²⁴ See my earlier article, "Unfinished Business: PKOLS/Mount Douglas and Toponymic 'Decolonization' on the Saanich Peninsula."

¹²⁵ See footnote 95, above.

¹²⁶ BCGNO, "Place Naming." My emphasis.

and these efforts advanced on August 15, 2022, when District of Saanich Council approved a request by the W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council Board of Directors (featuring representatives from Tsartlip, Tseycum, and Tsawout) to “actively move forward with the restoration of the original name” of PKOLS.¹²⁷ Saanich Council, however, “can rename the park but will have to ask the province [the BCGNO] to rename the mountain itself”;¹²⁸ as of this writing PKOLS is designated in the BCGNIS as the feature’s “traditional” name.¹²⁹ For Chief WEC’KINEM, the name change represents territorial protection and a symbol of a significant “nation-to-nation” moment that took place on PKOLS in 1852, when “Sir James Douglas brought [W̱SÁNEĆ Peoples] into treaty,” a moment “primarily supposed to be a peace treaty between our nations.”¹³⁰ The implication that I read into WEC’KINEM’s push for official BCGNO recognition is that this renaming also serves to acknowledge *official* title to the land and its traditional ownership. In a 2013 letter to the BCGNO, WEC’KINEM wrote the following: “We request that the province of B.C. officially recognize the traditional name PKOLS to

¹²⁷ W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council, “‘PKOLS (Mount Douglas Park)’ Restored as Official Name of Mount Douglas Park,” *W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council* (blog), accessed November 7, 2022, <https://wsanec.com/pkols-mount-douglas-park-restored-as-new-official-name-of-mount-douglas-park>.

¹²⁸ CBC News, “Mount Douglas or PKOLS? Park Getting Closer to New Name Requested by Local First Nations,” CBC, July 7, 2021, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/pkols-renaming-decision-1.6093382>.

¹²⁹ Province of British Columbia, “Mount Douglas.”

¹³⁰ David Ball, “Saanich People Launch Campaign to Restore Traditional Landmark Names,” Ammsa.com, 2013, <https://www.ammsa.com/publications/ravens-eye/saanich-people-launch-campaign-restore-traditional-landmark-names>.

replace the colonial name Mount Douglas in the Geographic Names Registry.”¹³¹ The 2013 PKOLS “traditional naming ceremony,” through prayer and a reenactment of the Douglas treaty signing, was for organizers, more significant than “any official recognition,” but the administrative and legal legacy of having PKOLS officially recognized by the BCGNO also matters.¹³² Leanne Betasamosake Simpson argues, in a piece reflecting on the PKOLS renaming, that colonizing Indigenous namescapes connects to “dispossession and removal of Indigenous Peoples from our homelands so that these homelands can be exploited for large-scale natural resource development” and “the end goal of Canadian colonialism whether it's 1876 or 2013.”¹³³ Read through Simpson’s account, the push for the PKOLS renaming represents a type of repossession and, for Chief WEC’KINEM and the WSÁNEĆ Leadership council, a strengthening “WSÁNEĆ people’s connection to land, culture and language”; moreover, Chief WEC’KINEM declares that the “restoring the name of PKOLS is an important step towards attaining the shared goal of reconciliation.”¹³⁴ Chief WEC’KINEM celebrates the PKOLS restoration while declaring that the WSÁNEĆ Leadership Council is ready

¹³¹ In Paul, “Saanich People Launch Campaign.”

¹³² Paul, “Saanich People Launch Campaign.”

¹³³ Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, “Restoring the Original Name of Mount Douglas,” HuffPost Canada, May 23, 2013, https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/leanne-simpson/mount-douglas-name-change_b_3315257.html.

¹³⁴ WSÁNEĆ Leadership Council, “PKOLS (Mount Douglas Park) Restored as Official Name of Mount Douglas Park,” WSÁNEĆ Leadership Council (blog), accessed November 7, 2022, <https://wsanec.com/pkols-mount-douglas-park-restored-as-new-official-name-of-mount-douglas-park>.

to “move on to the next location of name restoration.”¹³⁵ For the BCGNO, this goal of toponymic reconciliation, which is clearly growing throughout the Province, has legal-power implications since the Government of British Columbia passed UNDRIP into law in November, 2019.¹³⁶

In February, 2022, the BCGNO posted a job for a new provincial toponymist, noting that “in particular, the position of Provincial Toponymist is committed to implementing article 13 of UNDRIP, which recognizes the right of Indigenous Peoples ‘to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons’.”¹³⁷ Arguably, the adoption of UNDRIP undermines fundamentally the BCGNO’s panoptonymy because article 13 describes a non-centralized toponymic paradigm in which Indigenous communities can now designate their own onomastic destinies. These potentially localized, community relocations of toponymic authority also relocate the source to toponymic histories and sources, placing them, in the case of what Philip Kevin Paul describes for his understanding of WSÁNEĆ naming traditions, as being located in people, not institutions.

¹³⁵ WSÁNEĆ Leadership Council, “‘PKOLS (Mount Douglas Park)’.”

¹³⁶ Government of British Columbia, “Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act” (Province of British Columbia), accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/governments/indigenous-people/new-relationship/united-nations-declaration-on-the-rights-of-indigenous-peoples>.

¹³⁷ Evgeny Shokhenmayer, “Provincial Toponymist for British Columbia,” E-Onomastics (blog), February 22, 2022, <http://e-onomastics.blogspot.com/2022/02/provincial-toponymist-for-british.html>.

In *The Care-Takers: The Re-Emergence of the Saanich Indian Map*, Paul observes that settlers are educated to see names in a certain way. In compiling a SENĆOTEN toponyms, Paul “recognized the trap into which most [settler] authors who have written about [I]ndigenous [P]eoples fall.”¹³⁸ Paul describes two “important” but interrelated epistemological “paradoxes” revealed through the work of SENĆOTEN/English toponym translations: the first being that such “works seem too clinical,” in part “because they speak directly about their subject”; the second paradox is “embedded in the oral tradition itself.”¹³⁹ As to the first, Paul points to the problem of toponyms speaking “directly about their subject,” noting that “my people rarely spoke directly about anything” and, to the second, in Paul’s “oral tradition” named objects are considered both personal and highly contextual.¹⁴⁰ Paul relates that objects serve the oral stories and “values” to which they connect and that to decouple any object from narrative, personal, or historical contexts is to disrupt “the underlying concepts which are just as important as the information which is built on them.”¹⁴¹ What Paul describes is anathema to the panoptonymic process, which “mechanizes”¹⁴² toponymic abstraction and depersonalization—an objectification for a homogenized sense of place. What Paul describes is a subjectification for an individualized sense of place. In Paul’s

¹³⁸ Paul, *The Care-Takers*, 1.

¹³⁹ Paul, 1.

¹⁴⁰ Paul, *The Care-Takers*, 1. Paul notes that “the object might be as small as a necklace or a mask, or as large as a piece of land.” See Paul, 1.

¹⁴¹ Paul, 1.

¹⁴² Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 199.

understanding of oral tradition, “a place name is tied irrevocably to either a teaching story or to a historical account,” and this account is not expected to be housed externally, but in the living exchange of “the story teller” and “the listener,” who “eventually becomes the only source.”¹⁴³ How the BCGNO will contend with what is a toponymic epistemological paradox remains to be seen.

Paul finds a paradox in the act of trying to record in writing that which is conveyed in the oral tradition: “This way of maintaining knowledge, so that it becomes part of the internal self, creates the paradoxes of the ‘written’ oral tradition,” adding that “the nature of teaching-stories and historical accounts defies written work as it might be seen as a danger to externalize that knowledge and place it in an inanimate source.”¹⁴⁴ The panoptonymy, in its doctrines of fixity and certainty, places knowledge/power in a metaphorically inanimate source: “a machine for creating and sustaining a power relation independent of the person who exercises it.”¹⁴⁵ The centralizing and indexing mechanisms of the panoptonymy could also decouple toponyms from their original, narrative contexts—a process of turning a *story* of place into a mere *designation* of place. The panoptonymy’s automatic stripping of toponymic narrative complexity potentially challenges article 18 of UNDRIP:

¹⁴³ Paul, *The Care-Takers*, 1.

¹⁴⁴ Paul, 2.

¹⁴⁵ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 201.

Indigenous peoples have the right to participate in decision-making in matters which would affect their rights, through representatives chosen by themselves in accordance with their own procedures, as well as to maintain and develop their own indigenous decision-making institutions.¹⁴⁶

Under UNDRIP, Indigenous toponymists, Elders, and Knowledge Keepers could argue for the legal right to keep their procedures of creating and authorizing toponyms, through oral traditions, or whatever traditions are in place on a Nation-to-Nation basis.

Reading W̱SÁNEĆ onomastic paradigms through Paul suggests that settlers cannot expect, for example, that the mere act of cataloging SENĆOTEN toponyms and adding them to settler maps will somehow impart the dynamic toponymic meanings present in W̱SÁNEĆ territory since time immemorial. Paul's accounts of W̱SÁNEĆ toponymies invokes a human presencing: that is, speaking a name aloud and *in place* on the land, as opposed to indexed silently in a written gazetteer.¹⁴⁷ Toponymic presencing presents a possible counter-panoptic act toward settler-colonialism's "geometries of power,"¹⁴⁸ which, for all their seeming reach and power, have yet to find a way to build walls of silence around Indigenous voices. Furthermore, in the same way that

¹⁴⁶ Government of British Columbia, "Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act."

¹⁴⁷ I borrow the term "presencing" from Sandrina de Finney's definition, which builds on "Leanne Simpson's (2011) notion of 'presence' as a form of decolonizing resurgence" to propose that presencing can manifest in a number of ways. See Sandrina de Finney, "Under the Shadow of Empire: Indigenous Girls' Presencing as Decolonizing Force," *Girlhood Studies* 7, no. 1 (June 1, 2014): 8, <https://doi.org/10.3167/ghs.2014.070103>.

¹⁴⁸ Sparke, "A Map that Roared," 472.

Indigenous Peoples continue to assert their land-rights in colonial courts, the adoption of UNDRIP could further toponymic rights in the BCGNO. In “Whose Land Is It? Rethinking Sovereignty in British Columbia,” Nicholas XEMTOLTW Claxton and John Price suggest that questions around so-called legitimate namespaces connect to the land question and concepts of sovereignty:

We . . . suggest that the notion of sovereignty and related laws of governance were in place long before ‘British Columbia’ came into existence and that these nations have persisted in defending their lands since contact. We conclude, therefore, that the WSÁNEĆ and Mowachaht/Muchalaht Nations have every right to exercise sovereignty over their traditional territories and that this transcends, legally and otherwise, any claims to sovereignty by the Crown.¹⁴⁹

Claxton and Price assert that toponymic sovereignty, like territorial sovereignty, was never ceded in the Salish Sea and that “reconciliation,” as they contend, “will depend very much on the degree to which the settler government in this province is willing to recognize, in words and actions, Indigenous sovereignty over the land.”¹⁵⁰ The same could be said for Indigenous namespaces, which are continually in danger of being framed by the dominant, settler-cartographic process. The BCGNO’s panoptonymy, however, is showing some promising signs that it is, in its own words, looking toward

¹⁴⁹ Nicholas XEMTOLTW Claxton and John Price, “Whose Land Is It? Rethinking Sovereignty in British Columbia,” *BC Studies*, no. 204 (2020 2019): 136.

¹⁵⁰ Claxton and Price, “Whose Land Is It?” 137.

“the original languages of the land,” to “help tell the story and deep history of this place we know today as British Columbia.”¹⁵¹ What this shift in recognition will affect systemically remains to be seen. Until an Indigenous “spatial justice” is realized systemically, through the BCGNO’s adoption and implementation of UNDRIP, “toponymic activism”¹⁵² will remain a useful tool to promote and sustain Indigenous namespaces; in the case of the PKOLS renaming, for example, Rose-Redwood considers the PKOLS renaming ceremony “an assertion of the right to authorize the decolonization of ‘place’ without seeking prior permission from the settler-colonial state.”¹⁵³

It is important that the settler-colonial state ensure that Indigenous toponyms in Indigenous languages are Indigenous-led initiatives. In the case of the Salish Sea, for example, a name invented by settlers and in English, this toponym has understandably been criticized by some, like W̱SÁNEĆ artist and teacher TEMOSEŉTET as a kind of toponymic “tokenism.”¹⁵⁴ On the creation and adoption of the Salish Sea toponym, TEMOSEŉTET offers that

it’s a trivial thing if they’re not going to really change the names to what it should be. I feel it’s just tokenism. If they’re still going to call it Juan de Fuca so

¹⁵¹ Province of British Columbia, “Geographical Names.”

¹⁵² Reuben Rose-Redwood, “‘Reclaim, Rename, Reoccupy’,” 202.

¹⁵³ Reuben Rose-Redwood, 191.

¹⁵⁴ In Tucker and Rose-Redwood, “Decolonizing the Map?,” 203-04.

they can recognize these early explorers, then it's still trampling on our rights . . . Coast Salish people are going to agree to that, because we feel insulted that they have all these names on our territory that already had names. And, whether it was called Salish Sea in the old days, at this point, doesn't matter, because at least we're putting a name on it that connects the people back to it again.¹⁵⁵

Given that “the colonial names” of Juan de Fuca Strait, Strait of Georgia, and Puget Sound “were not removed from the map” following Salish Sea’s designation, as Tucker and Rose-Redwood observe, “the structures of neocolonial power would remain intact.”¹⁵⁶ However, TEMOSENTET’s understandably dismissive critique of Salish Sea is nevertheless tempered with a better-than-nothing acknowledgement that “at least we’re putting a name on it that connects the people back to it again.”¹⁵⁷ Salish Sea certainly indicates some progress toward Indigenous presence and namescape acknowledgement, but considering the importance of ongoing relationships between settlers and Indigenous Peoples in the Salish Sea, and the BCGNO’s adoption of UNDRIP, the settler state will need, among other things, to address its criteria for what it considers to be Indigenous-led toponyms, lest the BCGNO be guilty of what Clayton Thomas-Müller’s calls “redwashing” — when settler institutions perform “an image of benevolence” in order to maintain colonial power and distract from it. Arguably,

¹⁵⁵ Tucker and Rose-Redwood, 203-04.

¹⁵⁶ Tucker and Rose-Redwood, 203.

¹⁵⁷ Tucker and Rose-Redwood, 203.

toponyms like the Salish Sea could be seen as toponymic “redwashing,”¹⁵⁸ seeming to honour Indigenous origins, and carrying some endorsement by Indigenous Peoples, but ultimately created by the settler state.¹⁵⁹

Salish Sea, as a toponym, is complicated: it can be read as an emblem of colonial “enframing”¹⁶⁰ and a contribution to Indigenous-namescape emancipation and recognition, but its double meaning also points to a possible toponymic-power rebalancing. Sparke indicates that this double-reading has post-colonial resonances. Reading through Homi Bhabha and a postcolonial lens, Sparke argues that “the ambivalent (post)colonial power relations of cartography — the fact that they can work both for and against colonialism — become evident.”¹⁶¹ Tucker evokes Sparke’s reading with the contention that “the naming of Salish Sea [is] on a continuum that encompasses the overlapping processes of colonialism and decolonization.”¹⁶² Sparke borrows from Homi Bhabha to describe “contrapuntal cartographies,” and these contrapuntal toponymies that Sparke might characterize as liminal, “what Bhabha calls ‘a liminal signifying space that is internally marked by the discourses of minorities, the heterogeneous histories of contending peoples, antagonistic authorities and tense

¹⁵⁸ Clayton Thomas-Müller, “We Need to Start Calling out Corporate ‘Redwashing,’” CBC, March 20, 2017, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/opinion/corporate-redwashing-1.4030443>.

¹⁵⁹ Rob Millington et al., “‘Calling out’ Corporate Redwashing: The Extractives Industry, Corporate Social Responsibility and Sport for Development in Indigenous Communities in Canada,” *Sport in Society* 22, no. 12 (December 2, 2019): 2123, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2019.1567494>.

¹⁶⁰ See Sparke, “A Map That Roared,” 476.

¹⁶¹ Sparke, “A Map that Roared,” 463.

¹⁶² Tucker, “Inventing the Salish Sea,” 74.

locations of cultural difference’.”¹⁶³ However, creating liminal toponyms, like “Salish Sea,” is arguably not an enduring solution to toponymic inequities, as it satisfies neither settler nor Indigenous namescapes fully. However, Barnd’s interpretations of Bhabha speak to a potential future in double-meaning toponyms, which can be read as either Indigenous or settler, like the example of “ŁÁU ,WELNEW_/ John Dean Park.” This toponym, in SENĆOTEN/English is in the BCGNO as an official double-meaning place name.¹⁶⁴ In this toponym’s case, the settler name was not removed, but “ŁÁU ,WELNEW_” was added, as was the forward-slash between them. What is curious about this toponym is that it contradicts BCGNO policy that “(a) A geographical name should be adopted in a single language form.”¹⁶⁵ This policy is a potential impediment to UNDRIP because it could discourage the possibility of greater toponymic equity between non-Indigenous and Indigenous namescapes through co-naming, as seen in with ŁÁU ,WELNEW_/John Dean Park. Moreover, this double-meaning toponym challenges another BCGNO policy, that “(b) Geographical names are adopted in Roman orthography using the standard letters and diacritics” and to be comprised of “recognizable words.”¹⁶⁶ Given the BCNGO’s mandate to adopt UNDRIP, the BCGNO will be moved to address the biases inherent in its criteria for “recognizable” written

¹⁶³ Sparke, “A Map that Roared,” 468.

¹⁶⁴ BC Geographical Names Office, “ŁÁU ,WELNEW_/ John Dean Park.”

¹⁶⁵ BC Geographical Names Office, “British Columbia’s Geographical Naming Principles,” 3.

¹⁶⁶ BC Geographical Names Office, 3.

language and the requirement that toponyms are “adopted in a single language form,”¹⁶⁷ and the mixed-orthography toponym of ŁÁU ,WELNEW_/John Dean Park suggests that the BCGNO is willing to include non-Roman orthographies.

Presently, the Policy states that “names are adopted in Roman orthography” and does not address Indigenous orthographies, specifically.¹⁶⁸ However, the same section of the Policy states that “When a name is derived from a language other than English,” which could include Indigenous languages, “the name will be adopted in a linguistically correct form acceptable to both the language community concerned and the Geographical Names Office.”¹⁶⁹ One way to read this portion of the policy is that Indigenous language names will be subject to, ultimately, to the BCGNO’s definition of “acceptable,” which contravenes Article 13 of UNDRIP: that Indigenous Peoples are “writing systems and literatures “to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons,” and in their own “writing systems.”¹⁷⁰ The addition ŁÁU ,WELNEW_ suggests in principle that SENĆOTEN toponyms are indeed recognizable words and perhaps this acknowledgement could lead to other co-namings and with other Indigenous languages. Moreover, the BCGNO appears aware that it can do more to acknowledge and include Indigenous toponyms and Indigenous

¹⁶⁷ BC Geographical Names Office, 3.

¹⁶⁸ BC Geographical Names Office, 3.

¹⁶⁹ BC Geographical Names Office, 3.

¹⁷⁰ United Nations, “United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples” (United Nations, 2007), 13, <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N06/512/07/PDF/N0651207.pdf>.

perspectives. The most recent Provincial Toponymist job posting states the following on one of the position's requirements:

In keeping with UNDRIP, TRC and the B.C. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act, the Provincial Toponymist works with Indigenous governments and communities to document, record and officially adopt Indigenous place names, increasing the visibility of Indigenous cultures in British Columbia and deepening British Columbians' understanding of the history of the province.¹⁷¹

Time will reveal what exactly "working with" entails, or to what extent Indigenous communities will have toponymic influence over the BCGNO, generally. Nevertheless, it is promising that the BCGNO is shifting its thinking, like many other settler institutions, toward the incorporation of Indigenous perspectives. Earlier in the same job-posting the BCGNO declares its intention to adopt at least one Article of UNDRIP: "In particular, the position of Provincial Toponymist is committed to implementing article 13 of UNDRIP, which recognizes the right of Indigenous Peoples 'to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons.'"¹⁷² The BCGNO website's homepage contains a section entitled "Indigenous Place Names," which acknowledges BC's Indigenous linguistic diversity and that "most B.C. place names in

¹⁷¹ Evgeny Shokhenmayer, "Provincial Toponymist for British Columbia."

¹⁷² Evgeny Shokhenmayer.

the BCGNIS (and therefore labelled on maps) are in the English language,” adding that “there are many names in B.C. that have Indigenous origins or roots that have been anglicized, poorly interpreted or applied to something for which the original name was never intended.”¹⁷³ This passage does the work of pointing to some Indigenous origins of Anglicized toponyms, and it is instructive to place such toponyms in new contexts. However, I would argue that UNDRIP asks more than Indigenous toponyms, or Indigenous-origin toponyms, be given greater recognition relative to other toponyms: this is an “ad-mix” approach in which the authorizing body does not change fundamentally, but instead interpolates alternative perspectives merely as new, or newly defined, content categories. To extend the metaphor further, the body bureaucratic remains unchanged. Arguably, UNDRIP demands a fundamental rethinking and reworking of the toponymic status quo, and the possibility of a productive destruction of settler toponymic institutions, like the BCGNO, in order to collaborate directly with Indigenous stakeholders *in order to* redefine and co-create unforeseen understandings of toponymic “authority.”

Broadly speaking, the BCGNO’s panoptonymy will have to learn humanize its understandings of namespaces and to work in good faith alongside Indigenous stakeholders to find ways to acknowledge and utilize place names as more than indexes—they can be symbols of cultural, epistemological, and communal as well as

¹⁷³ Province of British Columbia, “Geographical Names.”

personal presence on living landscapes. Paul's words on W̱SÁNEĆ namescapes describe one among many examples of Indigenous toponymic presencing, one in which by contrast the panoptonymy appears full of empty vessels, simulacrum of place that have in many cases long since lost their settler stories or, in some cases, names of the past can evoke abhorrent narratives for contemporaries, as seen in recent changes to the "Trutch Streets" in ləkʷəŋən (Lekwungen) and xʷməθkʷəy̓əm (Musqueam) territories (Victoria and Vancouver, respectively).¹⁷⁴ Paul reveals that toponymic presence in a W̱SÁNEĆ context exists in living, spoken presences on the land, through practice, not exclusively through graphical, digital, or symbolic containment in maps and other cartographic media. Paul shows that the sign may be PKOLS but the signified is the place inhabited, and the latter can never be captured in the abstraction of the panoptonymy, because to use written language is to decouple it from a "meaning-in-place," that is a *practicing* place, not its classification. Moreover, Barnd shows that Indigenous namescapes have endured throughout colonization and will endure regardless of whether or not the panoptonymy can learn to share power: "Indigenous geographies have quietly overlapped and coexisted in tension with the geographies of the settler colonial state. They have been submerged, but not eliminated."¹⁷⁵ Given

¹⁷⁴ For more on the Trutch Street renamings see City of Victoria, "Committee of the Whole Report: Renaming of Trutch Street" (City of Victoria, January 27, 2022), 50, <https://pub-victoria.escribemeetings.com/FileStream.ashx?DocumentId=77389> and Odette Wilson, "Musqueam Gifts New Name to City of Vancouver to Replace Trutch Street," *Musqueam* (blog), September 30, 2022, <https://www.musqueam.bc.ca/renaming-ceremony-vancouver-trutch-street>.

¹⁷⁵ Barnd, *Native Space*, I.

recent increases of Indigenous toponymic resurgence in and around the Salish Sea, settlers should expect a growing chorus of Indigenous voices in our shared and contested namescape.¹⁷⁶

Conclusion: shifting panoptonymic power

I have built on Foucault's analyses of the panopticon to show that toponymic power and hegemony are about more than widespread agreement on what to call a given place; they are also about reinstantiating consistently, through various channels, such as maps, street signs, park names, law courts, and more, settler toponyms seamlessly into everyday experience, while silently erasing or displacing the many existing Indigenous toponyms. Panoptonymic power may thus first appear to the settler state as a given, a banal, background bureaucratic process that appears to have little effect upon the daily lives of its citizens; however, the opposite is true: "the power and function of the mundane, or what Michael Billig calls the 'banal,' everyday acts . . . prove crucial for dominant spatial productions."¹⁷⁷ Settler toponymic mechanisms may

¹⁷⁶ For example, Claxton and Price's opinion piece, "Comment: Whose Land? Whose Laws? B.C. Needs to Change Its Name," opens with praise for Lawrence Paul Yuxweluptun's 2016 exhibit, "Unceded Territories," which calls for the renaming of British Columbia, as part of "important resurgence of Indigenous sovereignty." See Nicholas XEMFOLTW Claxton and John Price, "Whose Land? Whose Laws? B.C. Needs to Change Its Name," *Times Colonist*, February 12, 2020, sec. Opinion, <https://www.timescolonist.com/opinion/op-ed/comment-whose-land-whose-laws-b-c-needs-to-change-its-name-1.24074510>. For more on Yuxweluptun's exhibit see <https://moa.ubc.ca/exhibition/lawrence-paul>.

¹⁷⁷ Barnd, *Native Space*, 14-15.

appear as banal or harmless or, relative to other forms of colonization, that Indigenous toponymic dismissal or erasure is a lesser offence, but it is important to remember that naming is a deliberate colonial act and, as Daniel Cole recounts, “traditional place names were not accepted in aboriginal territory of the people and there was systematic renaming of those places in European languages,” as part of a broader “cultural genocide.”¹⁷⁸ In the present namescape, from street signs to toponymic databases, each settler toponym reinforces a performance of settler power within its namescape. I have shown that, like the panopticon, the panoptonymy appears “polyvalent in its applications”: it is a cartographic repository, an index, a legitimizer, and a toponymic disciplinary force, but it is also a “laboratory of power,” an ongoing function that applies a particular doctrine intended to contextualize and understand place through a settler-colonial epistemological lens.¹⁷⁹

Analyzing toponymic power through Foucault’s analyses of panoptic power has revealed some qualities of the functions of power within settler-colonial namespaces. In the case of Indigenous-settler toponymies, Foucault provides helpful ways to conceptualize various interrelationships of power, but much remains to be considered. Will settler toponymic systems, like the BCGNO, acknowledge and address their

¹⁷⁸ Daniel Cole and E. Richard Hart, “Understanding the Current Complexities of Indigenous Land Tenure and Toponymy: The Importance of Historical Indigenous Cartography with Indigenous Contributions to Euro/American/Canadian Cartography,” *ISPRS International Journal of Geo-Information* 10, no. 6 (April 14, 2021): 397–411, <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijgi10060397>.

¹⁷⁹ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 205, 204.

“spatial arrogance” as part of their “decolonization” work?¹⁸⁰ Their intention to incorporate UNDRIP’s applicable Articles and the example of the co-name ŁÁU ,WELNEW_/John Dean Park suggest that the BCGNO is moving in decolonial directions. In time, will (re-)emergent Indigenous namescapes stand apart but equal or will they be ultimately framed in the presently dominant framework, the settler-colonial panoptonymy? Also, to what extent can Indigenous namescapes reclaim, shift, or redefine toponymic power as long as the settler-state’s toponymic systems act more as bodies of authorization than collaboration? Toponyms are fundamentally complex: they can be simple labels or act as mnemonics for rich cultural narratives, and everything in between. Not all toponyms are associated with complex stories, but the ones that are, like PKOLS, have the potential to contribute to the “reconciliation”¹⁸¹ of namescapes in shared Indigenous/settler landscapes. Arguably, making space for Indigenous toponymies also makes space for Indigenous narratives of place, which could in turn further broader conversations on the ongoing “land question”¹⁸² by diversifying public understandings of the importance of land and how it is used and stewarded, traditionally and currently. Sparke suggests, through Edward Said, a “contrapuntal

¹⁸⁰ Sparke, “A Map that Roared,” 487.

¹⁸¹ See Jeff Bell, “PKOLS to Be New Official Name for Mount Douglas Park,” *Times Colonist*, August 17, 2022, <https://www.timescolonist.com/local-news/pkols-to-be-new-official-name-for-mount-douglas-park-5705705>.

¹⁸² For more on the “land question” see David Cruickshank, “Calder Case,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, September 20, 2020, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/calder-case> and Andrew Beynon, “The Nisga’a Land Question,” *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* 11, no. 3 (2004): 259–78, <https://doi.org/10.1163/1571811042801939>.

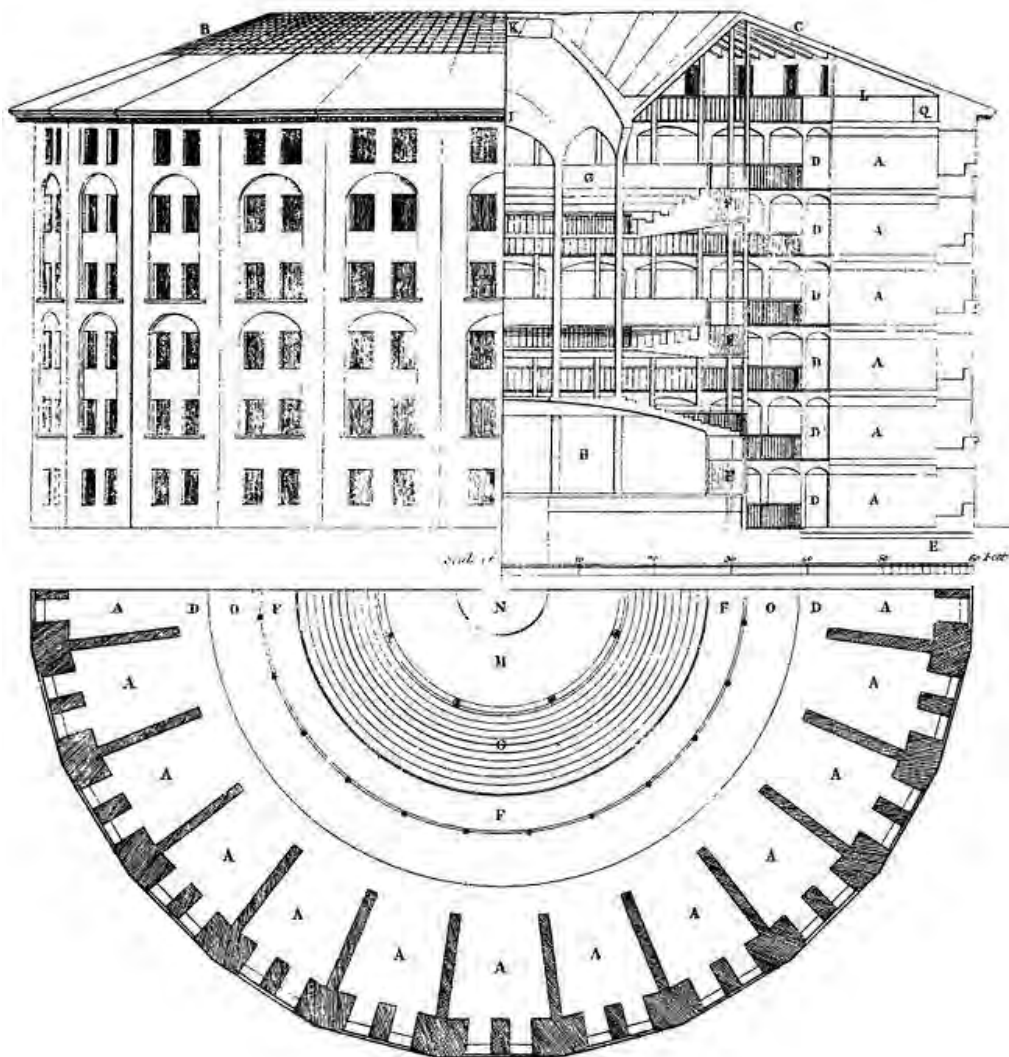
orchestration” of the current “state-related and overtly geographical forms of national narration,” an approach that “involves a strategic revoicing of the subdominant to make it equal to the dominant” in order to “orchestrate a balance that can potentially edify and educate an audience about the power relations of culture.”¹⁸³ Until Indigenous toponymies are acknowledged as official—that is, given an equal and more importantly collaborative voice at the settler-state’s cartographic table—I see an unsettling paradigm continuing, that of Indigenous namespaces being treated by the settler state as toponymic “reservations,” sequestered and contained in metaphorical boundaries of settler-colonial demarcation. Co-name toponyms, like “ŁÁU, WELNEW_/John Dean Park,” offer one example of a possible future for “a balance” of “power relations of culture,” and possibly for an eventual toponymic reconciliation.¹⁸⁴ However, colonial naming systems in BC will likely require radical rethinking to realize Indigenous/settler toponymic equity: when both Indigenous and settler stakeholders collaborate over the metaphorical cartographic table to produce new approaches to sharing namespaces, as opposed to the current circumstance in which one relatively dominant settler body, in the BCGNO, works to integrate Indigenous toponyms. It is difficult to predict whether or not, and in what ways, the BCGNO will fulfill UNDRIP’s mandates, and so our shared namespaces remain unpredictable in nature. What is more certain, however, is

¹⁸³ Sparke, “A Map that Roared,” 467.

¹⁸⁴ Sparke, 467.

that those in power make the namespace and that this namespace maintains those in power on the landscape: toponymic reconciliation and “decolonization” will require new approaches to understanding and administering both.

Appendix



“Plan of Jeremy Bentham's panopticon prison, drawn by Willey Reveley in 1791.” From

“Panopticon,” in Wikipedia,

<https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Panopticon&oldid=1015179877>.

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Skateboarding in Place: Creating and Reclaiming Namescapes Through Skatescapes

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Doctoral Dissertation Portfolio: Article 5

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*The defensive and disciplined city is not inevitable. It has the condition and possibility for change and flexibility.*¹

We knew that we had about five minutes of potential skateboarding until the security guard busted us at our long-coveted skate spot: a partially demolished, marine-themed exhibit for Expo '86.² It was 1988 and I was 16 years old. My toponym, or place name, for that spot is "Wrexpo 86," an undulating remnant of an otherwise dismantled concrete and steel exhibit, and it was glorious: a smooth surface of teal blue, rounded waves, and comfortably skateable, provided we avoided a tetanus infection from the rusty, talon-shaped features poking up from the exhibit.³ The security guard appeared to be middle-aged and apparently more suited to a weight room than a running track. Luckily for us, the comically diminutive security booth sat at the outskirts of the enormous gravel lot. The Wrexpo 86 spot was far enough away from the booth to allow us several minutes of skating before we were busted. The guard lumbered toward us,

¹ Naomi Smith and Peter Walters, "Desire Lines and Defensive Architecture in Modern Urban Environments," *Urban Studies* 55, no. 13 (October 1, 2018): 2992, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098017732690>.

² See the ExpoMuseum.com website for more on Expo '86, and all other world's fairs: <https://www.expomuseum.com/expo-1986-vancouver>. Or, for a delightfully dated looking deep-dive into all things Expo '86, see <http://bobbea.com/expo-86>.

³ For an image of "the waves," see Roy Klotz and Jerrye Klotz, "Pavilion at Expo 86, Vancouver, B.C.," Wikimedia Commons, September 23, 2008, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:INDONESIAN_PAVILION_AT_EXPO_86,_VANCOUVER,_B.C..jpg.

screaming unintelligibly in a way that suggested regular occurrences of having to shoo skaters away. I remember thinking at the time that it was like the guard was trying to scatter a murder of crows at a picnic. We cackled and squealed as we fled off in every direction to avoid capture. A murder of skaters is an apt description of our group that day. We had already descended upon various skate spots in Vancouver, from grimy and rough East Van back alleys to the relatively genteel and enticingly slick stairs at The Lions, AKA the Vancouver Art Gallery. We skated each spot, squawking with chatter and laughter, screeching our wheels and grinding our trucks, and to the non-skater onlooker we flapped about in a kinetic vernacular unique to our species. All those spots felt like a preamble to Wrexpo 86, a high heat-score location but worth the risk.⁴ Peering through a ten-foot-high chain-link fence, we surveyed the scene carefully, debating how many minutes it would take to get caught by the security guard. In what seemed like seconds later we had all scrambled over the fence, a half-dozen or so of us, and sprinted for our lives towards the waves, tongues hanging out and tears of laughter streaming down our cheeks. That indelible memory is evoked by the Wrexpo 86 toponym and it reminds me of the intense emotions we can sometimes conjure through our personal namescapes, our idiosyncratic collections of toponyms.

⁴ A "high heat-score location," in skater vernacular, is a skate spot with a high likelihood of being ticketed or arrested for skateboarding.

Skaters comprehend and experience place in a particular way, what I think of as a skatescape: a toponymic web composed of skater-known names for skate spots and local knowledge of their particular suitability to certain tricks. Reflecting on this observation, I am curious about our personal namescapes and how they inform understandings of space, place, landscape, and narrative. Through a skateboarding lens I will explore these intersecting understandings to attempt to broaden the definition of a skatescape and in so doing try to learn more about how we create, share, and navigate our unique and personal namescapes. I believe that namescapes, personal or otherwise, inform how we understand the worlds around us and our places within them. Thinking about skatescapes has also illuminated a blind spot in my settler-raised mindset: up until recently I had not acknowledged fully that each and every spot I skated then and now was and still is Indigenous land. For example, what I call Wrexpo 86, in Vancouver, was and is on the territories of the Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh (Squamish), Stó:lō and Səl̓ílwətaʔ/Selilwitulh (Tsleil-Waututh) and xʷməθkʷəy̓əm (Musqueam) Nations.⁵ Hañwakañ Blaikie Whitecloud writes that “skateboarding is an Indigenous practice.”⁶ Through Whitecloud and other Indigenous skaters, artists, and writers, I hope to learn

⁵ For more on territories, languages, and communities in this and other regions, see First Peoples’ Cultural Council, “First Peoples’ Map of B.C.,” *First Peoples Cultural Council* (blog), accessed November 7, 2022, <https://fpcc.ca/stories/first-peoples-map>.

⁶ Jaimie Isaac, ed., *Boarder X* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 2018), 59.

more about the ways in which Indigenous skaters assert and celebrate presence on the land in places and ways that many settlers might not consider.

Making places from spaces as personal process

Toponyms have a colonial form, when recorded, indexed, and codified in official state gazetteers like the British Columbia Geographical Names Office (BCGNO).⁷ Such bureaucratic bodies determine among other things what they deem as “official” names like “Mount Douglas” and “traditional” names like “PKOLS,” the WSÁNEĆ name for same feature.⁸ Toponyms have an everyday practical utility too in that they indicate in words—as opposed to numeric geocoordinates, for example—shared labels for places within otherwise unnamed spaces. We can draw on French scholar and philosopher on everyday life Michel de Certeau’s definitions to understand the difference between

⁷ The BCGNO administers the official toponymic database for BC: “The BC Geographical Names Information System contains the master database of B.C. place names and holds approximately 50,000 current and former B.C. names,” see Province of British Columbia, “Geographical Names,” BC Geographical Names Office, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/governments/celebrating-british-columbia/historic-places/geographical-names>.

⁸ Province of British Columbia, “Mount Douglas,” BC Geographical Names, accessed November 7, 2022, <http://apps.gov.bc.ca/pub/bcgnws/names/14790.html>. On June 8, 2021, the Arts, Culture and Heritage Committee recommended “that Saanich Council support in full efforts to have the Province of BC officially rename Mount Douglas Park to the traditional name of Pkols [sic].” See Saanich Council, “Memo,” June 8, 2021, 1, https://saanich.ca.granicus.com/Viewer.php?view_id=1&clip_id=553&meta_id=37526. See also Kori Sidaway, “It’s Called PKOLS Not Mount Doug, Say WSÁNEĆ as Saanich Set to Vote on Name Change,” CHEK News, June 22, 2021, <https://www.cheknews.ca/its-pkols-not-mount-doug-say-wsanec-as-saanich-gets-set-to-vote-on-name-change-823715> and Saanich News Staff, “Saanich Postpones Mount Douglas Park Renaming Vote until next Month,” *Saanich News*, June 22, 2021, <https://www.saanichnews.com/news/saanich-postpones-mount-douglas-park-renaming-vote-until-next-month>.

space and place. For de Certeau a place is a location in space, for example, a landscape or a landscape feature; a place, in being a location, offers a kind of “order” or a “stability” within the abstract “vectors of direction, velocities, and time variables” of “space.”⁹ We might move through spaces from one place to the next and in so doing create what de Certeau describes as “narrative adventures,” our personal “geographies of actions”¹⁰ that create “stories in the form of places,” stories that inform our personal “spatial syntaxes.”¹¹ Unlike official or widely shared and understood namescapes, our personal namescapes and syntaxes—the unique language we use individually or within a select group to describe places—accrues idiosyncratically and unpredictably, based in part on our specific locational “perspective”: for example, where we grow up or where we live. Locational perspective informs and is informed by our “‘phenomenology’ of existing in the world,” the way in which we experience and understand the spaces and places around us.¹²

Wrexpo 86 is in my personal skatescape and known only to a handful of people who were there at the time: it is a situational and ephemeral toponym compared to ones in an official gazetteer. Like so many of our personal toponyms, Wrexpo 86 will not likely proliferate beyond a small group of skaters’ shared memories. Wrexpo 86 also

⁹ Michel de Certeau, “Spatial Stories,” in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: California UP, 1984), 117.

¹⁰ De Certeau, “Spatial Stories,” 116.

¹¹ De Certeau, 115.

¹² De Certeau, 118.

evokes a fragmented sense of space and place, partly because it no longer exists and therefore cannot be re-experienced and partly because it is less a location and more of a feeling, a crucible of senses and recollections and a symbol of a certain time and a way of experiencing the world through the “performative force”¹³ of skateboarding.¹⁴ De Certeau suggests that we should not expect accuracy or repeatability from our conceptions of place, but rather an emotional union with our inner chronicler, our “palimpsest [of] subjectivity”:

places are fragmentary and inward-turning histories, pasts that others are not allowed to read, accumulated times that can be unfolded but like stories held in reserve, remaining in an enigmatic state, symbolizations encysted in the pain or pleasure of the body.¹⁵

De Certeau implies a corporeal — “of the body” — and poetic reading of our personal toponymic compilations and intimates a visceral bond to certain memories associated with certain places. Testing the Wrexpo 86 toponym through de Certeau’s reading, I feel my body remembering the exertions of running, the fluidity of skateboarding over the concrete waves, the frisson of fear as the security guard approached, and the relief of eventual escape. These embodied memories outweigh other memories like those of the

¹³ De Certeau, 123.

¹⁴ Duncan McDuie-Ra explores interplay between skateboarding and “memoryscapes,” which is defined as “landscapes upon which memory practices take place.” Duncan McDuie-Ra, “The Ludic Lives of Memoryscapes: Skateboarding Post-Soviet Peripheries,” *Memory Studies*, February 2021, 4, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698021995982>.

¹⁵ De Certeau, “Spatial Stories,” 108-09.

exact layout of the site or its location relative to other cityscape features. Maybe our personal toponymies and their attendant body-memories belong on the ecopoetic end of the toponymic continuum, with relatively abstract, locational memories on the opposite end.

J. Scott Bryson's discussion of ecopoetry gestures towards a possible definition of a personal toponymy in that we "are all making place" when we "approach the landscape surrounding us so that we view it as meaningful place rather than abstract space."¹⁶ The subculture of skateboarding makes meanings of place in a distinct way.¹⁷ If, as Bryson proposes, "poems become models"¹⁸ for how to understand the land, then by analogy skaters' tricks on urban landscapes, how they interact with space and place, become models for understanding landscapes through bodily interaction. We can imagine skateboarding as a kinetic poetry that simultaneously writes upon and draws meaning from various features in what non-skaters might perceive as unremarkable

¹⁶ J. Scott Bryson, "All Finite Things Reveal Infinitude: Place, Space, and Contemporary Ecopoetry," in *The West Side of Any Mountain: Place, Space, and Ecopoetry* (Iowa: Iowa UP, 2005), 12.

¹⁷ Becky Beal, in "Disqualifying the Official: An Exploration of Social Resistance through the Subculture of Skateboarding," attempts among other things to understand the qualities in skateboarding that make it a subculture:

In the subculture of skateboarding, the most blatant form of resistance revealed in this study was the opposition to the corporate bureaucratic forms of sport (and, as a consequence, corporate bureaucratic social relations). This subculture of skateboarding resisted by creating alternative norms and relations that emphasized participant control of the physical activity and open participation rather than elite competition.

See Becky Beal, "Disqualifying the Official: An Exploration of Social Resistance through the Subculture of Skateboarding," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 12, no. 3 (September 1, 1995): 254, <https://doi.org/10.1123/ssj.12.3.252>.

¹⁸ Bryson, "All Finite Things Reveal Infinitude," 12.

urban terrains, if they even notice them at all. The act of skateboarding reminds me, to draw on Bryson, of the “interanimation that exists between ourselves and the rest of the world.”¹⁹ Until recently I had been on a skateboarding hiatus, but I have come to realize all these years later that skateboarding has permanently altered the way I perceive spaces and places, particularly in cityscapes. My eyes seem drawn autonomically toward features like concrete curves at the bases of buildings, or certain arrangements of stairs, or clear lines visible down a cluttered sidewalk — all of them architectures inviting potential play.

Skatescapes explored

Skaters read urban landscapes in particular ways by virtue of their activity and practices. Helen Woolley and Ralph Johns observe that

the individual elements within the landscape become important to skateboarders, as they utilize the concrete, asphalt and stone that are the essential building blocks of all cities, and in doing so inhabit the urban environment in a unique and creative way.²⁰

¹⁹ Bryson, 15.

²⁰ Helen Woolley and Ralph Johns, “Skateboarding: The City as a Playground,” *Journal of Urban Design* 6, no. 2 (June 1, 2001): 214, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13574800120057845>.

It is in large part this creative use of what might be considered “banal urban locations” and architectural objects that defines a skatescape.²¹ Skateboarders perform tricks in reaction to “the dynamic intersection of body, board and terrain.”²² For example, a set of stairs designed for walking becomes something to ollie up or down, or to grind or tailslide along.²³ Some tricks can be performed on flat land, while other tricks can be performed in skateparks, which have any number of skateboarding-specific features such as banks (curved embankments), hips (rounded features), and funboxes (a box-shaped feature with up to four ramps leading up to a flat top).²⁴ Urban or street skating, however, continues to thrive during the recent increase in the creation of skateparks across Turtle Island/North America.²⁵ For Vancouver, the “Downtown Skate Plaza Survey Report” shows the continued popularity of the aforementioned Vancouver Art

²¹ Paul O’Connor proposes that “skateboarding’s most important spots are not legitimate sporting facilities, they are banal urban locations, yet they hold a sense of history that equals that of stadiums.”; See O’Connor, “Handrails, Steps and Curbs: Sacred Places and Secular Pilgrimage in Skateboarding,” *Sport in Society* 21, no. 11 (November 2, 2018): 1664–65, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2017.1390567>.

²² Ian Borden in Åsa Bäckström, “Knowing and Teaching Kinaesthetic Experience in Skateboarding: An Example of Sensory Emplacement,” *Sport, Education and Society* 19, no. 6 (August 18, 2014): 758, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2012.713861>.

²³ For a basic introduction to skateboarding tricks, see “Skateboarding Trick,” in *Wikipedia*, June 19, 2021, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Skateboarding_trick&oldid=1029418671.

²⁴ Freestyle skateboarding is performed almost exclusively on flat land and has number of discipline-specific tricks; see The Freestyle Knowledge Base, “Tricks,” The Freestyle Knowledge Base, April 5, 2016, <http://freestylekb.com/wiki/index.php?title=Category:Tricks>.

²⁵ In Canada, for example, the skatepark builder Newline Skateparks lists hundreds of parks across the country. See New Line Skateparks, “Projects,” *New Line Skateparks* (blog), accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www.newlineskateparks.com/projects/?all=1>. The Skatepark Project’s US map shows hundreds more: see The Skatepark Project, “Skatepark Map,” The Skatepark Project, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://skatepark.org/skatepark-map>.

Gallery despite the relatively recent construction of the nearby Plaza Skateboard Park.²⁶ Part of the appeal in skating spots not designed specifically for skateboarding stems from a desire to react spontaneously and creatively to a given place's features, to attempt to unravel the puzzle of what types of tricks a spot will allow and to push this internal/external spatial dialogue in new directions (see Fig. 1 and Fig. 2).



Fig. 1. Cairo Foster “pole-jams” a traffic feature in Wellington, New Zealand/Aotearoa.²⁷

²⁶ Sasha van Stavel, “Downtown Skate Plaza Survey Report,” Northeast False Creek Area Plan (City of Vancouver, January 2017), <https://vancouver.ca/files/cov/downtown-skate-plaza-survey-report.pdf>. ²⁷ Dylan Doubt, *Cairo Foster, Pole Jam*, Wellington, NZ, Photograph, ca 2009.



Fig. 2. Quinne Starr ollies into a bamboo-screened and otherwise banal architectural space in North Vancouver.²⁸

²⁸ Dylan Doubt, *Quinn Starr, Ollie, North Vancouver*, Photograph, ca 2007.

A skatescape is also defined by its capacity to encourage this kinetic spatial discourse: some spots offer a brief conversation while others demand years of repeated interactions—a ritual connected to place.

In *Skateboarding and Religion*, Paul O'Connor suggests that a skatescape is a site where the performance skateboarding can take on a ritual dimension. O'Connor submits that "skateboarding is fundamentally a performance" but also "an emergent lifestyle religion of ritualised play."²⁹ O'Connor's contention that "skateboarding makes holy places out of overlooked street corners"³⁰ suggests one way in which we could imagine our personal namescapes as sites of reverence for places of import or particular memory. Like skatescapes, our personal namescapes often remain hidden from all but a select few. Jon Swords and Mike Jeffries offer support for this personal-namescapes interpretation when they observe that street skaters in particular find "their way through a city not always visible to the layperson."³¹ In the palimpsest of public-city presence, skateboarders share a particular layer, readable through the act of skateboarding itself and the ways in which skateboarders commonly perceive place.

²⁹ Paul O'Connor, *Skateboarding and Religion* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 181, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-24857-4>.

³⁰ O'Connor, *Skateboarding and Religion*, 288.

³¹ Jon Swords and Mike Jeffries, "Tyneside's Skateworlds and Their Transformation: Production and Consumption of Participatory Post-Representational Cartographies," in *This Is Not an Atlas*, ed. kollektiv orangotango+ (Berlin: Verlag, 2018), 280, <https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839445198-036>. See also Jon Swords and Michael Jeffries, "Tracing Postrepresentational Visions of the City: Representing the Unrepresentable Skateworlds of Tyneside," *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 47, no. 6 (June 1, 2015): 1313–31, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X15594906>.

Skatescapes can, as Gregory Snyder suggests, encourage the formation of “subcultural enclaves,”³² or congregation spots, for skateboarders, and these spots and their toponyms can become “iconic” enough to motivate skateboarders to gravitate there, usually in order to “perform a trick at a place that will make them part of subcultural history”; moreover, the skateboarders’ presence combined with the performance of “landing” particular tricks could add to an iconic spot’s ongoing lore.³³ Snyder shares O’Connor’s view of skateboarding with the observation that “to skateboarders these spaces are quasi-sacred grounds saturated with the accomplishments of a very select group.”³⁴ My experience as a street skater taught me that some spots remain secret to all but a select group, usually because fewer skaters equates to decreased chances for police or security guard harassment—³⁵as Snyder notes for many places around the world, “skateboarding is illegal, and many skaters,” myself included, “have experienced various forms of mild and not so mild police harassment.”³⁶ Over time, skateboarders learn which spots allow for more skate time

³² Gregory J. Snyder, *Skateboarding LA: Inside Professional Street Skateboarding* (New York: NYU Press, 2017), 168-70, <https://nyupress.org/9780814737910/skateboarding-la>.

³³ Snyder, *Skateboarding LA*, 198.

³⁴ Snyder, 198.

³⁵ For example, in my hometown of White Rock (Semiahmoo Nation territory), the City of White Rock continues to make skateboarding illegal throughout most of the city. See The Corporation of the City of White Rock, “Bylaw No. 1529: A Bylaw to Regulate Traffic and the Use of Streets in the City of White Rock,” 2021, 16, <https://www.whiterockcity.ca/DocumentCenter/View/280/Consolidated---Street-and-Traffic-Bylaw-1999-Number-1529-PDF>.

³⁶ Snyder, 185. Snyder summarizes well the legal battles that affect street-skaters in public spaces: Despite this professionalism and its worldwide popularity, skateboarding in much of the United States is illegal. Skaters therefore are enmeshed in a constant battle with security guards and

than others, and they typically share this information with their fellow skaters, but the Internet now has resources that make this information more readily available than when I started skateboarding in the 1980s.

The Findskatespots.com website allows skateboarders to add and name skate spots in their city and to post information about each spot. In Saskatoon, for example, a site with a toponym of “Traffic Bridge Ledges,” notes the “Bust level” for this spot as “low,”³⁷ indicating to skaters a relatively reduced likelihood of being ticketed or hassled by security guards or police (see Fig. 3.). In contrast, the Findskatespots.com website designates high bust-level spots as “After Hours Only,” suggesting that to skate these spots, typically nearby businesses or institutions, during opening hours will result in probable ticketing or possible arrest.

police to skate in public spaces. The result is that they are always getting kicked out of spots and constantly have to be on the lookout for police.

See Snyder, 10.

³⁷ “Traffic Bridge Ledges,” Findskatespots.com, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://findskatespots.com/spots/saskatoon-sk/meewasin-trail-traffic-bridge-ledges>.



Spots > Saskatoon, Saskatchewan > Traffic Bridge Ledges



Traffic Bridge Ledges

Like 0

Share

Copy Link

Bust Level: Low

Address: Meewasin Trail, Saskatoon, SK S7N, Canada

Fig. 3. A screenshot from the Findskatespots.com website; note the inclusion of a “Bust Level” designation.³⁸

A discussion of skateboarding’s legal complexion is beyond the scope of this paper,³⁹ but we can focus on one aspect of a skatescape’s perceived threat to what

³⁸ “Traffic Bridge Ledges.”

³⁹ For a discussion of skateboarding’s legal status see John Carr, “Legal Geographies—Skating Around the Edges of the Law: Urban Skateboarding and the Role of Law in Determining Young Peoples’ Place in

Matthew Atencio and Becky Beal describe as the civic “logics of neoliberalism,”⁴⁰ and that aspect is the ways in which the performance of street skateboarding alters/improves or deforms/destroys its terrain, depending on one’s interpretation; Ocean Howell explains that

skateboarders’ use of street furniture and hand rails consistently causes minor property damage, which has spawned a secondary industry in the manufacture of architectural deterrents to skateboarding and the dissemination of anti-skate design expertise.⁴¹

Architectural deterrents for skateboarding, or “skate-stoppers,” are now common in cities, and they range in design and application (see Fig. 4.). They are intended to stop skateboarders damaging things like curbs, handrails, and ledges, but some see these marks as evidence of a “fundamental ethos of street skateboarding,” which is to

the City,” *Urban Geography* 31, no. 7 (October 1, 2010): 988–1003, <https://doi.org/10.2747/0272-3638.31.7.988>.

⁴⁰ Matthew Atencio and Becky Beal, “The ‘Legitimate’ Skateboarder: Politics of Private–Public Skateboarding Spaces,” in *Skateboarding* (Routledge, 2015), 114, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315737577>.

⁴¹ Ocean Howell, “Skatepark as Neoliberal Playground: Urban Governance, Recreation Space, and the Cultivation of Personal Responsibility,” *Space and Culture* 11, no. 4 (November 1, 2008): 476, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331208320488>. Carr describes cities’ efforts to construct or modify architecture to deter skateboarding, noting these changes, in addition to legal and regulatory campaigns, as “passive measures to ‘skateproof’ public and private urban furniture—for example, by welding blocks on hand rails or benches—so as to preclude skating. See John Carr, “Legal Geographies,” 995. See also Troy D. Glover et al. on “defensive placemaking” in their “Skateboarding, Gentle Activism, and the Animation of Public Space: CITE – A Celebration of Skateboard Arts and Culture at The Bentway,” *Leisure Studies* 40, no. 1 (January 2, 2021): 42–56, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2019.1684980>.

appropriate “the urban landscape as it materialises, as it degenerates and regenerates.”⁴²

Skatescapes could also be defined by the extent to which they reveal physical evidence of property damage.



Fig. 4. Duncan McDuie-Ro and Jason Campbell, in “Surface Tensions: Skate-Stoppers and the Surveillance Politics of Small Spaces,” argue that the use of “skate-stoppers” represents “aggressive attempts to control urban space by interrupting the flow of bodies and boards along particular surfaces.”⁴³

While some might see skateboarding’s damage to urban objects damage as legally punishable, others might see it as a type of rebellion against civic, capitalist

⁴² Duncan McDuie-Ra and Jason Campbell, “Surface Tensions: Skate-Stoppers and the Surveillance Politics of Small Spaces,” *Surveillance & Society* 20, no. 3 (September 5, 2022): 243, <https://doi.org/10.24908/ss.v20i3.15430>.

⁴³ McDuie-Ra and Campbell, “Surface Tensions,” 244, 231.

dominance, a “practice which can be seen to disrupt the consumptive logic of the city.”⁴⁴ Perhaps one way to understand a skatescape is to see it as a site for “deformance,” a creative realm of reshaping, to draw on textual scholars Lisa Samuels and Jerome McGann, within which “the passage from performance to deformance is easily negotiated” by skateboarders.⁴⁵ As with Bryson, Samuels and McGann suggest a curious resonance between written poetry and skateboarding’s kinetic poetry: their portrait of “poetic deformations” evokes skateboarding’s architectural deformations—smoothed-down and waxed curbs, marks on hand rails, tail-slide marks on benches, and so on—as a type of “poiesis” that expresses a new interpretation of place.⁴⁶ In this latter reading skateboarding’s deformance is a personalization of place, its physical markings evidence of a particular type of use, a humanization of place akin to an ancient city’s stairs worn to concaves by millions of passing footsteps. Furthermore, the more often a skate spot is deformed through repeated skateboarding sessions the greater the likelihood that its toponym is performed among skateboarders, making some skate-spot toponyms world famous. Snyder remarks that “the most famous DIY spot” in skateboarding is “Burnside,” which began as an illegally built series of

⁴⁴ Simon Irvine and Sophie Taysom, “Skateboarding: Disrupting the City,” *Social Alternatives* 17, no. 4 (October 1998): 25. See also Kara-Jane Lombard, “Skate and Create/Skate and Destroy: The Commercial and Governmental Incorporation of Skateboarding,” *Continuum* 24, no. 4 (August 1, 2010): 475–88, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10304310903294713>.

⁴⁵ Lisa Samuels and Jerome McGann, “Deformance and Interpretation,” *New Literary History* 30, no. 1 (1999): 34.

⁴⁶ Samuels and McGann, “Deformance and Interpretation,” 36.

interconnected transitions and obstacles under Burnside Bridge in Portland, Oregon.⁴⁷

Burnside was already famous to me and my fellow skateboarders by the mid-1990s and its toponymic suffix of “side” has been borrowed by similar DIY projects, including “SixSide” in Lekwungen territory, under the Parson’s Bridge, just outside of Victoria; the six in SixSide mirrors the nearby Six Mile Road and Six Mile Pub. SixSide began as “Victoria’s Super Secret New Skatepark” but has since grown in scale and prominence to become “a micro-Burnside.”⁴⁸ Over time, the “SixSide” name has become canonized in the skateboarding namescape, outside codifying toponymic bodies like the BCGNO; it is a toponym legitimized through specific performative acts of skateboarding in place.

Cartography and toponym scholars Brian Tucker and Reuben Rose-Redwood discuss the “performative speech acts” that promulgate place names.⁴⁹ This “performativity” of toponyms, their repetitive and reiterative sociocultural and political use, gradually normalizes toponyms such that they “acquire the appearance of being “natural’,”⁵⁰ at least to the cultures and populations of their origins and maintenance.

⁴⁷ Snyder, *Skateboarding LA*, 193. Burnside Skatepark has weathered much criticism and backlash over the years, but it continues to support skateboarding, even during the corona-virus pandemic. See Mark Graves, “Empty Spaces: No More ‘shredding’ at Portland’s Iconic Burnside Skatepark,” *Oregonlive*, April 17, 2020, <https://www.oregonlive.com/news/j66j-2020/04/5e46a55efd3738/empty-spaces-no-more-shredding-at-portlands-iconic-burnside-skatepark-photos.html>.

⁴⁸ Andrew Morrison, “First Look at SixSide, Victoria’s Super Secret New Skatepark...,” *Scout Magazine*, November 16, 2009, <https://scoutmagazine.ca/2009/11/16/first-look-at-sixside-victorias-super-secret-new-skatepark>. See also Confusion Magazine, *Sixside DIY - Vancouver Island - Victoria, BC*, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XoMiysumNC0>.

⁴⁹ Brian Tucker and Reuben Rose-Redwood, “Decolonizing the Map? Toponymic Politics and the Rescaling of the Salish Sea,” *The Canadian Geographer* 59, no. 2 (2015): 196, <https://doi.org/10.1111/cag.12140>.

⁵⁰ Alice Cohen and Leila Harris in Tucker and Rose-Redwood, “Decolonizing the Map?,” 198.

Skatescapes illustrate one type of performance among many potential alternative spatial and namescape orthodoxies. To draw on Tucker and Rose-Redwood again, skatescapes are “transboundary” in nature.⁵¹ Skateboarders iterate conceptually their own kind of skateable terrain by “rescaling of several local places into a singular ‘transboundary’ space through the act of naming,”⁵² and this trans-boundary “skate-state” is invisible to non-skaters and has no discernable central authority or legitimizing power. Skatescapes represent an alternative to normative or “conventional”⁵³ namescapes and, as Simon Irvine and Sophie Taysom observe, skateboarding as an activity disrupts the normative “logic of the city” and in two ways, the second of which seems to echo Tucker and Rose-Redwood:

first, by reinventing the city as a *terrain* on which to practice particular skills; and second, by moving across geographic demarcations, such as suburbs, treating all built environments as a *single* terrain.⁵⁴

In this imagined, single terrain, skaters forge connections between their micro-cultural and kinetic identities, what Irvine and Taysom describe as “a skilled identity that escapes the codes of consumption.”⁵⁵ In skatescapes, identities, practices, and skate-spot

⁵¹ Tucker and Rose-Redwood, “Decolonizing the Map?,” 204.

⁵² Tucker and Rose-Redwood, 204.

⁵³ I place “conventional” in quotes to signal, first, that conventions are relative and, second, to flag that the namescape from which this paper is written is within a Western spatial paradigm in which “indigenous space has been colonized.” See Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 2012), 53.

⁵⁴ Irvine and Taysom, “Skateboarding,” 25.

⁵⁵ Irvine and Taysom, “Skateboarding,” 25.

places entwine so that “what becomes important to the skater is not how the ‘Hard’ spaces demarcate and place, but how they may be used to practice/perform new skills.”⁵⁶ I can confirm this personally and anecdotally: skateboarders will skate anywhere that is skateable regardless of its location; skateboarders “move across urban and suburban areas which traditionally divide the rich from the poor.”⁵⁷

As Whitecloud and others relate, Indigenous skateboarders take this disruption still further, reconceptualizing what settlers might traditionally understand as the divide between settler and Indigenous territories. Julie Nagam, writing in response to the recent cross-Canada art exhibit *Boarder X*,⁵⁸ states “that concepts of Native space are linked to Indigenous stories of place” through the lens of “various board cultures” like surfing, snowboarding, and skateboarding.⁵⁹ Nagam emphasizes “the importance of understanding the criticality of Indigenous politics and relationship to place” and that the Indigenous artists/skateboarders in the *Boarder X* show, for example, are part of a “counterculture” that is “rewriting colonial narratives through skateboarding.”⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Irvine and Taysom, 25. Irvine and Taysom employ Tranick to define “hard spaces” as follows: “‘hard’ spaces can be thought of as objects such as office blocks, shops and shopping centres, houses and apartment blocks, roads, gas lines, and foot-paths.” By contrast, “soft spaces” are “areas such as parks, designated swimming areas, trees along footpaths, and the sky.” See Irvine and Taysom, 24.

⁵⁷ Irvine and Taysom, 25.

⁵⁸ Show curator Jamie Isaac describes *Boarder X* as “the first exhibit to connect Indigenous culture to skateboarding, snowboarding, and surfing”; see Isaac, “Navigating the Land, On and Off the Board,” in *Boarder X*, ed. Jaimie Isaac (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 2018), 18. Learn more about the *Boarder X* show on the WAG website: <https://boarderx.wag.ca>.

⁵⁹ Julie Nagam, “Ripping Through a Personal Time-Warp on the Back of a Board,” in *Boarder X*, ed. Jaimie Isaac (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 2018), 44.

⁶⁰ Nagam, “Ripping Through a Personal Time-Warp,” 45.

Through an Indigenous performative force, Indigenous skateboarders are reinscribing and *newly* inscribing “landscape as a spatial text”⁶¹ in particular ways.

Skateboarding as Indigenous presencing⁶²

For settlers and settler skaters it is important to remember that one persistent colonial narrative holds Indigenous Peoples and settler understandings of Indigeneity in what Mark Rifkin describes as an “attempt to freeze Indigenous persons and peoples into a simulacrum of pastness, a fantasized construction of Indian realness cast as immanently tied to a bygone era.”⁶³ The “simulacrum of pastness” denies Indigenous modernity in order to maintain the myth of a colonial “conquering” of the land.⁶⁴ Indigenous skateboarders challenge this aspect of colonialism by being a presence in current, urban environments and in so doing teach and remind settlers that these

⁶¹ Tucker and Rose-Redwood, “Decolonizing the Map?,” 197.

⁶² I borrow the term “presencing” from Sandrina de Finney’s definition, which builds on “Leanne Simpson’s (2011) notion of ‘presence’ as a form of decolonizing resurgence” to propose that presencing can manifest in a number of ways. See de Finney, “Under the Shadow of Empire: Indigenous Girls’ Presencing as Decolonizing Force,” *Girlhood Studies* 7, no. 1 (June 1, 2014): 8, <https://doi.org/10.3167/ghs.2014.070103>.

⁶³ Mark Rifkin, *Beyond Settler Time* (Durham: Duke UP, 2017), 7.

⁶⁴ Rifkin quotes from Joanne Barker’s *Native Acts* to address settler impositions of “authentic” Indigeneity: In *Native Acts*, Joanne Barker argues, ‘Native traditions have been fixed in an authentic past and then used as the measure of a cultural-as-racial authenticity in the present . . . To be authentic means to preserve forms of tradition that emanate from the past in pristine ways; that performance of stasis is the condition of possibility for being accorded status as proper Indians. . . . being recognized as Indian means staging a version of pastness that disavows the ‘complexities’ of Native life, including ‘the historical realities of accident, succession, alienation, passion, personal conflict, dissension, and disparity.’

See Rifkin, *Beyond Settler Time*, 6.

environments are *also* thriving Indigenous spaces.⁶⁵ When I reread, through Rifkin, Whitecloud's assertion that "skateboarding is an Indigenous practice,"⁶⁶ I can understand that to (re)claim a skatescape is to also (re)claim a timescape, to impose, as *Boarder X* curator Jaimie Isaac defines it, a temporal and kinetic "thrivance" — a thriving *in place* through skateboarding — that challenges colonialism directly.⁶⁷ Borden sees skateboarding as "an activity in which a certain newness is born from knowledge, representation and lived experience enacted together" and as "an activity which refutes architecture as domination of the self."⁶⁸ Isaac suggests to me that skateboarding is an activity that refutes the colonial domination of the Indigenous self by "enacting a cultural continuum of active presence through contemporary ways of being on the land," which "challenge[s] conformity, stereotypes, and [the] status quo."⁶⁹ Indigenous skateboarders, as Isaac relates through Annika Amelie Hellman, challenge "the

⁶⁵ For more on the connections between skateboarding, Indigeneity, see "How Indigenous Skateboarders Use Their Boards for Creative Expression and Land Reclamation,"

<https://www.cbc.ca/radio/unreserved/how-indigenous-skateboarders-use-their-boards-for-creative-expression-and-land-reclamation-1.5755310>.

⁶⁶ Hañwakañ Blaikie Whitecloud, "True to the Land," in *Boarder X*, ed. Jaimie Isaac (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 2018), 59.

⁶⁷ Jaimie Isaac, "Navigating the Land," 16. Michael Langan, founder and owner of Colonialism Skateboards, a company in Treaty 4 territory (Regina, Saskatchewan), has used his art and company, through skateboarding, "to draw attention to, and have people engage with, complex and untelling aspects of Indigenous Canadian history and culture." See Langan, "About," Colonialism Skateboards, accessed November 7, 2022, <http://www.colonialism.ca/about>.

⁶⁸ Iain Borden, "Another Pavement, Another Beach: Skateboarding and the Performative Critique of Architecture," in *Skateboarding, Space and the City* (London: University College London, 2001), 23, https://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/id/eprint/26049/1/Borden_Another_Pavement.pdf.

⁶⁹ Jaimie Isaac, "Navigating the Land, On and Off the Board," in *Boarder X* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 2018), 13.

common belief that skateboarding belongs to skaters with a ‘white middle-class background as a homosocial and hegemonic group.’”⁷⁰ For Isaac the *Boarder X* art exhibit has personal relevance for several reasons. Growing up skateboarding, Isaac says “I was often told, ‘you’re good... for a girl,’ a back-handed compliment paralleled by, ‘Oh, you’re *Native*?! Well, you’re one of the good ones.”⁷¹ Isaac turned these intolerances into motivation to continue skateboarding and surfing and found that each act of “being on the land and water” revealed a universal “human and earthly fragility,” while providing a reminder “that nature and time are precious.”⁷²

In an answer to the question of “how do skateboarding, snowboarding, and surfing relate to Indigenous ways of being?,” Isaac points to the roots of surfing in Hawai‘i, an Indigenous practice “for millennia, going back over 1500 years” and “existing before European contact.”⁷³ Skateboarding, which developed from surfing, continues to redefine itself in a variety of ways, from tricks to technological innovations, yet it maintains its core element of being a relational practice of body to land.⁷⁴ Åsa

⁷⁰ Annika Amelie Hellman in Isaac, “Navigating the Land,” 16.

⁷¹ Isaac, “Navigating the Land,” 14.

⁷² Isaac, 14.

⁷³ Isaac, 15. For more information on the history of surfing through an Indigenous Hawai‘ian lens, see Isaiah Helekunihi Walker, *Waves of Resistance: Surfing and History in Twentieth-Century Hawai‘i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2011).

⁷⁴ Whitecloud confirms my understanding of skateboarding’s origins, which evolved from surfing: beginning as an extension of surf culture, then known as sidewalk surfing, skateboarding has now morphed into its own culture and is practiced daily by Indigenous peoples living on reserves and in cities in Manitoba.

See Whitecloud, “True to the Land,” 59. O’Connor presents a curious alternative, however, noting that

Bäckström describes the “sensory emplacement” effects of skateboarding as a “kinaesthesia,” a “multisensory experience” which facilitates “a fruitful way of bridging the mind–body divide,” one that enables skaters “to view the body as un/knowing, rendering it both knowing and not knowing simultaneously.”⁷⁵ Skateboarding seems to provide, and it certainly did and does for me, an inner and outer space of one’s own, a way toward alternative self-definition through practice and creativity. Artist and *Boarder X* contributor Amanda Strong relates that

skateboarding was an expression and release from conformities. As an Indigenous girl—I was constantly asked if I was a boy or was told I looked like one because of my choices of how I wanted to move. The board and wheels were but a modern vessel to travel and time that transported me into a zone where it didn’t matter who or what I was—it was a move to break free from the costumes.⁷⁶

two competing narratives exist that serve to chart the origins of skateboarding. There is the surfing origin that is tied to the West Coast of the USA and specifically California. Alternatively, there is the East Coast narrative that emerges from DIY experimentation and technology.

See “Genesis” section in O’Connor, *Skateboarding and Religion*, 57-60 for more on skateboarding’s origins.

⁷⁵ Åsa Bäckström, “Knowing and Teaching Kinaesthetic Experience in Skateboarding,” 752.

⁷⁶ Amanda Strong in Jaimie Isaac, ed., *Boarder X*, 56.



Fig. 4. My picture of Amanda Strong's *Maashchii (to move)*: a diorama of a kickflip (skateboard trick) over a stack of pallets, as part of the *Boarder X* show in Nanaimo, British Columbia, in 2020.⁷⁷

Artist and *Boarder X* contributor Bracken Hanuse Corlett parallels Strong's sense of skateboarding as an anti-conformist activity. Corlett relates that "growing up in the 80s and 90s, I viewed skateboarding as a counterculture that went against the conservative values that preoccupy North America."⁷⁸ Corlett's piece for *Boarder X* is entitled *Potlatch or Die*, a play on the skater mantra "skate or die," as Corlett explains, "a

⁷⁷ For another image of this installation, and a description, see Amanda Strong, "Maashchii (to move)" in Jaimie Isaac, "Navigating the Land, On and Off the Board," in *Boarder X* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 2018), 56.

⁷⁸ Bracken Hanuse Corlett in *Boarder X*, ed. Jaimie Isaac (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 2018), 26.

phrase originally coined from a late-80s video game” — Corlett describes his piece as a “launch ramp . . . adorned in a skull and copper figure that connote our ceremonial practice in the Big House.”⁷⁹ In part and through the use of skulls, Corlett’s ramp speaks back to the Potlatch ban “between 1885 and 1951 in Canada,” as “the use of skulls was a key reason for the church placing bans on our ceremony and it was a complete misunderstanding of their use.”⁸⁰



Fig. 5. Bracken Hanuse Corlett’s “launch ramp,” entitled *Potlatch or Die*, as part of the *Boarder X* show in Snuneymuxw Nation territory, Nanaimo, British Columbia.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Corlett in *Boarder X*, 26.

⁸⁰ Corlett, 26.

⁸¹ Nanaimo Art Gallery, “Boarder X,” Nanaimo Art Gallery, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://nanaimoartgallery.ca/index.php/exhibitions/archive/2020-exhibitions-archive/416-boarder-x>.

Corlett finds a way to marry a reclamation of Potlatch and ceremonial history, as well as cultural history and continued practice, through contemporary skateboarding, which demonstrates skateboarding as an Indigenous practice.⁸²

Whitecloud, on Indigenous histories of skateboarding, notes that “using a board to enhance the experience of the land began with the First Peoples who surfed, the Polynesian people of Hawaii,” adding that “today this practice continues in concretized urban and rural landscapes.”⁸³ Whitecloud should know: among other talents and practices, Whitecloud is the filmmaker who directed and produced an insightful documentary series called “True to the Land: Indigenous Skateboarding.”⁸⁴ The aim of these short films, as the audio introduction announces, is to “examine life on reserve through the lens of skateboarding.”⁸⁵ Whitecloud splices clips of Indigenous skateboarders doing tricks with interviews and audio clips of the skaters reflecting on skateboarding and being Indigenous, as well as some of the histories and social issues affecting the reservations and surrounding lands. Throughout the series Whitecloud spotlights the rich interrelationships between land, skateboarding, identity, and

⁸² Corlett emphasizes that “the Potlatch keeps us moving forward and is needed to continue practicing our dances, songs, protocol and language.” See Corlett in *Boarder X*, 26.

⁸³ Whitecloud, “True to the Land,” 59.

⁸⁴ All “True to the Land” films are available on the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN) YouTube channel:

<https://www.youtube.com/c/AptnCa/search?query=True%20To%20the%20Land%20Indigenous%20Skateboarding>.

⁸⁵ Hañwakañ Blaikie Whitecloud, *True To the Land: Indigenous Skateboarding - Opaskwayak Cree Nation (Episode 1)*, True To the Land: Indigenous Skateboarding, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4cWZ4YNDEZM>.

Indigeneity while portraying a range of experiences, from skater Dre Lafreniere's pride at being sponsored by a local shop⁸⁶ to Cody Houle's reintroduction to Long Plain First Nation. As Whitecloud describes it, "like too many Indigenous youth, they've had to work through growing up adopted," observing that "a skatepark can be a connection to an unfamiliar home."⁸⁷ The works and words of Whitecloud, Isaac, Strong, and Corlett encourage me to reflect differently on Linda Tuhiwai Smith's words in *Decolonizing Methodologies*, to consider ways in which Indigenous skaters' kinetic "counter-stories" are also "powerful forms of resistance which are repeated and shared across diverse indigenous communities."⁸⁸ Whitecloud's films remind us of the importance of having spaces to practice and grow a sense of connection to place through skateboarding, which is something to which all skaters can relate, Indigenous or non-Indigenous.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Whitecloud, *True To the Land*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4cWZ4YNDEZM&t=21s>.

⁸⁷ Hañwakañ Blaikie Whitecloud, *True To the Land: Indigenous Skateboarding - Long Plain First Nation (Episode 4)*, *True To the Land: Indigenous Skateboarding*, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OechquKRqig&t=146s>.

⁸⁸ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 2. Smith argues that "for the indigenous world, Western conceptions of space" have resulted in the colonization of "indigenous space." See Smith, 53.

⁸⁹ For more on connections between Indigeneity and skateboarding, see Nations Skate Youth, whose "intention is to visit Indigenous communities and provide workshops that create a safe space for the youth to speak their voice." See Nations Skate Youth, <https://nationskateyouth.com>, accessed November 7, 2022. See also Joe Buffalo's personal story in Barry Hertz, "Meet Joe Buffalo: Skateboarding Star, Residential School Survivor, and Now SXSW-Certified Film Star," March 16, 2021, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/film/article-meet-joe-buffalo-skateboarding-star-residential-school-survivor-and>.

Skateboarding's desire lines

In "Desire Lines and Defensive Architecture in Modern Urban Environments," Naomi Smith and Peter Walters ask the following question:

If the right to the city is a matter of 'spatial justice', then how do those marginalised by defensive architecture or merely space designed for only one purpose attain some measure of justice?⁹⁰

Skateboarders make particular and often invisible "desire lines": their "unsanctioned" routes "outside of those prescribed by abstract place makers."⁹¹ I have characterized the iterative discipline of skateboarding as both a practice and a spatial territorialization and as a challenge to Western toponymic and spatial mores. Like "the more material desire lines of muddy tracks in a grassy field," skatescapes are also "reminders that the overwhelming logic of top-down construction of public space is not the last word."⁹² Skateboarders disrupt this logic, as Francisco Vivoni and Jacob Folsom-Fraster argue, by "momentarily transform[ing] places designed for capitalist production into impromptu playgrounds."⁹³ What I am curious to understand more about is the ways in

⁹⁰ Smith and Walters, "Desire Lines," 2986.

⁹¹ Smith and Walters define desire lines as "deliberate and at times subversive patterns which reimage and redraw the relationships within and between places through the physical act of walking," and, I would add, skateboarding. See Smith and Walters, 2988.

⁹² Smith and Walters, 2992.

⁹³ Francisco Vivoni and Jacob Folsom-Fraster, "Crafting Cities for All: Qualitative Inquiry of the Street and the Spatial Practice of Skateboarding," *Cultural Studies, Critical Methodologies* 21, no. 4 (2021): 311, <https://doi.org/10.1177/15327086211004879>.

which skatescapes represent an anticolonial disruption to the neocolonial cityscape.

Vivoni and Folsom-Fraster observe that “street skateboarders face increased repression in the use of public space while challenging key neoliberal principles that shape contemporary cities.”⁹⁴ Building on this observation to ask a question for future consideration, in ways do Indigenous skateboarders, by skating in place, challenge neocolonial “principles that shape contemporary cities”?⁹⁵ Micheal Langan, founder and owner of Colonialism Skateboards, suggests that answering this question could reveal much about the “complex and untelling aspects of Indigenous Canadian history and culture,”⁹⁶ which is not typically told through a skateboarding lens.

Reading through Indigenous skateboarders’ words for this brief enquiry has made me consider the interrelationships of naming, land-use, and identity in new and unexpected ways. While sprinting across the territories of the Sk̓wx̓wú7mesh (Squamish), Stó:lō and Səl̓ílwətaʔ/Selilwitulh (Tseil-Waututh) and x̣ʷməθkʷəy̓əm (Musqueam) Nations toward Wrexpo 86, I knew only a desire to skate that spot, fleeting as the session was, and I could not have conceived at the time that we were following our own desire lines, our way of imprinting our personal and skatescape narratives onto place. This memory, however, reflected through the ideas and words of the artists,

⁹⁴ Vivoni and Folsom-Fraster, “Crafting Cities for All,” 311.

⁹⁵ Vivoni and Folsom-Fraster, 311.

⁹⁶ Michael Langan, “About.”

skaters, scholars and others presented here has educated me to think differently about where I skated then and where I skate now, in lək^wəŋən (Lekwungen) territory.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ See <https://www.songheesnation.ca/community/l-k-ng-n-traditional-territory>.

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The Haptic Map Manifesto and the *Untitled TETÁCES* Prototype

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Doctoral Dissertation Portfolio: Article 6

November 28, 2022

Introduction

In this manifesto, I discuss the haptic map concept and its first prototype, the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map, a motion-activated art installation that speaks aloud place names, or toponyms, in English and SENĆOŦEN, an Indigenous language spoken in W̱SÁNEĆ territories, in the Salish Sea, including the lands known also as Saanich Peninsula, British Columbia.¹ I plot the academic and conceptual journey of the haptic map concept to date and then detail the design and construction process of the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map, the haptic map concept's first complete prototype. The haptic map concept is a work in progress, as is its first iteration in the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map, and this manifesto is in part a practice-as-research record of my thinking through what makes a haptic map different from traditional Western maps. Central to this journey is John B. Harley's thirty-year-old critique of maps, which remains relevant today: "Without our being aware of it maps can reinforce and legitimate the status quo. Sometimes agents of change, they can equally become conservative documents. But in either case the map is never neutral."² Arguably, Harley's observations likewise apply to toponyms, particularly when they are administered through settler-colonial institutions like the British Columbia Geographical Names Office (BCGNO), which both

¹ See the WJOLELP Tsartlip First Nation's website at <https://tsartlip.com>.

² John Brian Harley, "Deconstructing the Map," *Cartographica: The International Journal for Geographic Information and Geovisualization* 26, no. 2 (1989): 14, <https://doi.org/10.3138/E635-7827-1757-9T53>.

prescribes and proscribes naming practices in W̱SÁNEĆ territories as well as throughout the province. The primary goal of the haptic map concept is to explore creative ways to understand maps less as abstract toponym-indexing machines and more as aesthetic relational sites for human interactions and narratives. The haptic map concept draws on the term “aesthesis,” that is, “the perception of the external world by the senses,” to imagine new ways to perceive cartographic and toponymic worlds through embodied, sensory experiences.³ The *Untitled ṮE̱ṮÁ̱ĆES* map—the first haptic map prototype—is an attempt to practice this haptic-map goal in W̱SÁNEĆ territory. Working together, TEMOSEṈ (Charles “Chazz” Elliott), a professional artist working out of a family studio in W̱JŌ̱Ł̱E̱Ł̱P Tsartlip First Nation,⁴ and I have created what could be considered, in relation to the traditions that Harley critiques, as an “un-map,” an aesthetic, interactive installation that evokes human relationships to place more so than it conveys locational information. Our goal with the *Untitled ṮE̱ṮÁ̱ĆES* map’s design is to remove as many traditional Western cartographic elements as possible, yet to teach

³ The Greek “aisthēsis” (αἴσθησις) refers to sensation, sense perception, perception—in drawing on these meanings, the haptic map concept is intended in part to be a vehicle to explore situated perceptions and knowledges through conceptual and physical spaces that feel, through sight, touch, and hearing, like the landscapes they depict cartographically. See “Aesthesis, n.,” in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed November 7, 2022, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/3234>.

⁴ W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council, “Temoseng [TEMOSEṈ] Chazz Elliott,” accessed November 7, 2022, https://wsanec.com/avada_portfolio/temoseng-chazz-elliott. To learn more about TEMOSEṈ’s work, family, and art, see the Salt Spring Arts webpage on a 2022 show called JSIṈSEṮ—SWELOKE (Family Growing Ourselves Up), a collaborative exhibit, curated by Rose Spahan, of works by TEMOSEṈṮE̱Ṯ Charles Elliott, Myrna Crossley, TEMOSEṈ Chazz Elliott and Matthew Parlby-Elliott: <https://saltspringarts.com/artcraft/jsinset-sweloke>.

something about location and, ideally, to employ this cartographic-inspired aesthetic to encourage viewers to think about how they construct feelings of geospatial familiarity and belonging. We intend to teach viewers—especially settler viewers who may know only Western Anglo, or WĒNITEM,⁵ place names—that the SENĆOTEN place names depicted in the *Untitled TĒTÁĆES* map are part of living WŚÁNEĆ namescapes informed by WŚÁNEĆ narratives. The haptic map concept intends to complicate assumptions about what maps and toponyms are or might be as cartographic and cultural products and to find ways to explore approaches to toponymic reconciliation, which I see as a part of broader reconciliation efforts. As a settler trying to do anticolonial work, I recognize that the route toward cartographic and toponymic reconciliation has more to do with what Paige Raibmon describes as “transformational listening” than determining fixed directions and drawing conclusions.⁶ The *Untitled TĒTÁĆES* map is a collaboratively constructed art installation that builds on my part of the *Colonial Despatches* project’s efforts to find ways to complicate settler narratives

⁵ Timothy Montler, “SENĆOTEN Word List: Place Names,” accessed November 7, 2022, <http://saanich.montler.net/WordList/placenames.html#1969>.

⁶ Raibmon’s paper challenges the orthodoxies of “the epistemological tradition of the European Enlightenment” and encourages settlers to listen “in a manner that allows us to not just gather new ‘facts’ but glimpse alternate ways of being and knowing, to make visible our own assumptions and intellectual foundations” as a “transformative experience of learning and unlearning.” Paige Raibmon, “Learning Is a Process,” *As I Remember It: Teachings (ḡams taḡaw) from the Life of a Sliammon Elder*, accessed November 7, 2022, <http://publications.ravenspacepublishing.org/as-i-remember-it/transformational-listening>.

about Indigenous Peoples and histories in colonial archives.⁷ Furthermore, the haptic map concept is informed in principle by cartographer and artist Margaret Pearce, who argues that cartography can be a “mode of creative expression” with the “potential to do more” than serve as a geospatial “inventory” tool, in the case of typical Western-style maps, for “the information extraction industry of colonial economies.”⁸ The haptic map concept intends to use art and creative approaches to geospatial representation to bring new kinds of cartographies and ways of understanding landscapes and toponyms to Indigenous and settler communities.

Phillip K. Paul, in *The Care-Takers*, describes one counter to indexing-centric cartographies, and toponyms specifically, in W̱SÁNEĆ oral tradition, in which “a place name is tied irrevocably to either a teaching story or to a historical account.”⁹ All toponyms can of course be tied to varieties of meanings and narratives, which in themselves can vary in meaning and cultural significance, but the irrevocability—the unchanging and unchangeable element—in W̱SÁNEĆ toponymic practice is that teaching and narrative are epistemologically intrinsic to toponyms: to separate stories

⁷ See the following pages on the *Colonial Despatches* website: Colonial Despatches Team et al., “Glossary of Terms,” *Colonial Despatches*, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://bcgenesis.uvic.ca/glossaryIP.html> and Anthony Colonial Despatches Team et al., “Decolonizing the Despatches,” *Colonial Despatches*, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://bcgenesis.uvic.ca/decolonizing.html>.

⁸ Margaret Pearce, “What Shall We Map Next? Expressing Indigenous Geographies with Cartographic Language,” in *Mapping the Unmappable?: Cartographic Explorations with Indigenous Peoples in Africa*, ed. Ute Dieckmann (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2021), 317.

⁹ Philip Kevin Paul, *The Care-Takers: The Re-Emergence of the Saanich Indian Map* (Sidney: Institute of Ocean Sciences, 1995), 1, <https://waves-vagues.dfo-mpo.gc.ca/Library/181814.pdf>.

from places is to disrupt fundamentally their toponymic mores. Further, Paul relates that narrative accounts are embodied in people and the exchange between “the story teller” and “the listener.”¹⁰ The haptic map concept could never — nor should it — replace personal and cultural relational exchange, but it can, through imagination and creativity, create conceptual spaces that gesture toward embodied and relational learning. The *Untitled TETÁĆES* map, for example, attempts to look and sound like the lands it represents, far more so than printed words on a two-dimensional map does. Maps printed onto paper are meant for the eyes alone, and while the artistic, representational landscape of the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map tells a visual story, it also tells a multi-sensory story of place intended through touch, by moving physical representations of islands, and hearing, by listening to a Salish Sea soundscape and recordings of spoken SENĆOŦEN and English toponyms. Placing Indigenous and non-Indigenous toponyms into relationship and conversation in new ways could encourage viewers to consider Indigenous/settler relationships to land differently and represent in a small way what artist TEMOSEN̄TET Charles Elliot, TEMOSEN̄’s late father, described as “a small bit of decolonization.”¹¹ As discussed in more detail below, “decolonization” is about countering colonial epistemological dominance and theories but also about

¹⁰ Paul, *The Care-Takers*, 1.

¹¹ Louise Dickson, “Reclaimed Pkols (Mount Douglas) a Source of First Nation Pride,” *Times Colonist*, May 22, 2014, <https://www.timescolonist.com/news/local/reclaimed-pkols-mount-douglas-a-source-of-first-nation-pride-1.1072179>.

literally returning stolen lands to Indigenous Peoples: “decolonization” is about theory *and* practice.

This manifesto has two sections: haptic map theory and haptic map practice. The haptic map theory section places this project within public humanities’ approaches to knowledge exchange and mobilization and broader theoretical conversations on cartography, mapping and counter-mapping, toponymic in/justice, and settler championing of Indigenous toponymic resurgence. The theory section also introduces a working definition for the term “toponymic ontologies.” This neologism is my attempt to describe some ways in which toponyms shape and are in turn shaped by worldviews, and its creation is inspired in part by cartographer Margaret Pearce’s characterization of maps as “ontological agents.”¹² Finally, the haptic map theory section acknowledges those from whom I have drawn inspiration in theorizing about and conceptualizing the haptic map’s design. The haptic map practice section chronicles the ethical and material journey to make the first haptic map prototype with TEMOSEN. I include a discussion of ethics in the practice section because ethical considerations guided the *Untitled TETÁCES* map’s entire design and build process. In closing, I report on the *Untitled TETÁCES* map’s construction and discuss some of the technological and artistic choices we made along the way. What follows first is a brief overview of what a

¹² Pearce, “What Shall We Map Next?,” 326.

haptic map is and how it began as a concept and then a prototype, in the *Untitled TETÁCES* map.

The haptic map project in brief



Fig. 1. A scale model of the *Untitled TETÁCES* map, an early prototype to demonstrate the haptic map as a concept for SENĆOTEN and English toponyms.

The term haptic refers in its narrowest meaning to a sense of touch, but is also widely used to mean a sense of position and motion (proprioception). There is thus such a thing as haptic knowledge, and geographers have taken account of this in designing “tactile” maps for visually impaired users. Such maps have been

supplemented with sound, producing a kind of “haptic” map.¹³ Moreover, Tania Rossetto argues that “touch, as a proximal and non-representational way of knowing . . . is well suited for experimenting with non-representational approaches to maps,” and that “tactile/haptic aspects of cartography” represent “a potential research area” in need of further development.¹⁴ The outer wall’s carving is inspired by traditional Salish goat horn bracelets, which were intricately carved with traditional Salish designs by Coast Salish Peoples. The starlight effect, using battery-powered LED lights anchored to the outside face of the inner wall, is intended to complement the inside wall’s dawn/sunset seascape painting. The *Untitled TĒTÁĆES* map’s name combines the English word “Untitled” with the SENĆOŦEN word “TĒTÁĆES,” which translates to English as island. This name arose roughly a year after working on the map’s design with TEMOSEŦ and after many conversations—we recognized the importance of giving an appropriate name to an installation so concerned with naming. The *Untitled* part of the name is intended to gesture toward the term “unceded,” and as it is capitalized to point to a contradiction in that it is a proper name that is also something unnamed. *Untitled* also evokes terms like “land title” and the “un” in undoing and unlearning, the latter two terms being creative and personal aspirations through the process of collaborating

¹³ Alisdair Rogers, Noel Castree, and Rob Kitchin, “Tactile Map,” in *A Dictionary of Human Geography*, 2013, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199599868.013.1845>.

¹⁴ Tania Rossetto, “The Skin of the Map: Viewing Cartography through Tactile Empathy,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 37, no. 1 (2019): 83–103, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263775818786251>.

on the map's construction. The *TETÁCES* part of the name speaks to the core element of the map's design: the moveable islands that speak their names aloud when moved. *TETÁCES* also means "relatives of the deep," which refers in part to the *WSÁNEĆ* creation story in which "XÁLS, the Great Spirit . . . took some [*WSÁNEĆ*] people and tossed them out into the ocean" to become "Island Relatives."¹⁵ It is possible that the map could change names upon completion, depending on what emerges from the conversations between *TEMOSEŃ* and his uncle *STOLØEŁ* (John Elliott), but we are both satisfied, at this time of writing, that the name reflects well the installation's intentions.

Viewers enter the *Untitled TETÁCES* map through an opening in a nine-foot diameter, cylindrical-shaped wraparound landscape, which is an artistic interpretation of an ocean horizon as seen from a shoreline along *WSÁNEĆ* (Saanich) Peninsula (see Fig. 1, above).¹⁶ When inside the map, viewers hear sounds that they might experience on a Salish Sea shoreline, such as seagull cries, lapping waves, and wind.¹⁷ Three-dimensional objects, intended to represent silhouettes of islands, sit along what looks like an ocean horizon, but the map otherwise provides no locational specifics found in

¹⁵ *WSÁNEĆ* School Board, *SENĆOTEN 5 TO 12: Integrated Resource Package 2012* (*WSÁNEĆ* First Nations: *WSÁNEĆ* School Board, 2012), 4; this source used with permission from the *WSÁNEĆ* School Board.

¹⁶ See the First Peoples' Map of B.C.: <https://maps.fpcc.ca/languages/senc%CC%81o%C5%A7en-malchosen-lekwungen-semiahmoo-t%E2%80%99sou-ke>.

¹⁷ The speakers that play the Salish Sea soundscape, which is continuously looped field recording, are located within the main structure, or walls, of the map (see Fig. 1).

typical Western cartography, such as road systems, written toponyms, or state borders and boundaries.¹⁸ Each island contains a hidden motion-detecting sensor, a small motherboard, and a speaker. Moving an island activates an audio voice recording of that island's toponym in SENĆOTEN and English. In a user guide posted on or near the *Untitled TETÁCES* map,¹⁹ viewers are encouraged to arrange the islands—which are moveable and held in place with magnets—in a way that looks familiar to them based on the map's exhibition location. For example, the islands would be arranged differently to look accurate if map was on display in the WSÁNEĆ Tribal School or on the University of Victoria's campus.

Arranging the islands with respect to the haptic map's current location at any given time has less to do with cartographic accuracy and more to do with mining memory of place, for those that know WSÁNEĆ/Saanich landscapes, and creating a sense of geospatial curiosity and play. Should viewers have little or no geospatial awareness or memory of the islands' locations, the user guide provides a QR code that opens a Google Maps information tour of the islands featured in the *Untitled TETÁCES* map. Viewers can use this tour, which provides links to sources and related information, to learn the written SENĆOTEN and English names for each island.

¹⁸ See Appendix E for the artist statement and Appendix F for the user guide that accompany the *Untitled TETÁCES* map.

¹⁹ See appendix F.

Viewers can also use Google Maps to understand their current location relative to the *Untitled TETÁCES* map's islands, and then apply this information to arrange the islands as accurately as possible relative to the *Untitled TETÁCES* map's exhibition location. The *Untitled TETÁCES* is intentionally vague *cartographically* and therefore does not contain map conventions like cardinal directions or planar projections.

Instead, the map presents something on the metaphorical border between cartography and art, an "artographic map," intended to evoke a sensation of finding location more through feeling and interaction, through a proprioceptive experience, than geospatial precision.

The map that TEMOSEN and I made together, with contributions from Matthew Parlby-Elliot, Jesse Campbell, and Ben Olson, represents one version of the haptic map concept, a concept and design unique to our place and process. The *Untitled TETÁCES* map is an interactive art-installation featuring audio recordings of spoken SENĆOTEN and English toponyms, and a soundscape: a field recording from a WSÁNEĆ-territory shoreline. Other versions of haptic maps could do the same or something else for other territories in and around the Salish Sea. The *Untitled TETÁCES* map's island choices resulted from several conversations between TEMOSEN and his uncle STOLŪEŁ John Edward Elliott Sr., "a respected Elder from the WJŪEŁP Tsartlip First Nation who played a pivotal role in the preservation and revitalization of the SENĆOTEN

language.”²⁰ In addition to the guidance provided by the conversations between TEMOSEN and STOLCEL, the *Untitled TETÁCES*, like the haptic map concept generally, is guided by public humanities principles, especially that of knowledge *exchange* between non-academic and academic audiences; a public humanities approach to knowledge exchange, as characterized by the University of British Columbia’s Public Humanities Hub, “presumes both that Humanities researchers have valuable knowledge to share with diverse publics AND that those diverse publics have valuable insights to share with Humanities researchers.”²¹ A public humanities approach also encourages diverse approaches to knowledge mobilization, and for this reason the *Untitled TETÁCES* map has an accompanying blog.

This *Untitled TETÁCES* map project includes a public-facing blog, Namescape.ca, so that others might learn from what we did in order, ideally, to make versions of haptic maps in their communities. The Namescape blog intends to provide contextual information for the *Untitled TETÁCES* map, along with other resources to encourage viewers to learn more about WSÁNEĆ toponyms and ongoing efforts towards Indigenous toponymic resurgence.²² Both the haptic map concept and the blog are

²⁰ See NETOLNEW, “Honouring Dr. Elliott,” NETOLNEW: One Mind, One People, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://netolnew.ca/honouring-stolcel-elliott>.

²¹ University of British Columbia, “Defining the Public Humanities,” Public Humanities Hub, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://publichumanities.ubc.ca/about/what-are-the-public-humanities>.

²² See the “Place-Name Changes in and Around the Salish Sea” blog post for a running list of recent reclamation and creation of Indigenous-language place names: <https://www.namescape.ca/2022/08/name-changes-list.html>.

influenced conceptually by my academic route, one that has wandered through some thought-provoking theoretical and interdisciplinary territories.

Haptic map theory

The practice of naming often entails superimposing narratives that belong to those who gain the right to ‘appropriate’ places.²³

Before the haptic map idea emerged, I wanted my academic and professional work to find a way to respond to this call from the W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council: the W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council asks all government institutions, private companies, and individuals operating within W̱SÁNEĆ territory to help the W̱SÁNEĆ Nation in their efforts to revitalize W̱SÁNEĆ culture and re-establish a W̱SÁNEĆ presence on W̱SÁNEĆ lands.²⁴

The haptic map concept seemed to me to be one way to further some aspects of this call by contributing to language-revitalization—in the case of the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map, through SENĆOTEN toponyms. Moreover, placing SENĆOTEN and English toponyms

²³ Anna Mongibello, “Place-Names and Self-Determination: Toponyms in Indigenous News Discourse,” in *Shifting Toponymies: (Re)Naming Places, (Re)Shaping Identities*, ed. Luisa Caiazzo and I.M Nick (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2020), 118. I interpret the word “gain,” here, as a reference to those who have the cultural and political power to maintain a dominant toponymic order.

²⁴ W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council, “W̱SÁNEĆ Art Protocol,” W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council (blog), accessed November 7, 2022, <https://wsanec.com/4482-2>.

in symbolic conversation could encourage new dialogues in other contexts. Broadly, the haptic map concept also intends to raise awareness of Indigenous territories, which may prompt Indigenous and non-Indigenous audiences to learn more about historical and current Indigenous presence(s) in their shared landscapes.

One of the first challenges in making the *Untitled TETÁCES* haptic map was in conducting interdisciplinary work within UVic's English Department, which offers "a wide range of both traditional and innovative courses that tackle literature from a variety of perspectives," but does not typically engage directly with collaborative art installations.²⁵ Luckily, I have an open-minded and innovative PhD supervisor with a wealth of toponym-study experience in Dr. Janelle Jenstad,²⁶ as well as the guidance of my other committee members: Dr. Iain Higgins (English) and Dr. John Lutz (History). All three openly support academic and personal reconciliation work as well as the principles and practices of public humanities and public history. Originally, the haptic map was to be discussed as part of concept-paper in which I would provide the rationale for *Untitled TETÁCES* map's future construction. My committee suggested instead that I build a working prototype as part of my dissertation project and I agreed

²⁵ University of Victoria, "English," UVic.ca, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www.uvic.ca/humanities/departments/english/index.php>.

²⁶ Dr. Jenstad is the Director of the *Map of Early Modern London* project and website (<https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca>), which is, among other things, a toponymic database. For more on Dr. Jenstad see <https://janellejenstad.com>.

wholeheartedly. Understandably, the committee asked that I ground the practical work of map-making in theoretical and methodological approaches called for in Western-style PhD programs.

The haptic map is an exercise of sorts; it combines aesthetics, language-learning, and interactivity in one installation in order to observe what these combined elements can teach about the ways in which maps construct a sense of place and perhaps spatial identity—the ways in which understandings of spatiality and particular geographies entwine to engender a feeling of being “at home” in some places and not others. The haptic map is also an attempt to encourage viewers to experience toponyms and Indigenous languages in new ways. The *Untitled TETÁCES* map features the SENĆOTEN names for islands and while this contributes to learning language in a small way, its other intention is to hear both SENĆOTEN and English toponyms spoken at the same time and in the same place, to create an aural and symbolic toponymic duet. Toponyms can be understood through many perspectives—historic, linguistic, geopolitical, epistemological, and more. I have become increasingly interested in the ways in which toponyms convey micro versions of larger cultural narratives related to place and landscape. Indigenous toponymic resurgence—that is, Indigenous Peoples reclaiming, asserting, and creating new Indigenous place names in Indigenous languages in a settler-colonial context—encourages non-Indigenous governments, policy makers, cartographers, and citizens to examine the ways in which toponyms

enforce settler colonialism. Arguably, toponyms have an important part to play in ongoing efforts toward systemic and personal reconciliation. Toponyms are so much more than a name on a map, street sign, or park plaque: they are intrinsic parts of larger cultural narratives of landscape and place. As Hayden White argues for narratives, toponyms “might well be considered a solution to a problem of general human concern, namely, the problem of how to translate knowing” about a place “into telling” about a place.²⁷

Place as story and story as place

To name places is, amongst other things, to make and contribute to narratives of them; over time, “storyscapes”²⁸ emerge from the toponymic and conceptual web of markers that comprise landscape epistemologies, the ways we learn about and feel a sense of belonging in the world around us. Appellations of place are in certain respects ontological and as such they reveal something about the worldviews and “namescapes”²⁹ of their namers in the same way that cultural narratives do about their tellers. The haptic map project is in part a response to the historical namescapes I

²⁷ Hayden White, “The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality,” *Critical Inquiry* 7, no. 1 (1980): 5.

²⁸ Reuben Rose-Redwood, “Reclaim, Rename, Reoccupy”: Decolonizing Place and the Reclaiming of PKOLS,” *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 15, no. 1 (2016): 188.

²⁹ Lawrence Berg, “Banal Naming, Neoliberalism, and Landscapes of Dispossession,” *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies* 10, no. 1 (2011): 17.

encountered through toponyms in correspondence and other materials while working for the *Colonial Despatches* project.³⁰ During my time on that project I encountered well-intentioned settlers acknowledging the present state and legacies of colonialism and wanting to do something about it practically and systemically. I was inspired by attempts at this work, but I also saw the ways in which colonialism is entrenched in academic bureaucracies, which can make equity work feel at times Sisyphean. One of my hopes for the haptic map is that it can advance what TEMOSEŦTET (Charles Elliot Sr.) characterizes as “a small bit of decolonization”³¹ within W̱SÁNEĆ territories. The *Untitled TETÁCES* map’s creation intends to encourage others to do similar work on toponyms of the Salish Sea and surrounding regions, which are lately undergoing significant toponymic change.³²

³⁰ The *Colonial Despatches* is a “digital archive [containing] the original correspondence between the British Colonial Office and the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia,” from 1846-1871, when BC confederated. Colonial Despatches Team, “Welcome,” *Colonial Despatches*, December 2, 2020, <https://bcgenesis.uvic.ca/index.html>.

³¹ TEMOSEŦTET Charles Elliott in Rose-Redwood, “‘Reclaim, Rename, Reoccupy’,” 201. Here is the full quotation, for context: While there are multiple fronts on which Indigenous struggles for self-determination are currently being waged, the reclamation of Indigenous storyscapes through the rituals of naming is a powerful means of achieving what TEMOSEŦTET Charles Elliot has called ‘a small bit of decolonization’.”

³² A *Victoria News* article, “Restoring Indigenous Place Names Rebuilds Relationships to Land: University of Victoria Scholar,” notes that “examples in B.C. include the renaming to Haida Gwaii of the Queen Charlotte Islands, the use of Salish Sea for the waters of Juan de Fuca and Georgia straits, and on the Peninsula, the renaming of Dean Park to include its traditional Aboriginal name, LAU,WELNEW.” In the same article, Jeff Corntassel states that “the restoration of Indigenous place names has intensified in recent years as part of the reconciliation process, but suggests more needs to be done.” See Wolf Depner, “Restoring Indigenous Place Names Rebuilds Relationships to Land: University of Victoria Scholar,” *Victoria*, June 11, 2021, <https://www.vicnews.com/news/restoring-indigenous-place-names-rebuilds-relationships-to-land-university-of-victoria-scholar>. See also my Namescape blog post, “Place-Name

For the Salish Sea, a region of historical and ongoing colonialism, my thoughts on toponyms circle back to trying to understand what it means to name a place and what the act of naming places teaches about a namer's culture, beliefs, and intentions. The haptic map concept and the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map focus on what alternative approaches to cartography and toponymy might reveal about toponymic harmony or disharmony between settler and Indigenous storyscapes in and around the Salish Sea. The haptic map concept speaks to a challenge faced in the cartographic and every-day world, that of trying to present multiple namescapes and understandings of place and belonging simultaneously in shared cultural places. Following various waves of visitation and colonization, the region we now call the Salish Sea has many toponymic influences, which are reflected in toponyms like Kanaka Bluff ("kanaka" being Hawai'ian for "human being"),³³ and Quadra Island (after Spanish naval officer Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra).³⁴ The Salish Sea³⁵ has many toponyms of Indigenous origin; however, the English versions of Indigenous toponyms dominate our shared namescapes, such as the anglicized version of W̱SÁNEĆ as Saanich. Within the political

Changes in and Around the Salish Sea," for a running list of the reclamation and creation of Indigenous-language place names: <https://www.namescape.ca/2022/08/name-changes-list.html>.

³³ Andrew Scott, *The Encyclopedia of Raincoast Place Names: A Complete Reference to Coastal British Columbia* (Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing, 2009), 300.

³⁴ Scott, *The Encyclopedia of Raincoast Place Names*, 483.

³⁵ Note that the "Salish Sea" is itself a toponym of English-language origin. See Brian Justin Tucker, "Inventing the Salish Sea: Exploring the Performative Act of Place Naming off the Pacific Coast of North America" (Thesis, UVic, 2013), 16, <https://dspace.library.uvic.ca/handle/1828/4587>.

space of the settler state, English language and WENITEM systems continue to articulate and set standards respectively for “official” Salish Sea toponyms.³⁶ In the lands also known as British Columbia, for example, it is vital for ongoing reconciliation efforts that the BCGNO work directly with Indigenous Peoples and organizations be accountable for at least article 13 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (UNDRIP), which states the following:

Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons.³⁷

One interpretation of Article 13 of UNDRIP is that Indigenous toponymic creation, and indeed resurgence, should occur through more than BC-governmental channels. This change, from the BCGNO being the only official toponymic authority in BC, will no doubt comprise part of broader conversations on reconciliation in years to come.

³⁶ The BCGNO notes that “the application of names to geographical features is a public trust, carried out for the benefit of present and future generations,” and the naming policy to which the BCGNO adheres specifies that the “Ministry of Forests, Lands, Natural Resource Operations and Rural Development is responsible for naming geographical features in British Columbia”; see BCGNO, “British Columbia’s Geographical Naming Principles, Policy and Procedures,” Geographical Names Office Heritage Branch, January 2000, https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/british-columbians-our-governments/our-history/historic-places/documents/heritage/geog_naming_policy_2017.pdf.

³⁷ Government of British Columbia, “Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act” (Province of British Columbia), accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www.bclaws.gov.bc.ca/civix/document/id/complete/statreg/19044>.

The haptic map is a social-justice-driven concept intended to champion ways and means for settler and Indigenous toponyms to coexist and to disrupt toponymic hierarchies in which settler toponyms dominate the landscape, literally and narratively, through toponymic imperialism. This type of imperialism is another “species” of Carolyn Marvin’s definition of “cognitive imperialism,” which refers to science writers of the “late-nineteenth-century” foretelling “visions of a globe efficiently administered.”³⁸ Haptic maps, in whatever form they might take, challenge fundamentally a *single* dominant toponymic order and are intended to illuminate connections between the treatment, historical and ongoing, of Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous namespaces in the British Columbian settler state.³⁹ Western technologies can also force order: the sounds units used in the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map, for example, are programmed to play audio files in the order they appear in the units’ file systems, effectively forcing a ranking onto which toponyms, SENĆOTEN or English, play first. I chose to play SENĆOTEN toponyms first and English toponyms second. This decision is informed by my thinking on “contracolonialism,” discussed in more detail below,

³⁸ Carolyn Marvin, *When Old Technologies Were New: Thinking about Electric Communication in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1988), 191.

³⁹ Corey Snelgrove, Rita Kaur Dhamoon, and Jeff Corntassel discuss “settler states” in “Unsettling Settler Colonialism,” noting that settler states are not culturally monolithic: “Subject-formation in settler colonies works in multiple ways, privileging in multiple ways, and settler colonialism’s conditions of possibility rely on the differentiated forms of subject-formation and privilege.”³⁹ See “Unsettling Settler Colonialism: The Discourse and Politics of Settlers, and Solidarity with Indigenous Nations,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 3, no. 2 (2014): 5-6.

which is defined in part as actions taken to counter colonial narratives through the conscious privileging of Indigenous perspectives, histories, and truths. Contracolonial work in a toponymic context (re-)introduces forgotten or ignored Indigenous namespaces into a largely settler-dominated namespace.

The *Untitled TETÁĆES* map is a contracolonial project in three ways. First, it (re-)introduces SENĆOTEN names—likely unknown or little known to most settlers—for islands in WSÁNEĆ territory; second, it privileges SENĆOTEN toponyms by placing them ahead of the English toponyms in the audio-file play order; and third, the design of the map-space is informed by a topographical perspective and story well known to WSÁNEĆ Peoples, but likely less known to settlers,⁴⁰ thus advantaging WSÁNEĆ geospatial and cultural perspectives. The *Untitled TETÁĆES* map is also a public-humanities project, intended to educate non-academic audiences about SENĆOTEN and English place names. The *Untitled TETÁĆES* map's artists' statement will include a QR-code sticker that when scanned opens a webpage on the WSÁNEĆ Leadership Council's website, which includes a map that shows written toponyms of the islands represented in the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map, as well as some resources for "settlers who

⁴⁰ TEMOSEN and I designed the island shapes to look as they would from atop LÁU, WELNEW, known also as John Dean Park, which is the mountain that emerged following the "great flood"—LÁU, WELNEW translates to English as "place of refuge." See WSÁNEĆ Leadership Council, "History & Territory," WSÁNEĆ Leadership Council (blog), accessed November 7, 2022, <https://wsanec.com/history-territory>.

are interested in allyship with WSÁNEĆ people.”⁴¹ The *Untitled TETÁĆES* map is an interdisciplinary project that combines art, technology, language- and toponym-learning tools, and settler-allyship resources, and it reflects in many ways the interdisciplinary nature of my academic path.

An interdisciplinary and public-humanities approach

The haptic map concept is necessarily interdisciplinary: it engages with the fields of toponymy, geohumanities, cartography, history, media studies, digital humanities, Indigenous studies, and settler colonial studies. My methodological approach has a course but is uncharted strategically. My operating assumption is that I must practice methodologies of toponymic representation in order to evaluate them. The haptic map allows me the opportunity to mobilize knowledge to public audiences and to explore methodological and practical approaches that others can later echo and refine. The field of Indigenous studies inspires me methodologically, politically, and personally, but to be clear: I am a settler, and this is not an Indigenous-studies project.⁴² Rueben Rose-Redwood articulates well that

⁴¹ See Appendix E. The QR code in the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map artists’ statement links to the following source: WSÁNEĆ Leadership Council, “Resources for Settlers,” WSÁNEĆ Leadership Council (blog), accessed November 7, 2022, <https://wsanec.com/learn-settlers>.

⁴² See the “My Current Perspective” post on the Namescape blog: <https://www.namescape.ca/2022/12/my-current-perspective.html>.

Indigenous peoples do not require the ‘expertise’ of non-Indigenous scholars and activists in order to develop critical theories and practices that challenge settler colonialism through the reclaiming of Indigenous toponymies or by other means.⁴³

There is, however, a need for settler scholars who work in these subjects to challenge settler representations of Indigenous and settler-colonial toponymies and their narratives of space, place, and identity. Inspired as I am by humanities methodologies that consider minority voices in the field and practice, I also recognize the relative lack of Indigenous-specific voices, considerations, and guidance in humanities fields, especially the digital humanities—a field I have studied academically and worked within.

Posner’s declaration is that digital humanities “needs scholarly expertise in critical race theory, feminist and queer theory, and other interrogations of structures of power in order to develop models of the world that have any relevance to people’s *lived experience*.”⁴⁴ It is not enough to critique the ways in which settler academies and public-humanities and public-history media represent Indigenous Peoples. Settlers and settler organizations need to collaborate where possible with Indigenous Peoples and

⁴³ Rose-Redwood, “‘Reclaim, Rename, Reoccupy’,” 201.

⁴⁴ Miriam Posner, “What’s Next: The Radical, Unrealized Potential of Digital Humanities,” in *Debates in the Digital Humanities* 2016, ed. Matthew K. Gold and Lauren F Klein (Minneapolis: Minnesota UP, 2016), 39. My emphasis.

organizations to create new models for understanding the structures of cartographic and toponymic power at play within shared Indigenous/settler namespaces. These collaborations could find mutually positive and territory-specific ways to contest and overcome the historical and ongoing “toponymic dispossession”⁴⁵ of Indigenous namespaces, and then share their work with public audiences.

The haptic map concept, and the creation of the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map, is guided by the field of public history, which can be defined as a “movement, methodology, and approach that promotes the collaborative study and practice of history” in which “its practitioners embrace a mission to make their special insights accessible and useful to the public.”⁴⁶ In building the map for public audiences and writing a blog about the process,⁴⁷ my work contributes to the growing public humanities field, a sibling of public history.⁴⁸ According to the North Eastern Public Humanities Consortium’s Public Humanities “manifesto,” a “public-facing humanities” does not “present a rosy, utopian vision of all problems magically solved”; rather, it

⁴⁵ Tucker and Rose-Redwood use Stewart to describe “toponymic dispossession” as “the process” whereby “pre-existing systems of Indigenous place naming were selectively adopted, ignored, or systematically expunged from colonial maps at the same time as many places were renamed in accordance with various European traditions of geographical nomenclature.” See Brian Tucker and Reuben Rose-Redwood, “Decolonizing the Map? Toponymic Politics and the Rescaling of the Salish Sea,” *The Canadian Geographer* 59, no. 2 (2015): 198.

⁴⁶ Jennifer Dickey, “Public History and The Big Tent Theory,” *The Public Historian* 40, no. 4 (2018): 37.

⁴⁷ www.namescape.ca.

⁴⁸ Sheila Brennan relates that “public digital humanities, digital public history, and digital public humanities all have strong roots in public history.” From Sheila Brennan, “Public, First,” in *Debates in the Digital Humanities 2016*, ed. Matthew K Gold and Lauren F Klein (Minneapolis: Minnesota UP, 2016), 385.

works “to outline the immense work that needs to be done, and to suggest some intellectual, institutional, and communal tools for doing it.”⁴⁹ The haptic map concept demonstrates some new ways to outline the “immense work”⁵⁰ of rebalancing Indigenous toponymic presence in the Salish Sea. A communications challenge fundamental to the haptic map concept is to communicate with both academic and public viewers and readers, but not at the expense of either robust scholarship or engaging and compelling learning experiences for non-academics. When my PhD supervisory team suggested building a prototype of the haptic map, they offered me an opportunity to learn how to bring public humanities to life. Jacobson argues that every public humanities project is unique to place and that this is one of its strengths as a methodological approach:

Its chameleon-like quality is one reason that Public Humanities takes such different forms from one institution to the next—centering museum studies at one college, digital humanities or public history at the next—as the enterprise adapts to the particularities of a given institutional and local setting. But this is

⁴⁹ Matthew Frye Jacobson, “Afterword: The ‘Doing’ of Doing Public Humanities,” in *Doing Public Humanities*, ed. Susan Smulyan (New York: Routledge, 2020), 170. For the complete manifesto, see pp. 168-72.

⁵⁰ Jacobson, “Afterword,” 170.

also one of the great strengths of the field, keeping it both nimble but ever on-point.⁵¹

The haptic map concept and the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map have enabled me to model what adaptive public humanities collaborations and outputs might look like in both an interdepartmental UVic setting and for public venues. TEMOSEN and I discussed where to show the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map after presenting it as part of my PhD defence. Legacy Art Gallery, in downtown Victoria, in ləkʷəŋən territory, will host the map as part of a larger show in September of 2023. We hope to show the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map at the First Peoples House and the McPherson Library, both at UVic, and in other shows and venues throughout WŚÁNEĆ and ləkʷəŋən territories, and elsewhere if possible.

Toponymic ontologies

Looking through a Western lens, Edward Casey offers the term “the geographical self” as a way to describe one’s internalized conceptual territory that is contoured by geography and philosophy.⁵² Building on Casey’s conceptualizations, the work leading up to the creation of the haptic map found me positioned critically to read and listen to those who chart the “toponymic self” within the geographical-self

⁵¹ Jacobson, 167.

⁵² Edward Casey, “Between Geography and Philosophy: What Does It Mean to Be in the Place-World?,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 91, no. 4 (2001): 683.

conversation, the points within knowledges, cultures, identities, and ontologies intrinsic to naming places—what I think of as toponymic ontologies. “Ontology,” a potentially broadly definable term, has in its simplest sense has a synonym in “cosmology;”⁵³ it is a way of defining “the nature or essence of being or existence,” or a way to describe “the nature of being.”⁵⁴ Ontologies are also consequences of cosmological understandings, the ways in which one relates to and finds order and meaning in the world. TEMOSEŃ explained to me, while we working together on what would come to be called the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map, that certain islands in the Salish Sea are, in WŚÁNEĆ Peoples’ cosmology, considered living ancestors. In my inherited ontological framework, these same islands are alive, and form a part of my understandings of “nature”; in geographical terms, these islands are parts in a broader understanding of a “Haro Straight” seascape—how different my ontology is from what TEMOSEŃ described, in which what I think of as an island is also someone to spend time *with*, not merely a landscape feature to be visited *upon*. Toponymic ontologies, as a definition, offers one way to conceptualize toponyms’ contributions to the nature or essence of being or feeling located: if ontology is a way to describe the nature of being, then toponymic ontology is a way to describe the nature of being in place as well as the being of a place.

⁵³ “Ontology Synonyms,” Power Thesaurus, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www.powerthesaurus.org/ontology/synonyms>.

⁵⁴ “Ontology, n.,” in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed November 7, 2022, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/131551>.

Toponymic ontological frameworks are taught through epistemological means—stories, maps, languages, writing, and more—and different epistemological approaches convey different cultural values and can influence what one considers justified belief as opposed to (mere) opinion. Put another way, epistemologies—that is, culturally specific ways of teaching and learning—inform ontologies, but ontologies speak to the combination of epistemologies, physical senses, embodied memories, and personal interactions with spaces, places, objects, people, animals, and the environment. An ontology, in the way I employ the term, represents a totalized sense of one’s place within a cosmos, an ordered world of which cartographical and toponymic worlds are a part. Through toponyms, one reifies a personal and cultural sense of reliability and normalization within landscapes. In this sense, in their use, particularly their repeated use, or “performance,”⁵⁵ toponyms reconstitute and nurture ontological certainty: this place exists and it exists in a culturally specific way. Culturally, toponyms act in part as a kind of self-confirming mechanism to inscribe and reinscribe a sense of belonging to and understanding of landscapes and their place within one’s world view. Toponymic ontologies is also a definition under construction and represents in some ways a

⁵⁵ Brian Tucker’s definition of “performance” suggests that any given toponym’s “spatial identity” is furthered by the diversity and constancy of its use, or “the reiterations and citational uses of the name.” Over time this spatial identity “stabilizes enough to appear to be fixed, despite the ongoing sequence of performative acts that continue to construct it as they go.” See Tucker, “Inventing the Salish Sea,” 45, 41.

working locus for some other overlapping critical positions and fields of study implicated in my work.

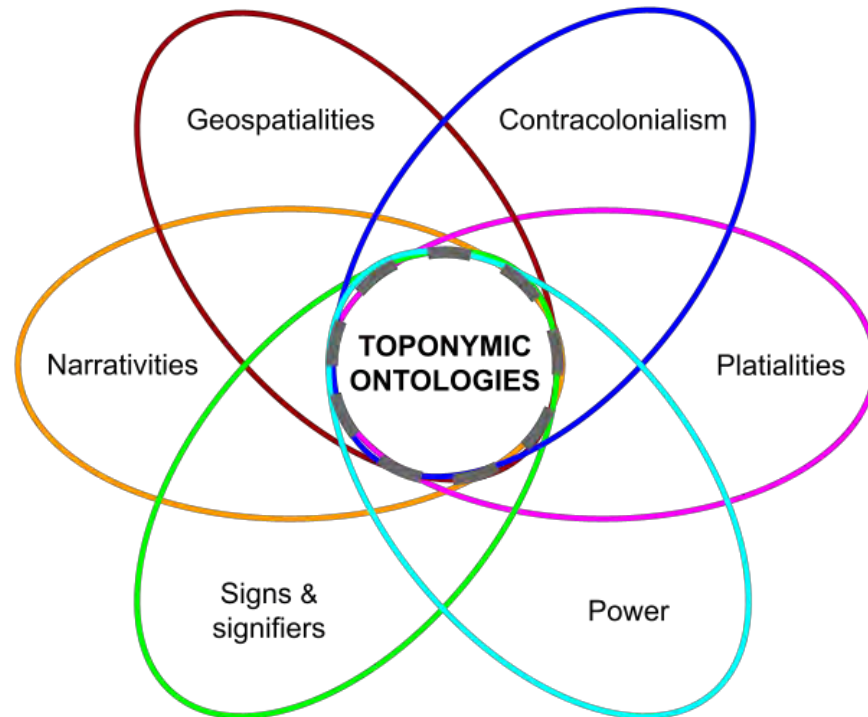


Fig. 2. A diagram to represent some overlapping fields and concepts linked to the study of toponymic ontologies.

My critical position in the broadest sense sits in the overlap of the following fields and areas of inquiry (see Fig. 1, above). “Geospatialities” refers to critical cartography, geohumanities, and digital geohumanities: the intersection of digital humanities and geospatial practices. “Narrativities” indicates ways in which stories of place form through narrativities such as historical writing, historiographies, oral histories and traditions, maps, timelines, and in popular media (podcasts, videos, museum installations). “Signs and signifiers” reflects the work that toponyms, a kind of

sign, do semiotically to represent the concept of location. Brian Tucker and Reuben Rose-Redwood contend that “the case of the Salish Sea can certainly be interpreted in semiotic terms—with the name serving as a new signifier used to rewrite the spatial ‘text’ of the Canada/US border region along the Pacific coast.”⁵⁶ “Power” refers to the ways in which power—political, social, legal, cultural, narrative, and cosmological—operates through toponyms; “power” also attends to who has the power to name places “officially,” that is, as controlled by dominant cultural and state mechanisms, “the final arbiter of geographical naming conventions.”⁵⁷ In British Columbia, for example, the BC Geographical Names Office (BCGNO) administers policy and procedures for place naming.⁵⁸ “Platialities” is a term that combines places and identities to acknowledge the interdependencies of these two ontology-constructing and maintaining concepts; Lize Mogel and Alexis Bhagat observe that “[w]here we dwell, after all, is—or becomes, if we can live there for long enough—the center of our cosmos and universe,” adding that “where we live also contributes immensely to our cultural and social identity, and in a

⁵⁶ Tucker and Rose-Redwood, “Decolonizing the Map?,” 196.

⁵⁷ Tucker and Rose-Redwood, 194.

⁵⁸ The BCGNIS is administered by the Geographical Names Office, Heritage Branch, Ministry of Forests, Lands, Natural Resource Operations and Rural Development. See “British Columbia’s Geographical Naming Principles, Policy and Procedures”: https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/british-columbians-our-governments/our-history/historic-places/documents/heritage/geog_naming_policy_2017.pdf.

very real sense, all our social, economic, and other relations are constructed around and from this 'place'."⁵⁹

"Contracolonialism," a term intended as an alternative to "decolonization," describes actions and outcomes that acknowledge and then work against systemic colonialism; contracolonialism is also attentive to settler-colonial content's origins, preservation, and who benefits financially, academically, or relationally from this content. Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang's define expectations for "decolonization," contending that "decolonization in the settler colonial context must involve the repatriation of land simultaneous to the recognition of how land and relations to land have always already been differently understood and enacted; that is, all of the land, and not just symbolically."⁶⁰ However, "decolonization" has also become a common term to signal an intention to create spaces for Indigenous perspectives, teachings, and languages in content and practices, both institutionally and personally. My thinking on contracolonialism is influenced by Edward Said's concept of contrapuntal reading, which asks readers to understand novels in the light of their structural dependencies—

⁵⁹ Lize Mogel and Alexis Bhagat, eds., *An Atlas of Radical Cartography* (Los Angeles: Journal of Aesthetics & Protest Press, 2008), 18.

⁶⁰ Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1 (2012): 7.

the spaces, places, and cultural realities required to make stories possible—and to read forgotten others back into texts.⁶¹ Said argues that a

contrapuntal reading must take account of both processes, that of imperialism and that of resistance to it, which can be done by extending our reading of the texts to include what was once forcibly excluded.⁶²

Indigenous toponymies have been historically (and less so presently) excluded from settler colonial namespaces in British Columbia. However, Indigenous toponyms do appear in BC's historical record and maps, so to declare outright exclusion is misleading, as contrapuntal readings are not simply binary, but a form of dynamic interaction. Said observes that

contrapuntal analysis should be modelled not (as earlier notions of comparative literature were) on a symphony but rather on an atonal ensemble; we must take into account all sorts of spatial or geographical and rhetorical practices—inflections, limits, constraints, intrusions, inclusions, prohibitions—all of them tending to elucidate a complex and uneven topography.⁶³

The haptic map concept intends to read toponymic storyscapes, the places that comprise collective narratives of place, while considering their colonial dependencies,

⁶¹ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1994), 69.

⁶² Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 255.

⁶³ Said, 256.

and to introduce forgotten or ignored Indigenous toponymies back into the “banal namescape.”⁶⁴

A “banal namescape”⁶⁵ is a normalizing settler namescape that gradually inculcates and colonizes the original namescapes it encounters. There is definitional overlap between anticolonial and contracolonial work, but the distinction between these terms is that anticolonialism has more to do with political action and resistance against colonialism while contracolonialism finds ways to counter colonial narratives—the media outputs that sustain ongoing colonization—through the highlighting and championing of Indigenous perspectives, histories, and narratives. The *contra* prefix in contracolonial can also signal contraventions to colonial narratives, to encourage ways to fracture them productively, to make something new through novel cross-perspective and narrative interleavings.

Locating a place in critical cartographic conversations

My bearing on the critical basemap lies somewhere between Rose-Redwood, Mark Palmer and Cadey Korson, and Tuck and Yang. Analytically and

⁶⁴ Berg, “Banal Naming,” 17. On page 20, Berg uses the Okanagan city of Vernon to argue that white Vernonites construct a story of ‘European settlers as bearers of civilization, while simultaneously trapping Aboriginal people in the pre-modern’ (Razack, 2002: 2), thus excluding them from participating in modern life (Berg et al., 2006: 400-401). In this way, whites are able to safely ignore Aboriginal people, and banal names lend a sense of the everyday to processes that reinforce the effacement of this dispossession and marginalization of Aboriginal people.

⁶⁵ Berg, 17.

methodologically, these scholars' offer helpful critiques of the ways in which the settler state and ongoing colonialism have subjugated Indigenous cartographies, toponymies, and landscapes, respectively. None, however, discuss "decolonization" from public humanities or aesthetic perspectives, and I have yet to find scholarship specific to Salish Sea toponyms and ontologies explored through an artistic or aesthetic lens. Indebted as the haptic map project is to Rose-Redwood, Palmer and Korson, and Tuck and Yang's analyses, their approaches can be developed in other ways than academic publications. All address scholarly audiences and, while their writing is clear and well crafted, I see an opportunity for broader inclusive or aesthetic interpretations of their theory-heavy concepts and language.⁶⁶

Rose-Redwood, for example, offers a wealth of worthy criticism on the settler state's policies and approach to Indigenous toponymies. Rose-Redwood argues compellingly that Indigenous toponymies must exist on their own terms and not necessarily as part of or as addenda to settler gazetteers and so-called official toponyms.⁶⁷ Rose-Redwood et al., observe that "[t]he results of these naming struggles

⁶⁶ I acknowledge Rose-Redwood's longtime contributions to and participations in public-facing and activism work, which includes The City Talks series, of which I attended several panels. One of these panel discussions included Dr. John Lutz and Lisa Schitzler, who has since worked as a Decolonization researcher, writer, and editor on the *Colonial Despatches* project as part of the Victoria Foundation project grant. See Reuben Rose-Redwood, "The Politics of Street Naming in the City of Victoria," <https://citytalks.geog.uvic.ca/section/september-14-urban-streetscape-political-cosmos-panel-politics-street-naming-city-victoria>.

⁶⁷ See Rose-Redwood, "'Reclaim, Rename, Reoccupy,'" 201.

have a direct bearing on whose vision of ‘reality’ will appear to matter socially, since landscapes are not just the products of social power but also tools or resources for achieving it.”⁶⁸ I appreciate Rose-Redwood’s observations and build on them to further toponymic justice in new ways and through non-academic and aesthetic discourse(s), as academics cannot expect non-academics to be au fait with the latest research trends in critical geography or Indigenous resurgence studies. Palmer and Korson assert that “[m]aps can play an important role in the interpretation of landscapes through the use of Indigenous toponyms and associated stories,” and they focus on “Māori toponyms” in “bureaucratic state maps found within some UNESCO World Heritage nomination dossiers and resource management plans.”⁶⁹ Palmer and Korson’s approaches to “Indigital story maps” motivate my work; I agree with Palmer and Korson that “Indigenous communities, not third party scholars, will ultimately decide if this kind of action is appropriate,”⁷⁰ yet I am forced to confront the possibility that *any* “maps” I produce, including haptic maps, could appear to “serve the state” as both maintainers of and metaphors for colonial power.⁷¹ This assertion suggests that “decolonization” of maps merely reifies state power, which Rose-Redwood reads as follows, through Tuck

⁶⁸ Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek Alderman, and Maoz Azaryahu, “Geographies of Toponymic Inscription: New Directions in Critical Place-Name Studies,” *Progress in Human Geography* 34, no. 4 (2009): 462-63.

⁶⁹ Mark Palmer and Cadey Korson, “Decolonizing World Heritage Maps Using Indigenous Toponyms, Stories, and Interpretive Attributes,” *Cartographica* 55, no. 3 (2020): 184.

⁷⁰ Palmer and Korson, “Decolonizing World Heritage Maps,” 190.

⁷¹ Palmer and Korson, 190.

and Yang, who “argue that symbolic forms of decolonization—i.e., those which stop short of the full repatriation of Indigenous land—have the effect of reducing this term to an ‘empty signifier’,” illustrating “the opposition between ‘material’ and ‘symbolic’ struggles.”⁷² Arguably, “decolonization” has become a metaphor for settlers and settler organizations to signal their intentions to self-educate about and to promote Indigenous perspectives, but Tuck and Yang argue that “decolonization” must be more than a metaphor,⁷³ and no settler-imagined “story maps”⁷⁴ could alone resolve the land question tangibly or legally: it is possible that such maps could be seen to further some aspects of ongoing colonization.

The *Untitled TETÁCES* map intends to privilege SENĆOTEN toponyms on a symbolic landscape, but it was originally conceived, like the haptic-map idea, in settler spaces and through settler education systems. The risk of working in a settler mindset is that the resulting map could for some represent a “map to innocence,” a variant on a “move to innocence”: an “attempt to relieve the settler of feelings of guilt or

⁷² Rose-Redwood, “‘Reclaim, Rename, Reoccupy’,” 199.

⁷³ Tuck and Yang assert the following:

when metaphor invades decolonization, it kills the very possibility of decolonization; it recenters whiteness, it resettles theory, it extends innocence to the settler, it entertains a settler future. Decolonize (a verb) and decolonization (a noun) cannot easily be grafted onto pre-existing discourses/frameworks, even if they are critical, even if they are anti-racist, even if they are justice frameworks. The easy absorption, adoption, and transposing of decolonization is yet another form of settler appropriation.

Tuck and Yang, “Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor,” 3.

⁷⁴ Mark Palmer and Cadey Korson, “Decolonizing World Heritage Maps,” 190.

responsibility without giving up land or power or privilege, without having to change much at all."⁷⁵ Furthermore, my subject-position as a white, cis-male settler could mean that despite my best intentions I could reproduce anew "the same old colonial narratives and mapping processes recycled repeatedly."⁷⁶ Nonetheless, I aspire to advance alternative toponymic ontologies and narratives of place and, further, intends to use these alternative narratives to effect changes, however small, to settler toponymic policy. Put simply, I contend that toponymic narratives and ontologies can sometimes influence shifts in toponymic policies. Rose-Redwood and Tucker argue that "an intensity of usage"⁷⁷ is sometimes required to canonize toponyms in settler gazetteers, which are influenced by "reiterative citational practices" in literature and "performative enactment[s]" in everyday speech acts about place.⁷⁸ Ideally, my work would encourage settlers to acknowledge and respect Indigenous toponymic narratives and ontologies and to consider ways, through their work, to mediate Tuck and Yang's demands for concrete change and a settler state's nascent intentions to do so. The haptic map concept map is a conceptual space through which to imagine a new "performative enactment"⁷⁹ to make toponymic change and a potential way to nudge settler practices, policies, and

⁷⁵ Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," 3.

⁷⁶ Palmer and Korson, "Decolonizing World Heritage Maps," 190.

⁷⁷ Tucker and Rose-Redwood, "Decolonizing the Map?," 201.

⁷⁸ Tucker and Rose-Redwood, 196.

⁷⁹ Tucker and Rose-Redwood, 196.

perspectives in the direction of contracolonialism and toward recognition and celebration of historical and continued Indigenous presences on the land.

My critical position challenges me to move past research as an outcome and to learn to practice contracolonialism, not just write about it. Rose-Redwood et al., end one paper with a section entitled “Future research directions,” in which they list “a number of potential avenues for future research on the geographies of urban toponymic commodification,”⁸⁰ and they declare that it is “high time for geographers and other scholars to critically engage with the spatial politics of urban toponymic commodification.”⁸¹ The scholar in me lauds calls for “[c]ritical toponymic scholarship,”⁸² but the artist and fledgling public humanist in me wants something in addition to future research and critical analyses, such as methodological approaches and aesthetic tools to challenge spatial and toponymic hierarchies practically and systemically in my daily work, and in so doing learn what it mean to practise “scholar-activism.”⁸³ Rose-Redwood speaks to similar aims when questioning “what role non-

⁸⁰ Reuben Rose-Redwood et al., “Naming Rights, Place Branding, and the Tumultuous Cultural Landscapes of Neoliberal Urbanism,” *Urban Geography* 40, no. 6 (2019): 756-57.

⁸¹ Reuben Rose-Redwood et al., “Naming Rights,” 758.

⁸² Rose-Redwood, “Reclaim, Rename, Reoccupy,” 192.

⁸³ From a geography perspective, de Leeuw and Hunt reflect on the challenges of “[n]on-Indigenous scholars” adopting a “hybrid scholar-activism,” which cannot escape “structural hypocrisy,” through which settler scholars’ acts of allyship inevitably normalize the colonial structures they intend to destabilize. They argue that “it is important to consider the limits of these aspirational practices to truly decolonize a field which is largely enacted by White scholars living off the spoils of colonialism, including White settler scholars, and in which Indigenous presence is largely facilitated by, or filtered through, non-Indigenous ‘experts.’” Sarah de Leeuw and Sarah Hunt, “Unsettling Decolonizing Geographies,” *Geography Compass* 12, no. 7 (2018): 7.

Indigenous scholar-activists can play in the toponymic politics of decolonization” through the commendable objective “to decenter the settler-scholar as the sovereign subject of intellectual authority and political agency.”⁸⁴ The haptic map concept addresses at least one part of Rose-Redwood’s question through a critical position that embraces unsettling toponymic queries through artistic practice. The academic path to this work was guided in part by Tara McPherson’s calls for change in the field of digital humanities. Using McPherson’s “Why Are the Digital Humanities So White?” helped me to ask why BC’s toponymic systems are so white, and to answer McPherson’s call for “hybrid practitioners” in academic spaces, and to find ways to take an “artist-theorist/activist-scholar” approach to academic work.⁸⁵

Methodological approaches

The haptic map concept offers potential to develop new methodologies for exploring intersections of settler/Indigenous namespaces and new ways to co-present settler and Indigenous presences to academic and public audiences. For example, some

⁸⁴ Rose-Redwood, “‘Reclaim, Rename, Reoccupy’,” 201. Rose-Redwood’s emphasis. Rose-Redwood adds the following account of his part in the PKOLS-naming movement:

[...] I played a relatively minor role in putting up posters throughout the neighbourhood in which I live, providing some financial support to help cover a portion of the costs of the beautifully-carved PKOLS sign, and showing solidarity for the cause by marching up the mountain to witness the reclamation.

⁸⁵ Tara McPherson, “Why Are the Digital Humanities So White? Or Thinking the Histories of Race and Computation,” in *Debates in the Digital Humanities*, ed. Matthew K. Gold (Minneapolis: Minnesota UP, 2012), 154, <https://des4div.library.northeastern.edu/mcpherson-why>.

of the methodological approaches, such as collaboration, conversation, and shared artistic practice, used in making the *Untitled TETÁCES* map are intended through their use to encourage reconciliation-driven Western academic workplaces to consider different ways of working, and to move past topical rhetoric and well-meaning declarations to deliver substantive policy and systemic change. Although I am a settler, I respectfully acknowledge the role that Indigenous methodologies have played in the creation of the haptic map concept, discussed more below. Through my collaboration with TEMOSEN I have learned much, through self-reflection and our ongoing conversations, about some of the subtle and persistent ways in which settler education teaches particular methodologies, as well as particular understandings of landscape and place. Arguably, TEMOSEN and I have developed methodologies that work for the specifics of what we are trying to do, part of which is to reach broad and public audiences in order to present WŚÁNEĆ and WENITEM cartographies and toponymies in compelling ways. The haptic map concept draws on public humanities methodologies of collaboration and to “build tools that make it possible for . . . students, and the world at large to engage critically with our cultural heritage,”⁸⁶ but with the intention to interrogate narrow, Western understandings of the “our” in question. This interrogative approach speaks to Will Fenton’s assertion that if public and “digital

⁸⁶ Vika Zafrin, “Day of DH: Defining the Digital Humanities,” *Debates in the Digital Humanities* (blog), 2012, <https://doi.org/10.5749/minnesota/9780816677948.003.0009>.

humanists are serious about promoting access and inclusion, it's not enough to make projects accessible. We have to ask, accessible to whom? And to what end?"⁸⁷ The haptic map concept's methodology emphasizes ways to promote toponymic equity between two sometimes antagonistic spatial practices: that of the Western tradition's compulsions for quantification, demarcation, and toponymic precision and Indigenous instantiations of narratives of place, of which Tucker and Rose-Redwood call on journalist Krystalline Kraus to assert the following:

Indigenous place naming is not solely a cartographic endeavour alone; rather, the invocation of place names by Indigenous peoples is generally part of a broader ensemble of performative practices that links the present with the past through storytelling, song, ceremony, oral history, and political protest—often challenging prevailing conceptions of 'place' within settler societies.⁸⁸

It is in this challenge to the "prevailing conceptions of 'place' within settler societies"⁸⁹ that I see space for the haptic map. Another way in which the haptic map challenges perceptions of place is in its aesthetic intentions: it is designed to illustrate the manner in which we are conditioned to impose a certain sense of "place" from

⁸⁷ Will Fenton, "Literary Scholars Should Use Digital Humanities to Reach the Oft-Ignored 'Public,'" *Inside Higher Ed*, 2018, <https://www.insidehighered.com/views/2018/01/29/literary-scholars-should-use-digital-humanities-reach-oft-ignored-public-opinion>.

⁸⁸ Tucker and Rose-Redwood, "Decolonizing the Map?," 198.

⁸⁹ Tucker and Rose-Redwood, 198.

minimal visual cues and this approach borrows from two artist-scholars in William Kentridge and Margaret Pearce. The haptic map concept is in some ways a creative-practice answer to the question of how to represent equitably sometimes divergent epistemological and ontological perspectives held by Indigenous Peoples and settlers.

Making the cartographic “artographic”

The haptic map concept draws inspiration and guidance from two people who challenge understandings of place and perception through artistic mediums: cartographer and artist Margaret Pearce and artist and presenter William Kentridge.



Fig. 3. Margaret Pearce and the “Coming Home to Indigenous Place Names in Canada” map.

Pearce’s map, “Coming Home to Indigenous Place Names in Canada,” contests “how maps are obligated to look and what they are obligated to include and achieve.”⁹⁰ The “Coming Home” map advances the presences of Indigenous place names and removes or changes cartographic elements typical of most Western-style maps, such as settler-colonial toponyms, scale information, and cardinal directions, which are

⁹⁰ Pearce, “What Shall We Map Next?,” 317–40.

“presented as an alternative organizing framework reminiscent of a medicine wheel.”⁹¹ In compiling the “Coming Home” map’s place names, Pearce, who self-identifies as “an enrolled member of Citizen Potawatomi Nation,”⁹² pushed against Western notions of “research” in “the tradition of anthropology and ethnogeography” and instead “sought to compile traditional names from language programs, language keepers, and cultural committees and liaisons”; Pearce determined “if the names could be shared with the outside, through a process of permissions and approvals.”⁹³ The “Coming Home” map is not intended to be, as Pearce relates, comprehensive or to represent every Indigenous community in Canada:

I endeavoured to make a map that would include only enough names to alter readers’ perceptions of Canada, that would represent those names clearly as cultural property, and that would raise awareness for protection of cultural property as inherent to the protection and respect for Indigenous rights to self-determination.⁹⁴

Pearce’s approach to mapping is as a painter to a canvas, reacting to material constraints to imagine novel expressions and observations through aesthetic gestures

⁹¹ Brittany Luby and Stephen Hay, “Coming Home to Indigenous Place Names in Canada,” *Canadian Historical Review* 100, no. 1 (February 26, 2019): 101–3, <https://doi.org/10.3138/chr.100.1.br02>.

⁹² Margaret Pearce and Stephen Hornsby, “Making the *Coming Home* Map,” *Cartographica* 55, no. 3 (September 1, 2020): 170–76, <https://doi.org/10.3138/cart-2019-0012>.

⁹³ Pearce and Hornsby, “Making the *Coming Home* Map,” 174.

⁹⁴ Pearce and Hornsby, 171.

purposefully incomplete yet provocative and defamiliarizing. Pearce sees cartography as a language, a type of “creative expression ... whose grammar can be intentionally broken at certain times, for particular reasons.”⁹⁵ Pearce’s approach to cartography encourages intimacy with map experiences, through engaging the body in a state of motion and place that could create for viewers a “body memory”⁹⁶ anchored to a namescape. Building on Pearce’s creative approach, the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map, for example, uses haptic elements—moveable islands on a horizon backdrop—to encourage potentially “deeper attention levels and engagement”⁹⁷ through body memory. Moreover, each interaction with the *Untitled TETÁĆES* will be unique to the viewer, as they move and arrange the islands in whatever way that appeals in what is intended to be a moment of creative engagement.

Another way in which Pearce’s “Coming Home” map inspires the haptic map concept is in its employment of intentional ambiguity; as with one of Pearce’s former approaches to mapping “there is little in the way of explanation in the map overall.”⁹⁸ This ambiguity serves a purpose: it strips cartographic didacticism from typical Western-style maps, which as Pearce argues “assume that maps are diagrams that exist independently of the theoretical debates and breakthroughs of colonial and Indigenous

⁹⁵ Pearce, “What Shall We Map Next?,” 317.

⁹⁶ Pearce, 320.

⁹⁷ Pearce, 321.

⁹⁸ Pearce, 321.

histories, and that lines on a map are clarifying.”⁹⁹ Pearce’s approach to mapping motivates the haptic map’s anti-diagrammatic design and its intentions to evoke spatial memory viewers’ bodies, what Pearce describes as “a way of getting a body feeling for the map.”¹⁰⁰ Building on these objectives inspired by Pearce, the *Untitled TETÁCES* map’s design challenges the “god’s-eye-view” of typical Western maps, which positions viewers as looking down upon the representative landscape in a kind of visual and directional, but bodily-removed, omniscience. Such maps and their written toponyms imply a dominance over a landscape, portraying it as an idealized representation in which all locations are seemingly known because so much appears to be indexed toponymically. This feeling of “knowing,” however, is a fiction because any portion of land by volume necessarily contains far more unnamed places than named ones. Pearce’s maps challenge the visual rhetoric and spatial assumptions of typical Western maps, and, as Pearce’s creative cartographies do, the haptic map concept intends to find novel ways “of inserting new spaces with different visual grammars in the space of the map.”¹⁰¹ Pearce’s work suggests ways through which a map can feel more like *being in* place and less like cataloging a place, less attached to “the information extraction industry of colonial economies.”¹⁰² Pearce shows ways that cartography and toponyms

⁹⁹ Pearce, 322.

¹⁰⁰ Pearce, 323.

¹⁰¹ Pearce, 324.

¹⁰² Pearce, 318.

can emerge from Western assumptions of demarcation and indexing to be employed as instruments for creative and artistic practices.

Pearce's "Coming Home" map engages in a creative conversation to find ways to challenge Western cartographic expectations, a challenge that the haptic map concept brings to the cartographic table. In the early days of thinking about the haptic map, I knew that I wanted to remove typical, Western cartographic expectations, such as roads, bridges, borders, and other usual indicators of a colonial cartographic presence on the land. I approached the haptic map instead as an art installation, being concerned primarily with how the haptic map would feel as an aesthetic, relational experience, one in which viewers are engaged to explore more about something that appears simultaneously familiar and foreign. I wondered about how much "mapness" I could remove before topographic familiarity would fade into abstraction. William Kentridge's "Making a Horse" exercise offered a way to refine understandings of what it might mean to play along the edge of "mapness," or the cartographic ingredients that make a map feel whole.

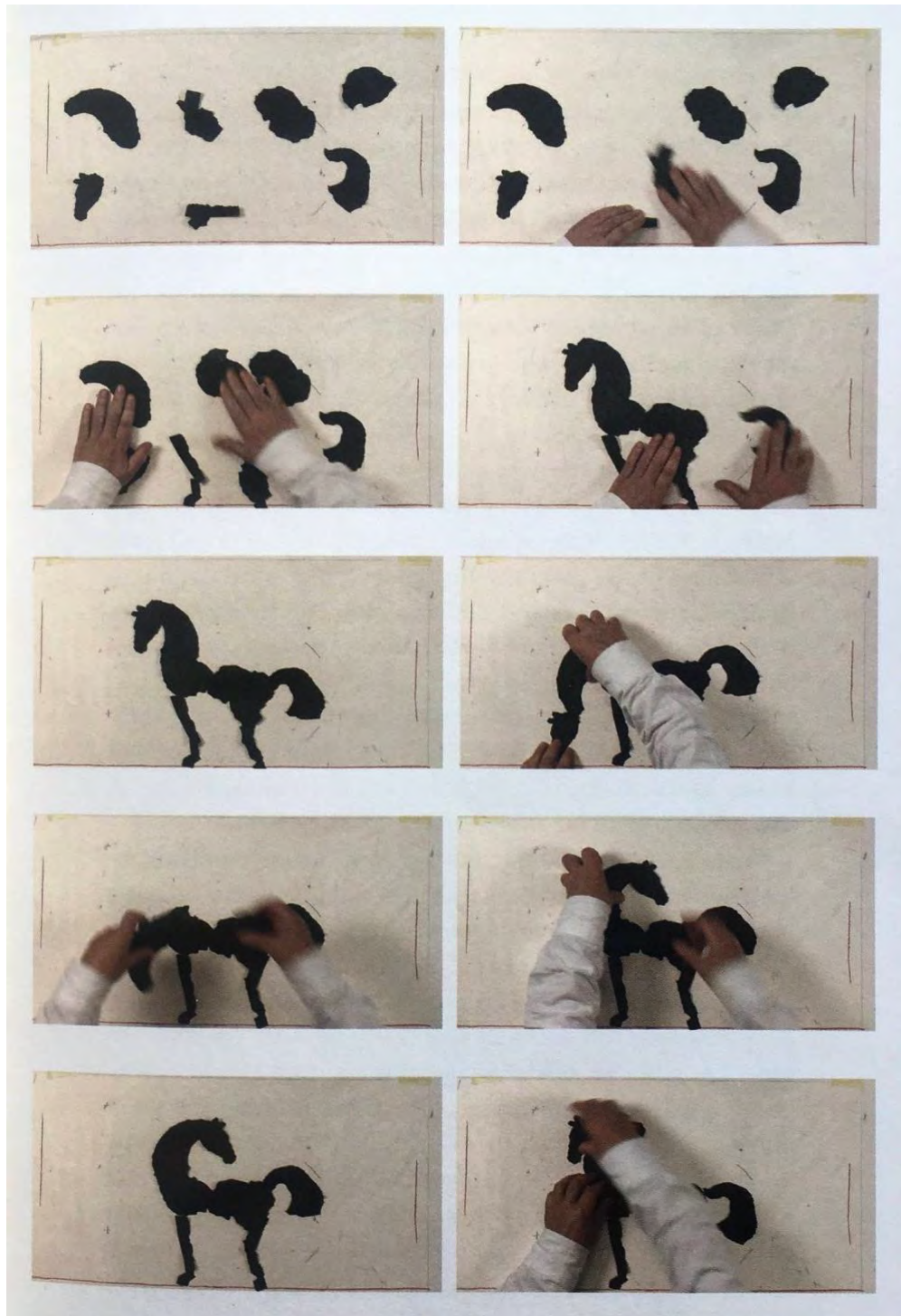


Fig. 4. William Kentridge's "Making a Horse" exercise.

In the “Making a Horse” exercise, Kentridge arranges torn pieces of paper into the shape of a horse then asks this rhetorical question: “are we unable to stop ourselves from seeing in them a shape, a form, a horse?”¹⁰³ When the horse shape is reduced to a minimum of paper pieces, Kentridge remarks that “we cannot help ourselves from seeing the horse” and that this illustrates in us “an unwilling suspension of disbelief.”¹⁰⁴ It could be that when we look upon a landscape, or a map that represents it, we face a similar “unwilling suspension of disbelief.”¹⁰⁵ Once seen, it might be impossible to unsee a familiar city as a collection of known streets or a familiar landscape as a collection of places we have been. One way of understanding place, and there are many, mimics the horse exercise. Imagine toponyms such as park names as pieces of paper in the horse exercise: when arranged familiarly on a map they create a namescape that represents a familiar region. Like the sheet of paper upon which the horse appears, a sense of “placeness” imposes itself through toponyms upon the backdrop of a landscape. Through this associative process a synecdochic sense of placeness coalesces from place-name parts—it is as if there is a sense of place, or place-ness, waiting to be triggered in the landscape, just as “there is a sense of HORSE, or horse-ness, waiting to be triggered” in the pieces of paper.¹⁰⁶ Kentridge describes a “pressure for meaning,

¹⁰³ William Kentridge, *Six Drawing Lessons* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2014), 18.

¹⁰⁴ Kentridge, *Six Drawing Lessons*, 18.

¹⁰⁵ Kentridge, 18.

¹⁰⁶ Kentridge, 18.

taking the fragments and completing an image,” and asserts that this pressure, a kind of synecdochic impulse, “is present not only in looking at shadows but in all that we see.”¹⁰⁷ It could be that this “pressure for meaning” carries into our place-ness projections upon what we imagine a landscape to be.

Guided by the principles and intentions of the haptic map concept, the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map draws on Kentridge’s exercise by deconstructing visually how a sense of place is constructed through maps. Haptic maps intend to defamiliarize the usual representations of places on maps, in that they have no street names, borders, or cartographic marks. As discussed below, the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map places viewers at a representation of horizon line, not above the land, looking down. One goal of this design element is to disrupt what Western culture teaches about what to expect to learn from a map about real-world landscapes. In a moment of unfamiliarity, while moving into the map space, viewers conditioned to see maps through a Western lens may see landscape as something more than or different from a collection of English-language place names, a municipality, or private property. As Kentridge teaches in the horse exercise, there is a valuable epistemological lesson in deconstructing aesthetically some of the apparatuses of our “own self-deception,”¹⁰⁸ the ways in which epistemological

¹⁰⁷ Kentridge, 18.

¹⁰⁸ Kentridge, 19.

moves and mechanisms make the unfamiliar become familiar. Moreover, learning how to “make” place may also illuminate what is and who is left out of this process.

The haptic map concept intends foremost to address the relative absence of Indigenous-language place names on Western-style maps—Pearce observes that this “cartographic silence can be a tool for cultural assimilation, colonization, and genocide.”¹⁰⁹ The *Untitled TETÁĆES* map, for example, allows viewers to hear this representational landscape speak back in SENĆOTEN place names, the language of WŚÁNEĆ territories that predates colonization by thousands of years. In addition to language-teaching, the haptic map concept intends to foreground aesthetic experience over didactic toponymic or topographic labelling. A haptic map approach is one that emphasizes the art in the *cartographic* and acts as a kind of proof-of-concept for aesthetic-based learning, a learning that feels like play, a moment in which viewers engage fully in an aesthetic experience. As education reformer Ken Robinson defines it, the aesthetic experience is one in which “your senses are operating at their peak,” a state when “you are present in the current moment, when you are resonating in the excitement of this thing you are experiencing, when you are fully alive.”¹¹⁰ Robinson argues that a systematic diminishing of the aesthetic experience in education is having

¹⁰⁹ Pearce and Hornsby, “Making the *Coming Home* Map,” 174.

¹¹⁰ Ken Robinson, “RSA/Edge Lecture: Changing Paradigms: How We Implement Sustainable Change in Education,” Royal Society for Arts, 2008, 13, <https://filmenglish.files.wordpress.com/2010/12/transcript-sir-ken-robinson.pdf>.

significant and negative effects on Western institutions and learners; Robinson argues that art and “the Arts especially address the idea of the aesthetic experience.”¹¹¹ In a moment of curiosity, prior to recognizing a haptic map as something familiar topographically, an uncertainty might unsettle viewers’ expectations, their culturally driven compulsion for defined locations. The haptic map concept could invoke, to draw on Robinson and Lou Aronica, a type of “procedural knowledge” that teaches a “knowing *how* as well as [a] knowing *that*” —the *Untitled TETÁCES* map, for example, is designed for viewers learn how to move the islands in order to know what they are called in SENĆOTEN and English.¹¹² Ideally, any haptic map would find creative ways to teach viewers how they construct their knowledge(s) of placeness.

Pearce took a creative approach to a multilingual map of “Penobscot territory,”¹¹³ making the map “sized . . . to fit Penobscot people’s bodies, as wide as an armspan in a truck or a canoe” and including “an accompanying gazetteer to fit in their hands or pockets, as a personal, intimate portal into the map.”¹¹⁴ These elements connect the body to understandings of place in creative and intimate ways. By referencing real-world scale in the truck/canoe and by providing a hand-sized keepsake in the gazetteer,

¹¹¹ Ken Robinson, “RSA/Edge Lecture,” 13.

¹¹² Ken Robinson and Lou Aronica, *Creative Schools: The Grassroots Revolution That’s Transforming Education* (New York: Penguin Publishing Group, 2016), 106.

¹¹³ Pearce, “What Shall We Map Next?,” 327.

¹¹⁴ Pearce, 328.

Pearce pushes against typical Western expectations for cartographic expression.

Pearce's approach points to ways to engage the body more fully than reading or viewing a typical paper map. The cartographic intimacy Pearce describes can be realized toponymically through the haptic map concept, which in the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map is designed as a partially enclosed space; once inside, viewers are surrounded by an aesthetic representation of landscape and can hear human voices and a soundscape they might hear if standing on a WŚÁNEĆ/Saanich Peninsula shoreline.

These design elements in the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map intend to humanize the cartographic and to create a multi-sensory somatic experience in which viewers move within the namescape, arranging the toponymic elements of the map, the islands. Considering, as Pearce does, the "viewing angle, and viewing position as ontological agents,"¹¹⁵ the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map's islands are the ontological agents that viewers arrange into something familiar or aesthetically satisfying, or both. The *Untitled TETÁĆES* map's viewing angle has an additional layer of meaning for those aware of the story of ŁÁU, WELNEW̄.¹¹⁶ TEMOSEN and I designed the shape of the islands based on what their silhouettes look like when viewed from atop ŁÁU, WELNEW̄, known also as John Dean Park.¹¹⁷ This element of the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map privileges WŚÁNEĆ

¹¹⁵ Pearce, 326.

¹¹⁶ See WŚÁNEĆ Leadership Council, "History & Territory."

¹¹⁷ See BC Parks, "ŁÁU, WELNEW̄/John Dean Provincial Park," accessed November 7, 2022, https://bcparks.ca/explore/parkpgs/john_dean.

understandings of place and from a location fundamental to W̱SÁNEĆ ontologies and histories. This design element is intended to symbolize the deeper connections to place that can be experienced in richer ways through specific cultural knowledge(s). This design choice also intends to illustrate that maps can carry knowledge in ways informed by narratives of place, in the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map's case, the ŁÁU, WELNEW̱ story.

In *The Care-Takers*, Paul speaks to one W̱SÁNEĆ approach to sharing stories/knowledge that eschews not only writing but any externalization of knowledge: the “nature of teaching-stories and historical account defies written works as it might be seen as a danger to externalize that knowledge and place it in an inanimate source.”¹¹⁸ Paul's perspective encourages considerations on the extent to which a map, location, or landscape feature is an “inanimate source” upon which to place “a unique perspective of a shared event”¹¹⁹—in *Untitled TETÁĆES* map's case the events associated with ŁÁU, WELNEW̱.¹²⁰ Moreover, Paul's words teach that there is much more to ŁÁU, WELNEW̱ than its location: there are other *animate* and “important symbols” connected to this place, such as “the arbutus tree, the raven, the mountain, and the emergence of Saanich.”¹²¹ Paul shows that the cartographic concept of place is one

¹¹⁸ Paul, *The Care-Takers*, 2.

¹¹⁹ Paul, 2.

¹²⁰ W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council, “History & Territory.”

¹²¹ Paul, *The Care-Takers*, 3.

among several elements to consider in a larger teaching-story. Reading Paul's words through a semiotic lens suggests that some toponyms, as signifiers, reveal little about what they signify – and this is true of all toponyms – except to those who know the place and its significance from lived or cultural experience.¹²² However, some toponyms, like ŁÁU,WELNEW, can signify particularly substantial cultural narratives, ones experienced more fully than as words on a map through an animate connection, a *being in place*, both over time and in multiple contexts, such that the location builds personal memories and associations. The *Untitled TETÁĆES* map aspires to address Paul's words on the connections between stories and place through its interactive or animate elements. As discussed below, the representations of islands in the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map require kinetic interaction in order to reveal their names; the islands can be arranged anywhere on their backdrop, such that the map will reconfigure for each viewer as they animate it interactively. The *Untitled TETÁĆES* map is an inanimate object, but its interactive elements challenge the static nature of typical Western maps: the two-dimensional view imprinted on a static page or screen. Paul provides other clues as to the limits of traditional WENITEM cartography, which uses written

¹²² My reading on semiotics is nascent and I am indebted to Daniel Chandler's helpful Princeton website, "Semiotic for Beginners," for including distillations of linguist Ferdinand de Saussure's concepts, which define a "signifier" as "the *form* which the sign takes," and the "signified" as "the *concept* it represents." In my analogy, toponyms are the conceptual element and the "objects" of locations or places to which they refer, such as street signs or place names on maps, are the forms. Daniel Chandler, "Semiotics for Beginners," July 31, 2019, <https://www.cs.princeton.edu/~chazelle/courses/BIB/semio2.htm>. See also Daniel Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics* (London: Routledge, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315311050>.

toponyms. This is not to say that W̱SÁNEĆ or any other toponyms can be shared only orally. Paul and Dave Elliott Sr., for example, have both provided written toponyms in SENĆOŦEN for public educational purposes.¹²³ My understanding is that Paul, from a W̱SÁNEĆ perspective, discusses some of the epistemological limits to written SENĆOŦEN toponyms.

Paul emphasizes that “what is important to understand about the oral tradition, is that it defies the production of a written account of its historical knowledge” and that the “oral preservation of history demands a different way of seeing and speaking.”¹²⁴ The *Untitled TETÁĆES* map cannot replace in whole or in part the richness and historical depth of W̱SÁNEĆ oral tradition, but its design can gesture toward an acknowledgement of the value of orality to convey connections to place. For these reasons, it is critical to any haptic map design that viewers hear toponyms in the language of the lands to which they refer.¹²⁵ Any haptic map design that uses spoken Indigenous toponyms would ideally include a diverse range of speakers, not only because this is an accurate reflection of Indigenous Peoples’ languages, but also because a chorus of sounds in itself represents symbolically the personal ways in which toponyms can be pronounced. The *Untitled TETÁĆES* map in part demonstrates an

¹²³ See Paul’s *The Care-Takers* and Elliott’s *Saltwater People*.

¹²⁴ Paul, *The Care-Takers*, 1.

¹²⁵ See Ethics section, below, for a discussion on ways in which the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map incorporates principles and practices of accessibility into its design and construction.

attempt to connect Pearce's notion of cartography as a language and an aesthetic medium with Paul's emphasis on narrative intentionality in W̱SÁNEĆ oral toponymies, which are rooted in rigorous and "underlying concepts which are just as important as the information which is built on them."¹²⁶ The *Untitled TETÁĆES* map teaches viewers SENĆOTEN and English toponyms, but through art and sound adds sensory context, visually through the painted depiction of a Salish Sea horizon and audibly through a shoreline soundscape from within W̱SÁNEĆ territory.

Paul stresses that "within the context of the oral tradition, a place name is tied irrevocably to either a teaching story or to a historical account" and that "a teaching story is meant to maintain and pass on an idea, along with the values that form that idea."¹²⁷ In the case of *Untitled TETÁĆES* map, TEMOSEN and I intend to show the importance of the islands conceptually and ideologically: the SENĆOTEN names for these islands are more than locations, they connect to and literally are in some cases ancestors. Paul suggests a relationality to oral-based toponymies, a knowledge exchange between *people*. The current Western approach to toponyms, whose primary use is as written identifiers of locations on maps, communicates knowledge but with little relationality. Typical Western-style maps label locations but do not allow for narrative exchange, and this didactic approach may be guiding cartographic grammar

¹²⁶ Paul, *The Care-Takers*, 1.

¹²⁷ Paul, 1.

toward precision and indexing—for instrumental uses: wayfinding, typically—at the expense of other creative or aesthetic possibilities. Western maps have become more object than subject, yet it might be more accurate to say that they teach their viewers to mistake the map-object as objective. Stanley Fish famously contends that “the objectivity of the text is an illusion,”¹²⁸ and this contention can be extrapolated to toponyms written on a map, another kind of text—Harley speaks to Fish’s declaration, arguing that “‘text’ is certainly a better metaphor for maps than the mirror of nature. Maps are a cultural text.”¹²⁹ The haptic map concept, and the *Untitled TETÁCES* map’s design, presents multiple toponymies in order to disrupt assumptions of a single toponymic text and cultural perspective, and to demonstrate that, like those of languages, spatial and cartographic grammars are diverse and not always strictly typographic/chirographic. The *Untitled TETÁCES* map challenges a single-source toponymy symbolically and through orality. When moved physically, the island elements of the *Untitled TETÁCES* map speak aloud toponyms first in SENĆOTEN and next in English, but multiple viewers interacting with multiple islands will soon hear a unique ensemble of overlapping toponyms spoken in no particular order, a toponymic chorus unique to viewers’ interactions. The emphasis on aural and tactile in the

¹²⁸ Stanley Fish, *Self-Consuming Artifacts: The Experience of Seventeenth-Century Literature* (Berkeley: California UP, 1972), 400.

¹²⁹ Harley, “Deconstructing the Map,” 7.

Untitled TETÁCES map is inspired by Paul and by a desire to work against the assumption of the settler state that textual documentation is the primary mode of naming and knowing places.

A multi-sense mapping experience

Although Western educational and governmental institutions generally privilege written forms of language, sometimes overtly insisting that textuality and textual culture are superior to orality and oral culture—even that languages with writing systems are superior—the striking fact remains that the vast majority of the world’s many languages exist largely or only in their oral forms, independent of or sometimes in complex relations with writing.¹³⁰ This, despite the relative ubiquity of English and English writing in cartographic media, it is important to be reminded regularly of the many other languages and therefore many other oral, toponymic, and textual as well as visual perspectives that comprise any given namescape.

One goal of the haptic map concept is to strengthen connections to place and ways of thinking about and relating to any given place through alternatives to written toponyms. Walter Ong, in *Orality and Literacy*, argues that “a sense narrative is

¹³⁰ For the lands known also as British Columbia, the First Peoples’ Cultural Council reports 34 languages and 94 dialects, each with its own oral and written traditions, histories, and toponyms. See First Peoples’ Cultural Council, “First Nations Languages in British Columbia,” June 2019, <https://fpcc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/FPCC-LanguageList-20210623.pdf>.

paramount among all verbal art forms because of the way it underlies so many other art forms.”¹³¹ The *Untitled TETÁCES* map’s use of aural toponyms could enhance narrative and personal connections to place in ways that textual toponyms cannot. To the extent, as Ong observes, that writing “serves to separate and distance the knower and the known and thus to establish objectivity,”¹³² it may contrariwise be that maps that use aural toponyms could help to (re)connect the knower to the known landscape at a human level, “the human lifeworld.”¹³³ Symbolically and physically, the *Untitled TETÁCES* map invites viewers *into* a wayfinding space and invites them to alter that space by arranging representations of islands, which allows them to hear toponyms through human voices, not read them as textual artefacts on a wholly static map. Ong suggests that when maps imprint typographically they also imprint cosmologies:

Only after print and the extensive experience with maps that print implemented would human beings, when they thought about the cosmos or universe or ‘world,’ think primarily of something laid out before their eyes, as in a modern

¹³¹ Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*, electronic resource (London: Routledge, 2002), 137. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the scholarship developments on orality and literacy that follow Ong’s 1982 book. However, I include Ong for three reasons: first, despite being a Western scholar of a certain time and tradition, Ong was nevertheless critical of some of the consequences of Western culture’s “relentless dominance of textuality” [10]; second, because something Ong said then remains true today: that “the study of the contrast between orality and literacy is largely unfinished business” [153]; and, third, to the best of my knowledge Ong is the only scholar whose analyses specifically overlap textuality, orality, maps (atlases), and cosmology in ways that reflect the haptic map concept’s goals to explore these same overlaps.

¹³² Ong, 111.

¹³³ Ong, 42.

printed atlas, a vast surface or assemblage of surfaces (vision presents surfaces) ready to be 'explored.'¹³⁴

Ong's view of Western atlases is much like his depiction of writing as "a particularly pre-emptive and imperialist activity that tends to assimilate other things to itself"¹³⁵— maps made in a typographic paradigm place the perceiver in a fiction of geospatial omniscience and an implied dominion over depicted terrains.

Whether or not it is always and everywhere the case, as Ong claims, that although "words are grounded in oral speech, writing tyrannically locks them into a visual field forever,"¹³⁶ it can be argued that written toponyms on maps serve to lock toponyms tyrannically into cartographic fields, and certainly for as long as those maps remain in use or are considered authoritative; furthermore, this locking of toponyms could make gazetteers like the one produced by the BCGNO appear as sacrosanct, such that critiquing the contemporary toponymic order, especially during Indigenous toponymic resurgence, is the symbolic equivalent of tearing down colonial statues.¹³⁷ Typographic maps present one kind of cartographic language, and critiques like Ong's of the written word offer ways to imagine what more a map could teach if it literally

¹³⁴ Ong, 71.

¹³⁵ Ong, 10.

¹³⁶ Ong, 11.

¹³⁷ See the following article for one reaction to the removal of a Captain Cook statue in Victoria, BC: Courtney Dickson, "Protesters Toss Statue of Explorer James Cook into Victoria Harbour; Totem Pole Later Burned," CBC News, July 2, 2021. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/victoria-captain-cook-statue-vandalized-1.6088828>.

spoke and did so in more than one language, particularly when that one language is the dominant settler colonial one. Such a map works against the BCGNO's historic Policy which states that "(a) A geographical name should be adopted in a single language form."¹³⁸ This policy — which in the process of being updated, especially since the Government of British Columbia's adoption of UNDRIP —¹³⁹ has been a serious impediment to toponymic equity between Indigenous and settler namespaces: it discourages co-naming, as in the recent and forward-thinking example of ŁÁU, WELNEW/ John Dean Park.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, since the present policy stipulates that "(b) Geographical names are adopted in Roman orthography using the standard letters and diacritics" and are to be comprised of "recognizable words," the Policy rules out from the start the possibility of both non-English or non-Anglicized names and of Indigenous names in Indigenous writing forms.¹⁴¹

The haptic map concept thus challenges Western cartographic paradigms, like those in BCGNO's historic Policy, by presenting multiple namespaces in the same cartographic space aurally and as non-hierarchically as possible. The *Untitled TETÁCES* map, for example, plays audio files in order of SENĆOTEN first and English second,

¹³⁸ BC Geographical Names Office, "British Columbia's Geographical Naming Principles," 3.

¹³⁹ UNDRIP is the initialism for the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. For more on the BCGNO's Policy, and its forthcoming changes, see the following article: "Analyzing Toponymic Power through a Foucauldian Panopticon: Challenging the Settler-State Namescape in British Columbia," which is the fourth article in this portfolio dissertation.

¹⁴⁰ See "ŁÁU, WELNEW/John Dean Provincial Park."

¹⁴¹ BC Geographical Names Office, "British Columbia's Geographical Naming Principles," 3.

but is otherwise not toponymically hierarchical. Moreover, multiple viewers engaging with the map together will soon find it difficult to determine any type of order to how the toponyms occur, and this engagement is intended to disrupt a “hierarchicalization of space.”¹⁴² Using orality in combination with the possibility of tactile interaction, the *Untitled TETÁCES* map achieves something that the written word could never do: it is not possible to read more than one word at a time but is possible to hear multiple toponyms simultaneously and to hear toponyms combine, overlap, and interact in unique ways. This design choice gestures toward a contrapuntal hearing, a way of creating “an atonal ensemble” of non-hierarchical combinations dependent on how viewers play uniquely with the installation’s islands.¹⁴³ The *Untitled TETÁCES* map employs orality to create an aesthetic and learning experience that is productively defamiliarizing: it intends to be “empathetic and participatory rather than objectively distanced”¹⁴⁴ in its approach to understanding location. Typical Western maps in one sense function as indexes of places considered as known, toponym lists rearranged to correspond to that which they denote locationally. Ong writes that “names do give human beings power over what they name” and that “chirographic and typographic folk tend to think of names as labels, written or printed tags imaginatively affixed to an

¹⁴² Harley, “Deconstructing the Map,” 7.

¹⁴³ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 256.

¹⁴⁴ Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 45.

object named.”¹⁴⁵ The *Untitled TETÁCES* map’s modular elements—the moveable islands—unsettle the kind of typographic fixity Ong describes, as does hearing a place name rather than reading it. Ong argues that “oral folk have no sense of a name as a tag,”¹⁴⁶ and perhaps by resisting the expectation to interpret location through typography the *Untitled TETÁCES* map can, for Western-educated viewers particularly, unsettle assumed relationships between naming and knowing. The haptic map concept is designed to use orality to foster a tangible *feeling* of the known, but is not concerned necessarily with indexing locations; its design is an acknowledgment of Ong’s observation that “written or printed representations of words can be labels; real, spoken words cannot be.”¹⁴⁸ Oral toponyms cannot be affixed physically and tend to narrativize best in situ, in the real rather than representational landscape.¹⁴⁹

In the Western cartographic tradition, since about the early sixteenth century, text couples with cartography to make maps, as Harley states, that “embody specific forms of power and authority” and that in “colonial North America” maps were and

¹⁴⁵ Ong, 33.

¹⁴⁶ Ong, 33.

¹⁴⁷ Ong, 43.

¹⁴⁸ Ong, 33.

¹⁴⁹ Ong, 42.

are used to “draw lines across” Indigenous territories “without sensing the reality of their political identity.”¹⁵⁰ Written toponyms are bound intrinsically to the “subliminal geometry”¹⁵¹ embedded in such boundary-driven maps, the textual toponym acting as a kind of mnemonic for a larger cultural and colonial reification, first through the toponym’s indexing work and second as a vehicle for the English language, with all its sociocultural residue.

Ong argues that “written words are residue” and that “oral tradition has no such residue or deposit,”¹⁵² presumably because orality is relational: it requires an *exchange* between human speakers and listeners in order to convey knowledge and narrative. Building on this type of knowledge/narrative exchange, the *Untitled TETÁCES* map uses aural toponyms to reflect interactions between speakers and listeners and intends to *renature* through spoken toponyms what Ong describes as typographic culture’s tendency to “denature even the human,” to impose through text a “distance”¹⁵³ from human connections. If “writing and print isolate,”¹⁵⁴ as Ong argues, then textual toponyms are implicated in this isolation and abstraction, something to which Harley alludes as follows: “I believe we have to consider for maps the effects of abstraction,

¹⁵⁰ Harley, “Deconstructing the Map,” 14.

¹⁵¹ Harley defines “subliminal geometry” as the “non-language systems that make maps,” the “cultural projections” such as “coordinate systems, Euclid, scale maps, and accurate measurement” as well as “Europe’s ideological centrality through projections such as those of Mercator.” Harley, 6.

¹⁵² Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 11.

¹⁵³ Ong, 42.

¹⁵⁴ Ong, 72.

uniformity, repeatability, and visuality in shaping mental structures, and in imparting a sense of the places of the world.”¹⁵⁵ Arguably, toponyms require similar considerations. As stated at the beginning of this paper, the haptic map concept is intended to promote creative ways to understand maps less as abstract understand maps less as abstract indexing machines and more as aesthetic relational sites for human interactions and narratives—it is concept also intended to find ways to humanize the cartographic. Hearing and touching can further the humanization of the map experience. The *Untitled TETÁĆES* map, for example, allows viewers to hear one language of the lands it portrays, SENĆOTEN, that predates English and other non-Indigenous languages and toponyms by many thousands of years. Hearing SENĆOTEN alongside English toponyms also illustrates that these languages continue to exist alongside each other today; moreover, to hear Indigenous toponyms in any context, for Dr. Jeff Corntassel, is “a large statement of ‘we are still here’,” adding that “European names do not reflect our relationships, our intimate notions of place.”¹⁵⁶ Corntassel, a member of the Cherokee Nation, speaks to interrelationships between toponyms, location, culture, identity, and ontologies when relating that “our Indigenous knowledge systems are located in place, so restoring these place names are also in a sense honouring our knowledge system and honouring our world views,” adding that Indigenous

¹⁵⁵ Harley, “Deconstructing the Map,” 12.

¹⁵⁶ Jeff Corntassel in Depner’s “Restoring Indigenous Place Names.”

toponymic restoration “goes way beyond symbolic.”¹⁵⁷ As Cornassel observes, toponymy generally has “generated growing interest in recent years,” especially in light of both the “Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples” calling for greater recognition of “pre-colonization” toponyms.¹⁵⁸ An emphasis on learning toponyms through orality and aurally could have additional benefits for Indigenous language learners.

In “Language and Culture as Protective Factors for At-Risk Communities,” Onowa McIvor, Art Napoleon, and Kerissa M. Dickie make connections between Indigenous language and culture and improved health outcomes, arguing that “learning a language, even to the level of basic proficiency can provide a form of cultural immersion that accelerates and enhances the enculturation process and allows for more direct and meaningful insights of core values, traditions and beliefs.”¹⁵⁹ The *Untitled TETÁCES* map cannot replace comprehensive SENĆOŦEN language programs or the enormous wealth of Indigenous Knowledges stewarded by Elders, and in community,¹⁶⁰ but it can contribute a little to language learning, through the voices spoken on the land both before and during ongoing colonization, and potentially

¹⁵⁷ Depner, “Restoring Indigenous Place Names.”

¹⁵⁸ Depner.

¹⁵⁹ Onowa McIvor, Art Napoleon, and Kerissa Dickie, “Language and Culture as Protective Factors for At-Risk Communities,” *Journal of Aboriginal Health*, 5, no. 1 (2009): 18, <https://doi.org/10.18357/ijih51200912327>.

¹⁶⁰ See the ŁÁU, WELNEWĪ Tribal School’s website for more information on many important SENĆOŦEN language programs offered for language learners of all ages: <https://wsanecschoollboard.ca/lts>.

motivate Indigenous and non-Indigenous viewers to learn more about the diverse namespaces and histories in their territories. McIvor, Kari Chew, and Kahtehrón:ni Iris Stacey note that “new mediums may help [their] language work to be more appealing to and inclusive of youth, diasporic and other community members.”¹⁶¹ The haptic map concept intends to offer an alternative way to learn language outside the classroom and through interactive play. When TEMOSEN and I first discussed the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map’s design we wanted it to appeal foremost to younger language learners, to encourage those new to SENĆOTEN language to be excited about hearing their language in curiosity-building mediums and contexts.

The haptic map concept is complex, interdisciplinary, and when considering maps as texts, as Harley does, intertextual. The *Untitled TETÁĆES* map is a first attempt to learn how to put the haptic map’s various theoretical and methodological elements into practice. As a work of art, however, it is necessarily subject to various interpretations and intends to contribute to broader, ongoing conversations on finding creative ways to co-present, ultimately, different toponymic ontologies in one representational space. As Pearce notes of the creation of the *Coming Home* map, the haptic map concept is not “decolonizing the map,” because at this stage in its development it does little to “deconstruct, dismantle, or critique the colonizing

¹⁶¹ McIvor et al., “Language and Culture as Protective Factors,” 412.

assumptions of the dominant discourse” directly.¹⁶² The *Untitled TETÁĆES* map, as realized through TEMOSEŃ’s design specific to WŚÁNEĆ culture and through the inclusion and privileging SENĆOTEN toponyms—hearing them before English ones—could work toward what Pearce describes as “*Indigenizing the map,*” that is “normaliz[ing] a map of Indigenous sovereignties” as part of a map that represents WŚÁNEĆ lands known also as Canada. TEMOSEŃ and I want to show the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map in a variety of venues. As viewers interact with and respond to the map’s design, we look forward to learning more about which elements have intended effects and which ones require more translation time in the studio—over time, we will like Pearce “learn to say with a map what we feel to be falling through the cracks between words, yet which we know must be said.”¹⁶³

Haptic map practice

This section discusses the practices involved in making the haptic map, especially in its first iteration as the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map. “Ethics” appears in this section because ethical considerations are intrinsic to making any haptic map. Through pictures and writing, the “Construction” section discusses the design and build process of the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map.

¹⁶² Pearce and Hornsby, “Making the Coming Home Map,” 175.

¹⁶³ Pearce, “What Shall We Map Next?,” 336.

Ethics

Ethics is defined here as the principles and conduct followed and applied when working on projects like a haptic map, which in this case is an exploration to find new ways for settler and Indigenous toponyms, namescapes, and ontologies to coexist. The haptic map concept is, like anything made for pedagogical purposes, linked intrinsically to ethical considerations and fundamental among them is to address who is making the map for whom and why. Ethical considerations should guide how settler scholars, allies, and collaborators work at every point in a haptic map process. Ways of working towards reconciliation, whatever that means methodologically or personally, are as important as the outcomes of this work. Ethical approaches can be obvious, as with the need to receive consent to perform experiments involving people, and they can be subtle, especially in the Humanities, which generally does not require ethics applications to conduct academic research.

The haptic map concept, as a cartographic/media project, raises considerations about Western cultural and institutional expectations and biases for what defines a “map.” These are ethical considerations because the relationships established between a “map” and its viewers, as well as places it represents, have typically been informed by WENITEM hegemonic, cartographic, and epistemological norms, such as the assumptions that geocoordinates, cardinal directions, and distances on maps are culturally neutral, objective. Harley observes that maps can be “agents of change” and

“they can equally become conservative documents. But in either case the map is never neutral.”¹⁶⁴ In order to question fundamentally what I produce creatively and academically, I have to question my inherited personal, cultural, and educational assumptions about what maps and toponyms can be. The construction of a haptic map is not an argument, a conclusion, or a theoretical position: it is a practice through which to learn about how better to undertake collaborative contracolonial¹⁶⁵ work through interactive media. Pearce offers a guiding declaration that “I work towards no predetermined outcome, but instead seek to learn what becomes possible.”¹⁶⁶ This is not to imply that Pearce’s work or that of the haptic map process lacks rigor and iterative labour.

In the case of the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map, TEMOSEN and I worked for many months conceptualizing and then making the map, along with time spent discussing the concept with generous people at the First Peoples’ Cultural Council and the WŚÁNEĆ School Board. These explorations and collaborations began with Pearce’s cartographic approach in mind: “I can feel my way forward to a map whose appearance I cannot yet know.”¹⁶⁷ However, given that this work is in part within settler academic institutions, systems, and expectations, it has attendant ethical requirements. I presented the haptic

¹⁶⁴ Harley, “Deconstructing the Map,” 14.

¹⁶⁵ See Part 1 of this “Manifesto” for a working definition of “contracolonialism.”

¹⁶⁶ Pearce, “What Shall We Map Next?,” 334.

¹⁶⁷ Pearce, 336.

map proposal to UVic's Human Research Ethics Board (HREB)¹⁶⁸ and completed the Human Research Ethics Standard Application and the project was approved.¹⁶⁹ As part of the ethics approval process I had to complete the Government of Canada's Tri-Council Course on Research Ethics (TCPS 2: CORE-2022).¹⁷⁰ These ethics review processes took roughly five months to complete.

Occasionally, the ethics review process felt disproportionately complex compared to the relative simplicity of an artistic partnership with TEMOSEN̄. UVic's ethics application language and structure understandably seemed better suited to scientific or social experiments than artistic collaborations. However, working through the ethics application allowed me to refine my project outcomes and to account for aspects of collaborating with TEMOSEN̄ in ways that I had not considered. A comprehensive discussion of the ramifications and processes of a university ethics review is beyond the scope of this paper, but the UVic application experience felt lopsided at times, because the application process itself did not require or invite participation by TEMOSEN̄. Arguably, there is reciprocal value in WENITEM institutions finding ways to include Indigenous Peoples, both outside and within the

¹⁶⁸ Research Services, "Human Research Ethics," University of Victoria, Accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www.uvic.ca/research-services/home/regapproval/humanethics/index.php>.

¹⁶⁹ See Appendix A: UVic Human Research Ethics Standard Application #20-0610 for the application and Appendix B for the Certificate of Approval.

¹⁷⁰ See Appendix C for my TCPS 2: CORE-2022 Certificate of Completion. For more information see Government of Canada, "TCPS 2: CORE-2022 (Course on Research Ethics)," Panel on Research Ethics, <https://tcps2core.ca/welcome>.

academy, in ethics applications that involve Indigenous Peoples. The ethics review process reminds me that paperwork or bureaucratic oversight cannot replace personal trust and intentionality, the reasons for doing work. The process is designed to ensure that settler scholars do not cause harm, at least not in ways that the University's Human Research Ethics Board can foresee and prevent. Because TEMOSEN and I already had a prior relationship of trust, we were able to have conversations over several months in which we worked toward understanding each other's creative and personal intentions before completing the ethics applications, but this prior relationship was a privilege. The haptic map work could also be seen as a burden to TEMOSEN's already busy schedule, and I approached our discussions knowing that our collaboration was not a given. Fortunately, we found a fruitful and energizing artistic connection, but this took coming together regularly at TEMOSEN's studio and had little to do with paperwork. Completing the ethics review process acted as a reminder that, like any technology, these tools and practices are not culturally neutral.

As the *Untitled TETÁCES* map does with its sound units, the haptic map concept is intended to encourage new ways to incorporate various technologies, such as haptic sensors, webpages, GIS coordinates, digital maps, QR codes, and audio recordings, that are all intended to further language teaching, territorial awareness, and Indigenous histories and presences on the land. However, none of these technologies are culturally neutral, regardless of who employs them, and each has the potential to influence

Indigenous Knowledges, heritages, representations and therefore perceptions. Nicole Strathman, in “Digitizing the Ancestors: Issues in Indigenous Digital Heritage Projects,” describes the phenomenon of settler “technological missionaries”: that is, those “academics and activists (although not mutually exclusive) [who] have made efforts to bring their technological talents to collaborate with Indigenous communities in planning, using, and developing [information and communications technologies],” only to leave behind fundamentally unsustainable platforms and technologies and little by way of legacy support.¹⁷¹ Well intentioned as these academics may be, Stratham’s use of the term “missionaries” should serve as warning against continuing colonial violence through the impulse of good intentions.¹⁷² Stratham also questions what “collaboration” means in settler/Indigenous contexts, citing Marina La Salle and Richard Hutchings’s observation that sometimes “collaboration is ‘colonial whitewash’ that is ‘ultimately rooted in cooptation and dependence’ that does little to actually ‘decolonize’ the structures of power.”¹⁷³ What Strathman points to through Salle and Hutchings is the potential for seeming collaboration to become exploitation, particularly in the case of settler academics who

¹⁷¹ Nicole Strathman, “Digitizing the Ancestors: Issues in Indigenous Digital Heritage Projects,” *International Journal of Communication* 13 (2019): 3722, <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A610256054/LitRC>.

¹⁷² Strathman, “Digitizing the Ancestors,” 3725.

¹⁷³ Strathman, 3732.

benefit from the ability to reference the collaboration (and any theories or methodologies developed therewith) in academic publications, but the Indigenous community is effectively left with a piece of (in some cases, proprietary) software that, without sustained involvement from Native and non-Native stewards, becomes unusable to the community.¹⁷⁴

Strathman is not damning of previous or future collaborations between settler academics and Indigenous communities. Rather, Strathman articulates well the ethical vulnerabilities in these kinds of collaborative practices. Stratham’s fundamental driving question needs to be considered throughout any collaborative journey: “Whose interests are being served?”¹⁷⁵ This question informs the haptic map concept and my collaboration with TEMOSEŃ on the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map.

Collaborating with TEMOSEŃ on the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map raised early on another important question: who would own it, and in what ways? The *Untitled TETÁĆES* map is in part a new way to understand namescapes, but it also conveys in TEMOSEŃ’s design—as well as in the horizon-perspective of the arrangeable islands—connections to and representations of WŚÁNEĆ cultural memory, ontologies, and narratives of place.¹⁷⁶ Therefore, it is critical that TEMOSEŃ has complete control over

¹⁷⁴ Strathman, 3732.

¹⁷⁵ Strathman, 3732.

¹⁷⁶ See Appendix E: *Untitled TETÁĆES* Map: Artists’ Statement for more on TEMOSEŃ’s design.

this content and can always choose where and when the map can be exhibited.

Moreover, our early discussions about the map began with the understanding that it could be exhibited only in Tsartlip, Tseycum, and Tsawout Nations' communities and for their members. As a grant-funded student, I was already being compensated for my time on the project and could benefit academically and financially, should I find an academic job based on my collaborative work with TEMOSEN. After TEMOSEN agreed to work on the project, I immediately tried to secure funding to pay TEMOSEN at CARFAC-recommended wages.¹⁷⁷ Of the funding received, roughly 90% goes to TEMOSEN and roughly 10% is for materials.¹⁷⁸ Once work commenced, my primary concern in building the *Untitled TETÁCES* map was to ensure that it would belong to TEMOSEN and not the University. Should the project cease midway, for whatever reason, then TEMOSEN's work needed to be protected—an incomplete *Untitled TETÁCES* map would still belong to TEMOSEN. I drafted a "Haptic Map Agreement" and reviewed it with TEMOSEN. We both signed the agreement and I attached a digital copy to my UVic HREB application.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ See the Canadian Artists' Representation/Le Front des artistes canadiens (CARFAC) website, "Section 4 – 2022 Artist Professional Services Fee Schedule," for more on minimum recommended amounts to pay professional artists for their services: <https://carfac-raav.ca/2022-en/2022-en-4>.

¹⁷⁸ See Appendix C.

¹⁷⁹ See Appendix D: Haptic Map Agreement.

This paperwork satisfied UVic's expectations, but their criteria had a conspicuous absence for addressing the haptic map's potential for ableism in its design. This an ethical consideration, and one that influences the construction of the *Untitled TETÁCES* map. Throughout the design process, TEMOSEN and I discussed ways in which people with disabilities might experience the *Untitled TETÁCES* map. What we chose to do may not address all disability perspectives and experiences; however, we think it is important to incorporate discussions about ableism from the outset and throughout the construction process. We agreed that inclusive design is of creative and practical benefit, not an "accommodation." For example, it happens that making the entrance to the *Untitled TETÁCES* map wide enough for wheelchairs gives the piece an overall aesthetic balance that might not have occurred had we not considered alternative mobilities in our thinking.¹⁸⁰ We intend to incorporate Braille elements as part of the design, when a SENĆOTEN braille code becomes available.¹⁸¹ During our discussions on visual impairment, we realized the extent to which "haptics," as a type of interaction, came with its own assumptions and privileges. We added a QR code to the installation's "Map Guide,"¹⁸² which opens a web page, "Resources for Settlers," on

¹⁸⁰ British Columbia's accessibility requirements state that every doorway should "have a clear width of not less than 850mm," or roughly 33.5 inches. See Office of Housing and Construction Standards, "Building Accessibility Handbook 2020," Government of British Columbia, 2020, 55, https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/farming-natural-resources-and-industry/construction-industry/building-codes-and-standards/guides/2020_building_accessibility_handbook.pdf.

¹⁸¹ As of this writing, there is no braille code available for SENĆOTEN.

¹⁸² See Appendix F.

the WSÁNEĆ Leadership Council's website; this webpage includes a map called "SENĆOTEN Place Names and Reef Net Sites," so that hearing-impaired viewers can read the names of the spoken toponyms heard in the *Untitled TETÁCES* map.¹⁸³ The work of scholar activists Carla Rice, Susan D. Dion, and Eliza Chandler, emphasizes "the multiple ways in which the experience of disability informs and complicates the project of decolonizing."¹⁸⁴ Interactive art projects, like the haptic map concept, must consider disability in their efforts to further Indigenous toponymic resurgence because, as Rice, Dion, and Chandler emphasize, "the rate of disabilities experienced by Indigenous people in Canada is twice that of non-Indigenous people"; they also show that colonization, Indigeneity, education, and non-normativity are woven together systemically.¹⁸⁵

I will certainly continue to encounter my own WENITEM ignorance and biases as I find ways to challenge colonialism in my own ways. This work can be personal and internal, but it can also be cooperative and collaborative. For example, TEMOSEN and I sought feedback and advice through his uncle STOLÇEŁ (John Elliott) on which SENĆOTEN toponyms to use as part of the *Untitled TETÁCES* map project.¹⁸⁶ Dave

¹⁸³ See WSÁNEĆ Leadership Council, "Resources for Settlers."

¹⁸⁴ Carla Rice, Susan Dion, and Eliza Chandler, "Decolonizing Disability Through Activist Art," *Disability Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 2 (2021), <https://dsq-sds.org/article/view/7130/5944>.

¹⁸⁵ Rice, Dion, and Chandler, "Decolonizing Disability."

¹⁸⁶ STOLÇEŁ "is a respected Elder from the WJOLEŁP Tsartlip First Nation who played a pivotal role in the preservation and revitalization of the SENĆOTEN language." See NETOLNEW, "Honouring Dr.

Elliot Sr.'s vital book, *Saltwater People*,¹⁸⁷ published for Saanich's School District 63, lists many SENĆOŦEN toponyms, as does Montler's "SENĆOŦEN Word List,"¹⁸⁸ but it is a matter of respect and ethical responsibility to consider the ways in which these toponyms and others will be used in digital territories and accordingly to ask for permission to use them appropriately. Wemigwans sees the "necessity of having Indigenous communities and non-Indigenous people understand the ethics of Indigenous Knowledge and how it is acknowledged and accessed within Indigenous community protocols, even when found on the Internet,"¹⁸⁹ and these ethics apply to other media. A part of haptic map concept's ethical approach is to acknowledge direct and indirect collaborators appropriately. Direct collaborators are those who work on a haptic map closely and regularly, such as TEMOSEN and Matthew Parlby-Elliott in the case of the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map. Indirect collaborators are those who have made a project possible through their work and legacy. For example, without Dave Elliot Sr.'s *Saltwater People* and Philip Kevin Paul's *The Care-Takers: The Re-Emergence of the Saanich Indian Map*, I would not have access to, or knowledge of SENĆOŦEN toponyms, and Paul's words on WSÁNEĆ approaches to toponyms are vital to growing

Elliott," NETOLNEW: One Mind, One People, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://netolnew.ca/honouring-stolcel-elliott>.

¹⁸⁷ Dave Elliott Sr., *Saltwater People* (Saanich: School District 63), 1983, <https://wsanec.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/saltwater-people-1983-delliott-sr-compressed.pdf>.

¹⁸⁸ Montler, "SENĆOŦEN Word List."

¹⁸⁹ Jennifer Wemigwans, *A Digital Bundle: Protecting and Promoting Indigenous Knowledge Online* (Regina: Regina UP, 2018), 46.

understandings of the differences and interrelationships between settler and WSÁNEĆ namespaces. Rob Hancock, the University of Victoria's LE,NONET Academic Coordinator, and Renée Livernoche, LE,NONET Experiential Learning Coordinator for the Office of Indigenous Academic and Community Engagement, facilitated and welcomed our very colonial-looking table at the 2019 Indigenous Career Fair for Indigenous students in the First Peoples House on campus. This career fair was vital to recruiting Indigenous students for the *Colonial Despatches* project's Victoria-Foundation-funded work to find ways to "decolonize" the project's content and workplace practices. The work we did with Anthony Auchterlonie, Skye Lacroix, Sydney Moore, and Lisa Schnitzler was foundational to my early thinking on the haptic map concept.¹⁹⁰ These people and experiences informed the development of the haptic map concept, and many others deserve more than citations.¹⁹¹ The haptic map concept's methodology strives to emphasize and honour the communities and relationships that make a haptic-map build, like the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map, possible.

Haptic map work requires attention to the ways in which settler cartographic perspectives could further what Margaret Noodin calls "cartographic colonization,"¹⁹² a

¹⁹⁰ See the "Decolonization" section of the *Colonial Despatches* website at <https://bcgenesis.uvic.ca/decolonizing.html>.

¹⁹¹ Please see the Acknowledgments section of this dissertation.

¹⁹² Margaret Noodin, "Wanitoon Ani Mikan Odenang: Anishinaabe Urban Loss and Reclamation," *Urban History Review* 48, no. 2 (2021): 16, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.3138/uhr.48.2.02>.

simultaneous erasure and colonial reframing of Indigenous naming histories and practices. Noodin observes that “as the narratives embedded in cartography show, colonization was a blunt process of forced forgetting and much was lost as names and identities were obliterated, merged or reshaped by foreign imagination.”¹⁹³ As much as the haptic map concept strives to champion Indigenous toponymic resurgence and awareness, it also includes colonial and non-Indigenous toponyms. What looks through some lenses like a rebalancing of toponymic ontologies—through the co-representations of Indigenous and English toponyms—could also look through another lens like a narrative of false toponymic equivalency. The *Untitled TETÁĆES* map, for example, represents the same number of SENĆOFEN and English names, but this balance is not reflected in the BCGNO’s gazetteer, in which English and non-Indigenous-language toponyms of “foreign imagination”¹⁹⁴ far outnumber SENĆOFEN and other Indigenous-language names.¹⁹⁵ Viewers unfamiliar with the extent and degree of colonization’s systematic and systemic Indigenous toponymic erasure might consider the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map to represent a toponymic harmony restored rather than to

¹⁹³ Noodin, “Wanitoon Ani Mikan Odenang,” 27.

¹⁹⁴ Noodin, 27.

¹⁹⁵ For example, “Saanich” is an Anglicization of W̱SÁNEĆ. See “SENĆOFEN Home Page,” First Voices, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://www.firstvoices.com/explore/FV/sections/Data/THE%20SEN%C4%86O%C5%A6EN%20LANGUAGE/SEN%C4%86O%C5%A6EN/SEN%C4%86O%C5%A6EN>. As of this writing, the BCGNIS website is not searchable for toponyms of Indigenous origin. See BC Geographical Names Office, “BC Geographical Names,” accessed November 7, 2022, <https://apps.gov.bc.ca/pub/bcgnws/web>.

contribute to emerging, broader conversations on how to approach toponymic, cartographic, and ultimately land-ownership inequities between the colonial state and First Nations and Indigenous Peoples. The haptic map concept contributes to “expanding dialogue[s]” on finding new ways for cartographies to serve as “potentially useful means of incorporating Indigenous and non-Indigenous conventions in the same map,” and settlers attempting to knit these conventions, which are themselves culturally and situationally specific, need to consider the ethical complexities inherent in this work.¹⁹⁶ The haptic map concept and the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map are ethically complicated in several ways. One of those complications comes from what Western scholars like can me carry into collaborations with Indigenous Peoples and organizations.

In “Settler Allies Are Made, Not Self-Proclaimed,” Tricia McGuire-Adams (from Bingwi Neyaashi Anishinaabek) relates that “processes of white consciousness and socialization are continually reiterated to maintain settler colonialism”¹⁹⁷ and that although “many settler allies are eager to help towards the goal of disrupting racism, a clearer understanding of how best to harness this eagerness is required” for fields that

¹⁹⁶ Margaret Pearce and Renee Louis, “Mapping Indigenous Depth of Place,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 32, no. 3 (2008): 107, <https://doi.org/10.17953/aicr.32.3.n7g22w816486567j>.

¹⁹⁷ Tricia McGuire-Adams, “Settler Allies Are Made, Not Self-Proclaimed: Unsettling Conversations for Non-Indigenous Researchers and Educators Involved in Indigenous Health,” *Health Education Journal* 80, no. 7 (2021): 766, <https://doi.org/10.1177/00178969211009269>.

include toponym and cartography studies.¹⁹⁸ My work on the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map is motivated to find new ways to respond to the W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council's call for all people and institutions that live and operate in W̱SÁNEĆ territories to help the W̱SÁNEĆ Nation "revitalize" W̱SÁNEĆ culture and presence on these lands.¹⁹⁹

As a settler, I read the Council's declarations as an invitation to continue work on the haptic map concept and the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map, in keeping with the McGuire-Adams observations. McGuire-Adams notes that "while settlers carry out colonialism against Indigenous peoples, it is also true that settlers can choose to engage differently by committing to become unsettled settler allies"; they cite several ways in which this commitment can manifest: through "individual critical self-reflection," through "interpersonal relationships," by "taking an unsettling approach to daily life," and "by engaging in transformational solidarity work with Indigenous resurgence movements."²⁰⁰ McGuire-Adam's words speak to the personal nature of what it takes to be an ally. While these approaches apply in Indigenous-settler relationship contexts, they also encourage awareness of broader ethical and inequality issues.

McGuire-Adams contends that "if it takes people to maintain the settler-colonial structure, it will take people to ultimately disrupt it,"²⁰¹ that is, individuals maintaining

¹⁹⁸ McGuire-Adams, "Settler Allies Are Made, Not Self-Proclaimed," 761.

¹⁹⁹ W̱SÁNEĆ Leadership Council, "W̱SÁNEĆ Art Protocol."

²⁰⁰ McGuire-Adams, "Settler Allies Are Made," 766.

²⁰¹ McGuire-Adams, 766.

an awareness of their subject-position and its benefits, biases, and assumptions. The Rochester Racial Justice Toolkit provides a potent and succinct summary of the connections between personal responsibility and broader social- and systemic-justice aims of allyship:

Allyship is not about playing misery poker about who has had it worse than who or creating divisions among groups. It is about fundamentally understanding and recognizing how we move through the world and how we can help dismantle inequalities alongside those that face unjust systems that prevent them from ever having the safety and opportunities you may have.²⁰²

This characterization reflects some ethical considerations explored in this section, which is concerned ultimately with whether and in what ways the haptic map concept and the *Untitled TETÁCES* map dismantle or reinscribe toponymic inequalities. The Toolkit's approach to allyship also applies to the ways in which settler academics move through the cartographic world, to draw on Harley again, as "agents of change" or as "conservative" agents, consciously or not maintaining the cartographic and by extension toponymic status quo.²⁰³ The haptic map concept will change in the hands of others and it is impossible to predict how it might be experienced. However, its first

²⁰² Nicole Nfonoyim-Hara, "Beyond Allyship," Rochester Racial Justice Toolkit, accessed November 7, 2022, <https://thetoolkit.wixsite.com/toolkit/beyond-allyship>.

²⁰³ Harley, "Deconstructing the Map," 14.

iteration in the *Untitled TĒTÁĆES* map reflects one way of working that intends to move cartographic projects ethically up Sherry Arnstein's famous ladder, from degrees of tokenism to degrees of citizen control.²⁰⁴

Construction

*Knowing the place-names and stories of one's homeland is part of knowing one's language and heritage.*²⁰⁵

This section of the "Manifesto" reports on the construction and build process of the haptic map concept's first prototype, the *Untitled TĒTÁĆES* map. In case you are reading this section only, the haptic map is an interactive art-installation concept intended to teach viewers Indigenous and English place names, or toponyms, in new and creative ways. Haptic refers to a sense of touch and position and motion. The *Untitled TĒTÁĆES* map, for example, combines SENĆOŦEN²⁰⁶ and English language toponyms in representations of Salish Sea islands. Moving the islands makes them speak their name aloud in both SENĆOŦEN and English, and in a range of human

²⁰⁴ Sherry Arnstein, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 35, no. 4 (1969): 217, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/01944366908977225>.

²⁰⁵ Karen Heikkilä and Gail Fondahl, "Indigenous Toponyms as Pedagogical Tools: Reflections from Research with Tl'azt'en Nation, British Columbia," *Fennia: International Journal of Geography* 188, no. 1 (2010): 105–22.

²⁰⁶ "SENĆOŦEN Home Page."

voices. The *Untitled TETÁĆES* map features lands and waters in WŚÁNEĆ Territory, known also as the Saanich Peninsula.²⁰⁷ TEMOSEŃ²⁰⁸ and I built the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map over multiple studio sessions that began in June 2022. However, prior to this, we met sporadically for over a year to discuss the map's design before construction began in earnest. This section touches occasionally on the rationale for the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map's design choices, but for a comprehensive look at the theories and thinking behind its design, please see the "Haptic Map Theory" section of this "Manifesto."

As of this writing, the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map is not complete, so what follows is a report on its construction to date. The *Untitled TETÁĆES* map will be presented as part of my PhD defence, in early 2023, but due to the nature of PhD timelines, this paper necessarily precedes the map's completion in order to allow for all PhD committee members to read the written elements of my project prior to my defence. Following the defence, I will post to the Namespace.ca blog both assessed and additional unassessed content, mostly in the form of image galleries and videos, to show in greater detail the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map's construction process.²⁰⁹

Like most art projects, the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map began as a series of sketches. Initially, the map's design evoked a three-dimensional topography exhibit, a variation

²⁰⁷ WŚÁNEĆ Leadership Council, "History & Territory."

²⁰⁸ TEMOSEŃ (Charles "Chazz" Elliott) is an artist from WJOŁEŁP Tsartlip First Nation.

²⁰⁹ See <https://www.namespace.ca>.

on topography maps sometimes seen in museum displays. The plan at the time was to create some kind of representational model of the lands in the immediate area of ŁÁU,WELÑEW/John Dean Park.²¹⁰ This hardly reflects the breadth of WŚÁNEĆ lands,²¹¹ but it placed ŁÁU,WELÑEW at the heart of the map while allowing for a manageable scale of production, as proof of concept.



Fig. 5. Example of a 3D topography map.²¹²

²¹⁰ See BC Parks, “ŁÁU, WELÑEW/John Dean Provincial Park.”

²¹¹ See WŚÁNEĆ Leadership Council, “History & Territory.”

²¹² Waymarking.com, “3D Interactive Map of Maui Island,” accessed November 7, 2022, https://www.waymarking.com/waymarks/wmR6XE_3D_Interactive_Map_of_Maui_Island_Lahaina_Maui_HI.

At the time the map was intended to be carved in wood, ideally of yellow or red cedar, but the relative reduction of scale of landscape features within W̱SÁNEĆ lands would mean that such carving would require a detail too fine to be seen at a distance. In other words, without enough obvious contrast in height between landscape features, such as mountains, sea, and islands, the first haptic map would look from afar more like a table than a three-dimensional landscape. In our early discussions, TEMOSEN suggested that the map could act as a kind of lure, such that when seen from a distance it would entice viewers toward it. In reaction to this idea, I considered wreathing the map in polished copper, intended to evoke bull kelp blades.

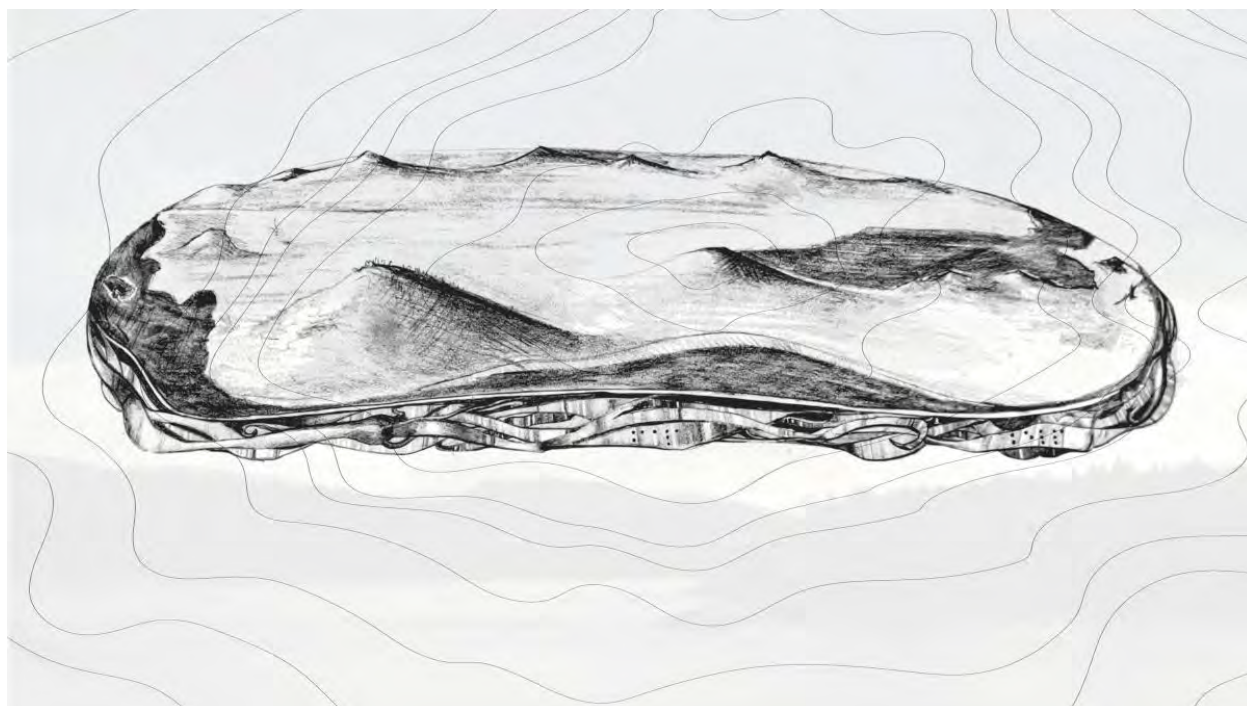


Fig. 6. First conceptual drawing of the “haptic map.” Note the metallic belt wreathing the base, intended to be made of copper and to evoke bull kelp blades.²¹³

²¹³ Kim Shortreed, Photograph, 2021.

Over several design discussions TEMOSEN and I worked through some of the practical considerations for building a tabletop-style map. A wood carving was possible, and we also discussed laser-cutting and then adding small carvings in key feature areas, but this approach introduced other considerations of budget and scale, and it did not feel right to either of us to outsource this important aspect of the map, its topographical element being intrinsic to the map's aesthetic and cultural meanings. During this period, I trialed a few technologies worth noting, starting with a web-app tool by Axis Maps called "Contours" to produce enhanced topographical views of the lands around ŁÁU, WELNEW.²¹⁴ My thinking at the time was to be able to produce something tangible for TEMOSEN to use as a reference for carving. The Contours tool worked well after some tweaking, and it also revealed effectively the relative heights of the landscape features in the region.

²¹⁴ See <https://contours.axismaps.com>.

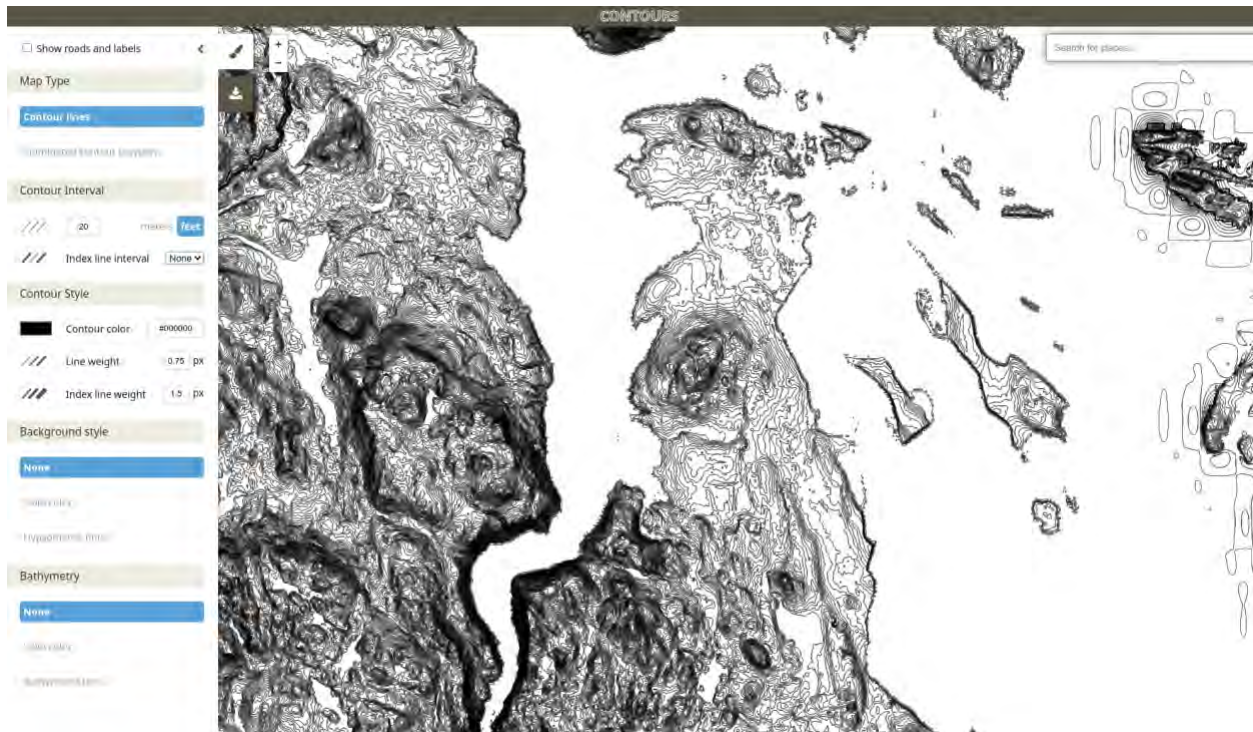


Fig. 7. ŁÁU,WELŃEW, the mountain feature at the centre of this image, and surrounding lands in Axis Maps' "Contours" web-app.

I created a similar output file, but in 3D format, using a combination of free web-app tools: "Terrain2STL"²¹⁵ and a 3D-rendering web-app tool called "Kiri:Modo."²¹⁶ I selected a terrain region around ŁÁU,WELŃEW in Terrain2STL, which generates an exportable stereolithography (STL) file using a Google Maps interface.

²¹⁵ See <https://jthatch.com/Terrain2STL>.

²¹⁶ See <https://grid.space/kiri>.

Terrain2STL Create STL models of the surface of Earth

Terrain

STL Generator
Now with adjustable rectangle shapes!

Location

Model Details

Box Width: 0.08°

Box Height: 0.05°

Box Scaling Factor: 1

Box Rotation (degrees): 0

Vertical Scaling: 1

Water and Base Settings

Instructions

Generate Model Download

Terrain2STL is a free-to-use service, but if you want to help support the site, donations are welcome.

Terrain2STL creates STL files using the SRTM3 dataset from 2000, which has a resolution of about 90 meters on the equator.

Fig.8. Creating a stereolithography (STL) file of the lands around LAU, WELNEW using the “Terrain2STL” web-tool.

Eventually, I imported the STL file into the Kiri:Modo, a 3D-rendering tool. The Kiri:Modo displays a moveable 3D model of the STL file, which can be modified as needed and then be exported as a GCODE file, a type of Computer-Aided Design (CAD) file readable by 3D printers. The plan with this process was to produce a 3D-

printable file that could serve as a guiding-model for TEMOSEN to use while carving, or a file to send to a 3D-printer service if carving it was not possible.²¹⁷

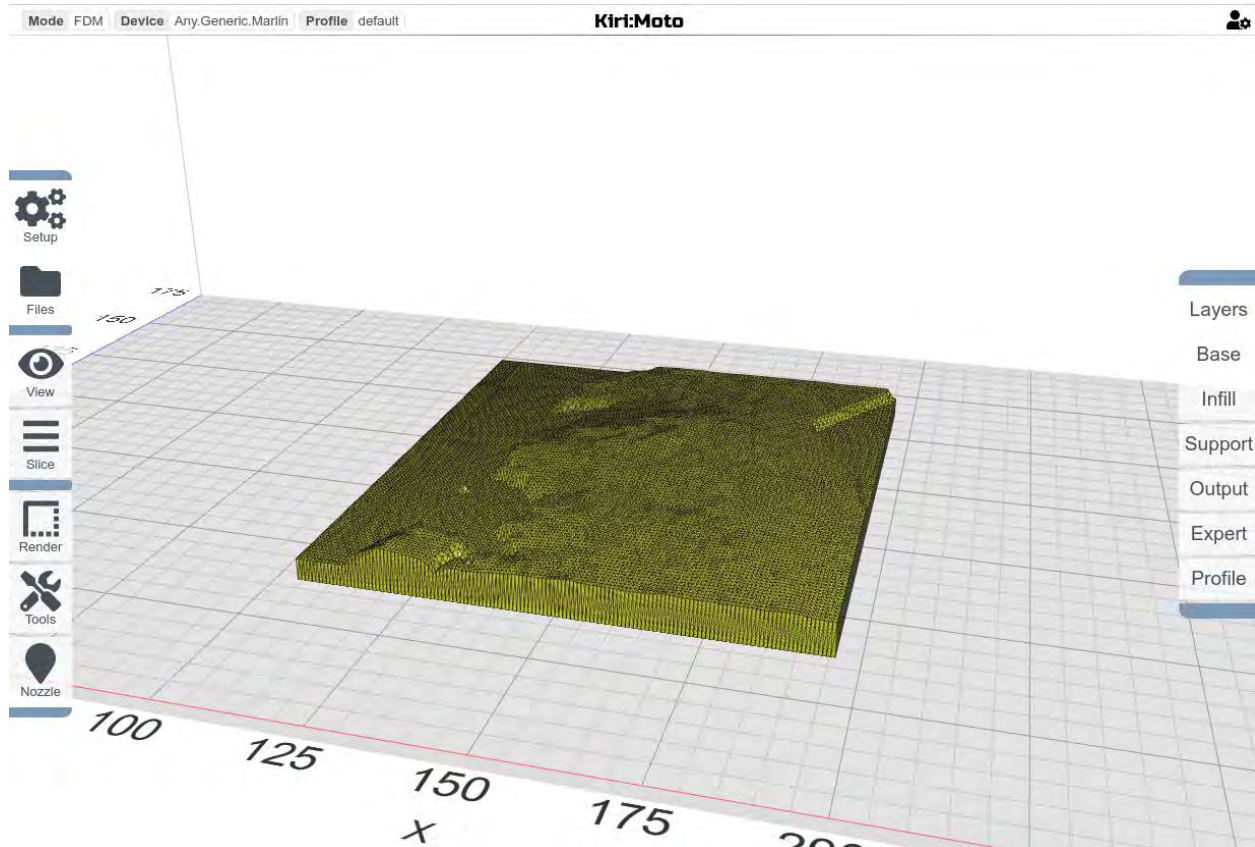


Fig. 9. Creating an exportable CAD file (GCODE) of the lands around ŁÁU,WELŃEWŲ using the “Kiri:Modo” web-tool; the GCODE file is compatible with 3D printers.

While working through this process we both became increasingly uncomfortable with creating a Western-convention map experience, with the viewer placed above the representational terrain, roving over a landscape with a metaphorical “god’s-eye view.” Experientially, we wanted to further a sense of being *in* landscape, not above it. We

²¹⁷ Note that Instructables.com has an excellent tutorial called “3D Contour Map,” which details this process. By coincidence this tutorial uses “the Saanich Inlet on Vancouver Island (BC, Canada)” as its demonstration location. See <https://www.instructables.com/3D-Contour-Map>.

considered the ways in which Western-style maps, especially at a national or regional scale, present a spatial omniscience and we wanted to prod at this notion in some way to see where it could take the design. We discussed ways in which the design could convey a sense of local, natural spaces, but reached no decisions at the time. As it happened, I had been standup-paddle-boarding on local waters a few times a week for about two years, and in all seasons. During a dawn paddle in spring, I witnessed a phenomenon of light in which the islands around me appeared to be floating above the ocean's horizon, cradled from below on a glowing, copper mirage.

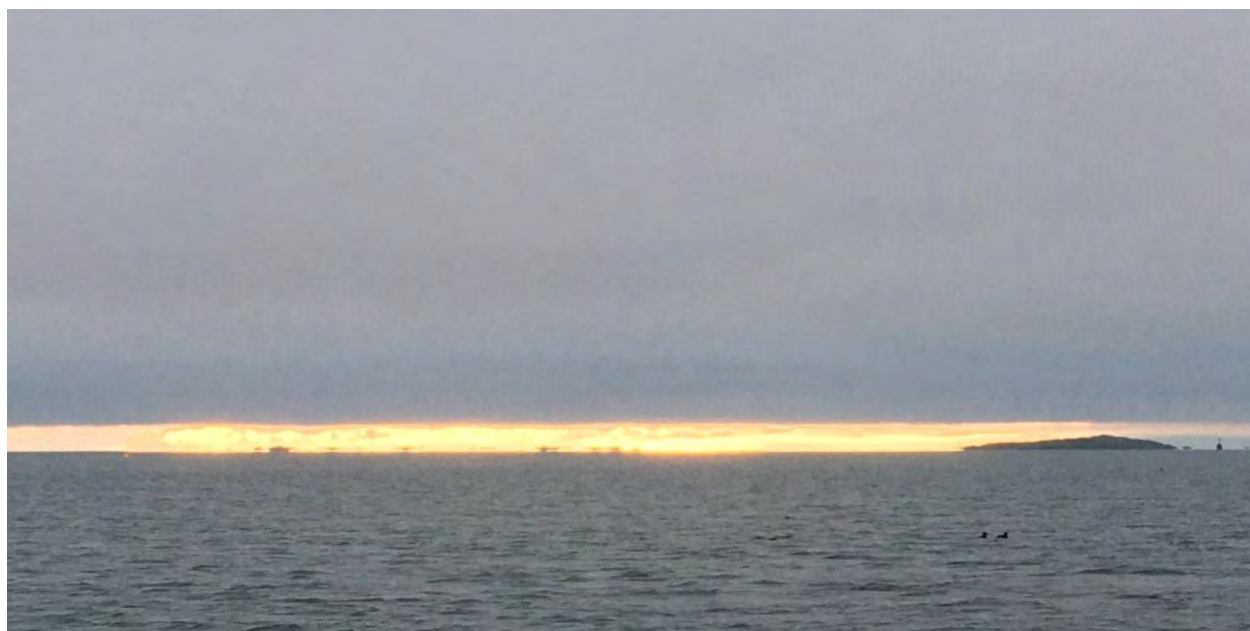


Fig. 10. Salish Sea islands floating on a glowing copper horizon: an image that changed the design of the first haptic map.²¹⁸

²¹⁸ Kim Shortreed, Photograph, 2021.

The floating-islands image lingered thereafter, as did the gratitude for being witness to such a spellbinding horizon. The following morning, I sketched a new approach to the map and showed it to TEMOSEN that same day. At the time of the new-design sketch I had imagined that TEMOSEN might carve representations of map pins, but after meeting about the new design we developed a few new ideas that guided us elsewhere.

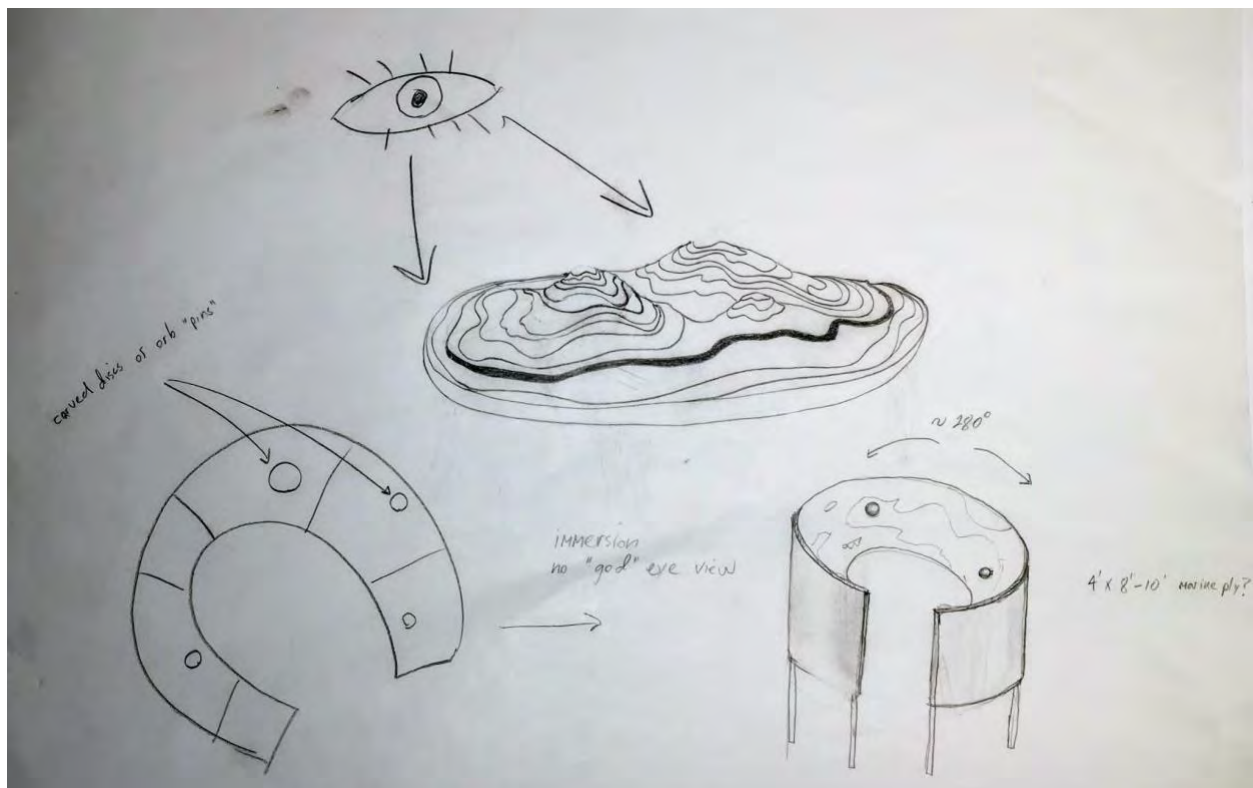


Fig. 11. A sketch to show the move from a “god’s-eye-view” to something more immersive in the model at the bottom-right.²¹⁹

²¹⁹ Kim Shortreed, Photograph, 2021.

TEMOSĒN related that the bracelet shape of the new design evoked goat-horn bracelets, which I had not intended, and we took this aesthetic and symbolic serendipity as a sign to proceed with this new design.



Fig. 12. Examples of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century goat horn bracelets from the Salish Sea and surrounding lands.²²⁰

TEMOSĒN sketched in chalk the ways in which the design, now intended for up to three people to be able to move into, could blend WŚÁNEĆ and Coast Salish cultural motifs with the goat horn bracelet and also provide a sense of being immersed in a view of seascape horizon. We agreed that placing viewers at the centre of the installation

²²⁰ "Bracelet," The British Museum, accessed November 7, 2022, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/E_Am-2294.

introduced a feeling of being within as opposed to above a landscape, and therefore challenged the symbolic sky-down omniscience of typical Western maps.



Fig. 13. TEMOSEN's chalk drawing of the new map design.²²¹

I related my experience with the mirage of the floating islands to TEMOSEN and we then decided to use islands as the vehicles to carry the SENĆOTEN and English toponyms, although at this point in the process we were not exactly sure how this

²²¹ Kim Shortreed, Photograph, 2022.

would work, technically. Further, we decided to use island silhouettes as they would appear to someone standing atop ŁÁU,WELNEW/John Dean Park, a spot of deep meaning and history in WŚÁNEĆ culture.²²² TEMOSEŃ and I then built a maquette, or scale model.

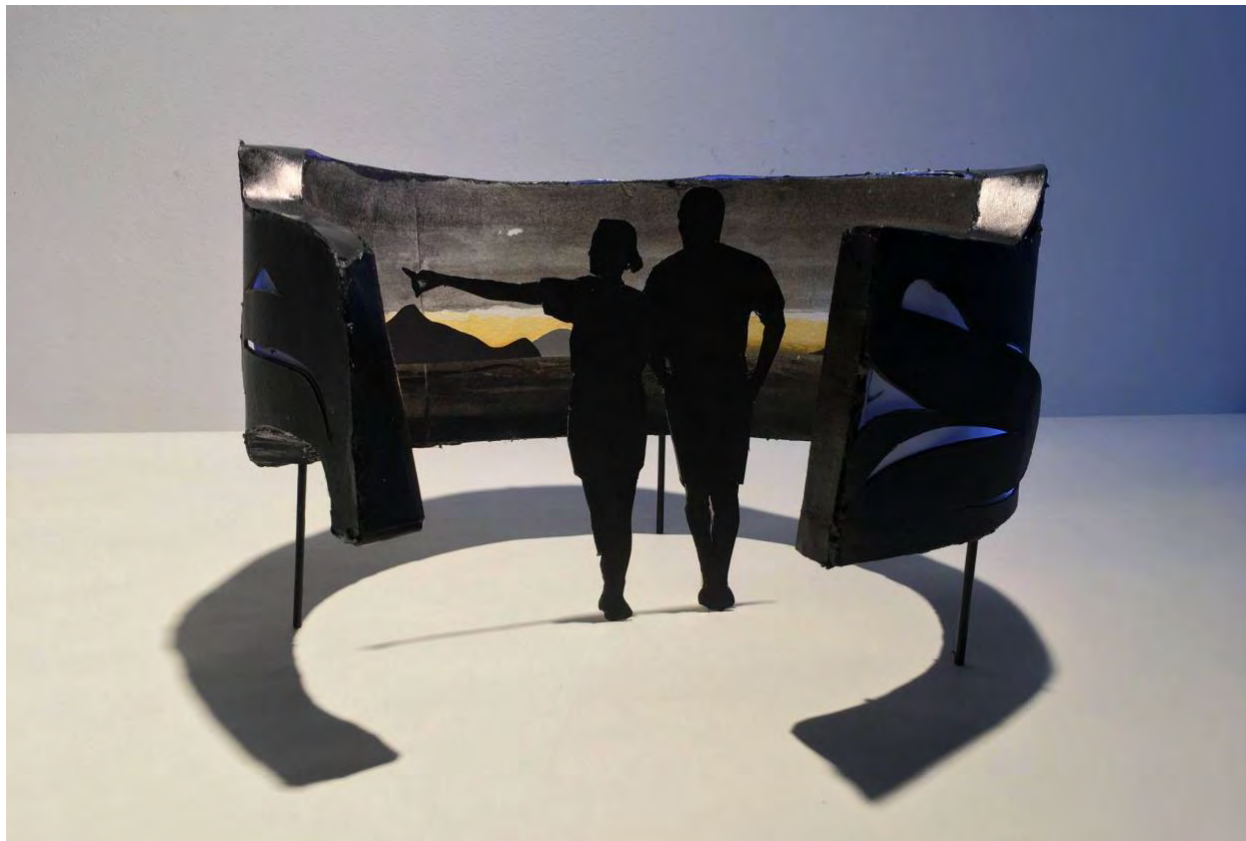


Fig. 14. The first maquette for the *Untitled TETÁCES* map, with a model of viewers to show scale.²²³

Early in our discussions TEMOSEŃ had also suggested that we consider a lighting feature of some kind, such that the installation would look different in a dark room or

²²² See WŚÁNEĆ Leadership Council, “History & Territory.”

²²³ Kim Shortreed, Photograph, 2022.

nighttime, if shown outdoors. We also discussed the possibility of the lighting feature's colours changing in accordance with sunlight hours of its location, shifting gradually to starlight white after sunset. This programmable diurnal feature remains aspirational. For now, we will incorporate LED light strings into the prototype to evoke starlight, as we were both satisfied with the results in the maquette. The outer wall's carving is inspired by traditional Salish goat horn bracelets, which were intricately carved with traditional Salish designs by Coast Salish Peoples.²²⁴

²²⁴ See Appendix E for more details on this aspect of the design.



Fig. 15. Different views of the maquette for the *Untitled TETÁCES* map. Note the lighting features that make the map glow from within.²²⁵

The *Untitled TETÁCES* map's new immersive design allowed for TEMOSEŃ to carve a design and for me to contribute significantly to the construction process. I have

²²⁵ Kim Shortreed, Photograph, 2021.

some amateur shipwright experience and suggested that we build the installation using the stitch-and-glue method.²²⁶ We chose to build in plywood and to use bio-based epoxies where possible. The design concept was now secure enough to begin the construction of the overall frame of the walk-in map space, which is effectively a cylinder with an entrance cut-out. We began by creating two complete circles to serve as the upper and lower “ribs” of the cylinder, then attached outer and inner plywood sheets, the inner layer in 1/8” Meranti plywood and the outer in 1/4” flexible plywood. This was a complex and challenging process in several ways. We had to ensure that the outer and inner plywood layers could be cut such that their ends were relatively the same length at the edges of the cutaway, or entrance, to the installation. We scribed two sheets of plywood with arcs that could be individually cut and then bonded together to create a roughly nine-foot diameter circle.

²²⁶ See Wikipedia, “Stitch and Glue,” in *Wikipedia*, accessed November 7, 2022, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Stitch_and_glue&oldid=1091656390.



Fig. 16. TEMOSEN laying out one of the “ribs” for the *Untitled TETÁČES* map, which are made of overlapped and bonded a pieces of $\frac{1}{8}$ ” plywood.²²⁷

We then had to create the inner and outer walls and bond them to the ribs. As we did not trust this process to measurements alone, we purposefully created the walls to be longer than needed and waited until the dry fit, that is, putting the sheets of plywood together with the ribs without adhesive, to see exactly where the cuts for the entrance should be made.

²²⁷ Kim Shortreed, Photograph, 2022.



Fig. 17. Four sheets of $\frac{1}{8}$ " plywood joined together to form the inside wall of the *Untitled TETÁCES* map, which is almost ten metres in length.²²⁸

²²⁸ Kim Shortreed, Photograph, 2022.



Fig. 18. TEMOSEN (left), with help from artist and fisher Matthew Parlby-Elliott, cutting the entrance to the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map during the dry-fit process.²²⁹

The *Untitled TETÁĆES* map's design has many construction requirements, but foremost it has to be as light as possible, for ease of installation, and at roughly three metres (nine feet) in diameter, it needs to be able to be disassembled for easy transport in the bed of a truck. This need for light weight and large scale meant that the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map build required several people to work together in what was at times a

²²⁹ Kim Shortreed, Photograph, 2022.

very delicate process. I am pleased to report that we have yet to break anything beyond repair and all involved, including Matthew Parlby-Elliott and Ben Olsen, have made the construction process a positive and good-humoured experience. We have more work to complete prior to the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map's confirmed showings, the first as part of my PhD defence presentation and the second as part of a show at Legacy Art Galleries, in the fall of 2023.²³⁰

Here is a brief summary what remains to be completed for the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map and some discussion of our solutions to what we see as any potential problems. The main structure of the map, the curved outer and inner walls, will be epoxied together in three separate sections. These sections will be joined and supported using wooden posts, which will support the installation overall. Once the main structure is complete, we will paint the interior wall with a representation seascape and horizon, to evoke the image of floating islands as see in Figure 10, above. TEMOSEN will carve the design into the exterior wall. We will then add a diffusing material, like white garden cloth, to inside of the exterior wall so that the LED lights we place between the walls will suffuse, looking less like LED lights and more star-like. The garden cloth will also hide the back side of the interior wall, which would otherwise be seen through the carving. The outside wall will be painted ochre in colour to evoke goat-horn bracelets,

²³⁰ See the Legacy Art Galleries website at <https://www.uvic.ca/legacygalleries>.

as shown in Figure 12, above. Next, we will create the six islands intended to represent the silhouettes of six islands in the Salish Sea, as if seen from atop ŁÁU, WELNEW/John Dean Park – we may create more islands in the future, but we will start with six in order to show a proof-of-concept for the design.

Each island will be built from 1/8" plywood and their curves must match that of the interior wall, otherwise the islands will not fit against the surface properly. Some of the islands will fit together like puzzle pieces to reflect how they appear as overlapped against a real-world horizon, and each will be painted a different shade, from black to light-grey to evoke their relative distances against the same. To adhere the islands to the inside wall, yet allow them to be moved, we trialed the use of magnetic paint and the attachment of magnets to the islands. The magnetic paint was not strong enough to suit our design, so we will be installing a lightweight metal mesh, the kind used in garden-soil sifters, against the back side of the interior wall and then attaching appropriately strong rare-earth magnetics to the back of each of the islands; it will be a trial-and-error process to determine the appropriate magnetic strength for each island because as they are not uniform in size.

The islands will require the installation of six sound units, with attached battery packs and motion sensors. A small hole will be cut in the back of each island to allow the motion sensor to detect motion when the islands are moved. In addition, we will be making and uploading audio recordings of spoken SENĆOTEN and English toponyms

to each of the sound units. We are working with Tye Swallow, Language Revitalization Coordinator for the WSÁNEĆ School Board, to create recordings of spoken SENĆOTEN toponyms and the spoken English toponyms will be recordings of friends and family.

The *Untitled TETÁCES* Map: Artists' Statement (see Appendix E) and the *Untitled TETÁCES* Map Guide (see Appendix F) will be present prominently wherever the map is displayed. Each of these documents contains QR codes that link to content related to the *Untitled TETÁCES*, including a Google Maps tour of the islands featured in the map, and a link to a SENĆOTEN place names map hosted on the WSÁNEĆ Leadership Council's website.²³¹

Haptic map futures

The haptic map concept remains a work in progress and its first iteration in the *Untitled TETÁCES* map prototype has provided, through its construction process, a chance to research, collaborate, and create a map predicated on aesthetic relational sites for human interactions and narratives in WSÁNEĆ territory. The *Untitled TETÁCES* map is a type of "un-map" in part because it privileges human interactive experience over the need to provide locational information. The *Untitled TETÁCES* map places

²³¹ See SENĆOTEN Alliance and Ecotrust Canada, "SENĆOTEN Place Names and Reef Net Sites," WSÁNEĆ Leadership Council, <https://wsanec.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/sencoten-place-names-map-4-min.jpg>.

SENĆOTEN and English languages, and WŚÁNEĆ and WĒNITEM toponyms, in conversation with the following intentions: (1) to show that SENĆOTEN toponyms are part of living WŚÁNEĆ namespaces informed by WŚÁNEĆ spatial narratives; (2) to encourage viewers to reflect on the ways in which they construct a sense of spatial location in WŚÁNEĆ territory; and (3) to symbolize that if Indigenous and settler namespaces can coexist harmoniously in an “artscape,” then it might be possible for these namespaces to coexist more harmoniously than they do now on our shared landscapes. The *Untitled TĒTÁĆES* map represents a contrapuntal cartography insofar as it “involves a strategic revoicing of the subdominant” WŚÁNEĆ namespace in order “to make it equal to the dominant” WĒNITEM namespaces presented typically on settler maps and gazetteers.²³² As the first example of a haptic map concept, the *Untitled TĒTÁĆES* map also tries toponymically to “orchestrate a balance that can potentially edify and educate an audience about the power relations of culture[s]”²³³ as Indigenous and settler cultures continue to negotiate together toponymic and broader forms of reconciliation.

The haptic map concept and the *Untitled TĒTÁĆES* map prototype intend to encourage other communities to make similar “maps/un-maps” for their lands and regions. The Namespace blog shows the work that TEMOSEN and I put into the *Untitled*

²³² Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 226.

²³³ Said, 226.

TETÁĆES map, which has a visual, cultural, and creative specificity to our process and location(s), but the blog also conveys design principles, approaches, and technologies that could be built upon by others to imagine something unique to their lands. Like all art projects, the haptic map concept and the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map are subject to multiple interpretations. It will be interesting to observe public reactions to the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map, should we be able to exhibit it in multiple venues. TEMOSEN and I both hope that building the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map will inspire conversations about the interrelationships of space, place, and reconciliation in WSÁNEĆ and other territories throughout the Salish Sea. We can imagine a group show in which multiple versions of haptic maps gather to encourage broader conversations on toponyms while providing opportunities for public learning of languages, namescapes, and territories in new ways.

We WENITEM must challenge ourselves to find new ways to promote Indigenous-language learning and novel approaches to mapping and toponyms can be a part of these efforts. Language of place is best learned in place, on the lands of its cultural origins. The haptic map concept could never replace the value of being on the land, but it intends to make a map feel closer in feeling to *being* in place, not merely observing it on a two-dimensional map. I gratefully credit a conversation with Tye Swallow that led to one way to build the haptic map concept into local landscapes. Tye asked if I thought about installing the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map in outdoor venues and

mentioned some local parks. This conversation led to imagining robustly built, solar-powered, interactive audio-information displays located discreetly in places of cultural interest or significance in parks in the Salish Sea, whereby locals and tourists alike could hear Indigenous and settler place names and stories of the lands around them. These displays would offer an alternative to the usual printed signs, with the benefit of hearing human voices pronounce place names in culturally appropriate ways—perhaps hearing voices would do something to humanize our understandings of place a more than the printed word could. This concept is aspirational, but entirely possible with current technologies.

For now, the future of the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map is to show it in as many venues as possible. TEMOSEN and I plan to make more interactive art together and so we are both interested to see how people react to and learn from the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map. When the haptic map journey began, I could not have imagined that it would have been built, or that I would have the privilege and joy of working alongside TEMOSEN and Matt in their amazing studio. Perhaps the most powerful future for the haptic map concept is in the work it can continue to do to pair intentions for toponymic justice with creative and practical outcomes and to inspire more thinking about, as Harley says, the

ways in which “maps can reinforce and legitimate the status quo” and to find novel ways to make them “agents of change” for our shared namespaces.²³⁴

²³⁴ Harley, “Deconstructing the Map,” 14.

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Appendix A: UVic Human Research Ethics Standard Application #20-0610

Human Research Ethics Standard Application #20-0610

A. Research team

1. Principal investigator (faculty, faculty supervising a student or post-doctoral researcher)

Principal Investigator is a faculty member, adjunct professor or sessional instructor. For more information please see the [annotated guidelines](#).

If the project has more than one Principal Investigator (other than you) or more than one Principal Applicant, their names should be listed under section A.3 Research Team Members.

PI name

PI department

PI department. If more than one department, the department you are doing the research for.

PI position

PI position at UVic

2. Principal applicant (students & post-docs)

For further information about the distinction between the Principal Investigator and Principal Applicant, please see the [annotated guidelines](#).

A Principal Applicant is an undergraduate student, graduate student or post-doctoral fellow who will be the lead researcher (for their thesis, dissertation, project, etc.) for this study. A Principal Applicant will be granted "View and edit" access by default, and will receive notifications related to the study. If the project has more than one Principal Applicant, the additional individuals should be listed under section A.3 Research Team Members.

Does this application have a principal applicant (UVic student or post-doc conducting this research for their academic degree)?

PA name

PA email

PA department

PA position

PA phone

PA graduate secretary's email (if the principal applicant is a graduate student. Leave blank otherwise.)

englgradsec@uvic.ca

Is the principal applicant conducting this research for their academic degree at UVic?

Yes





3. Research team members

Individuals and organizations involved in conducting your research. This includes co-principal investigators, additional principal applicants, co-investigators, other UVic students, assistants (paid or unpaid), community organizations, and clients. Team members listed will have "no access" to application as a default. You cannot assign access to team members without Netlink ID. If they need a Netlink ID go to the [Affiliate Identity Management System](#) and click on the 'Sponsor' tab to start the process. Once you get the Netlink ID you have to re-enter their name and give access permission to the application.

List all current research team members (including any UVic students or research assistants who will use the received data or biological materials to fulfill UVic thesis, dissertation, or academic requirements) and assign level of access to the application. Inclusion here satisfies only UVic institutional requirements. If you grant "View and Edit" access to more than one person, be aware that the system will not notify users if and when others are making edits to the application.

DO NOT add the PI or PA to this table as that will cause technical permission issues.

Access:  View and edit project  View only  Receive notifications  Contribute funding

Name	Email	Role in the project	Institutional affiliation				
Alexandra D'Arcy	adarcy@uvic.ca	ethics advisor	UVic	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

B. Project information

1. Project title

Title for your research project. You may not submit two applications with the same title.

Contracolonial Practices in Digital Storyscapes

2. Anticipated duration of the project

a. Anticipated start date for recruitment/data collection

The approximate start date to begin recruitment and data collection for your project should take into account the time it will take to complete and submit this application form and the period of four to six weeks required for ethical review. It is a violation of University of Victoria policy to begin recruitment and data collection before receiving HREB ethics approval.

Upon approval

b. Anticipated end date for your research project

An approximate end date for recruitment and data collection.

July, 2022

3. Is this application linked to one that has been recently submitted to the UVic Human Research Ethics Board?

No

4. Geographic location(s) of the study

Haptic map installation: WSÁNE territories (Saanich) on southern Vancouver Island, Canada.

Audio recordings: WSÁNE territories (Saanich) on southern Vancouver Island, Canada.

Blog content: global Internet.

5. Keywords to categorize your research

toponyms

settler studies

interactive art

Indigenous toponyms

C. Project funding

1. Have you and/or research team members (their names must be listed under section A. Research team) applied for or been awarded funding for this project?

This information is used to permit the release of funds and to ensure proper reporting of research ethics approval to funding agencies. Please ensure the information in this table is correct.

No

2. Will this project receive funding from the US National Institute of Health (NIH)?

No

3. If you are a faculty member and have indicated above that you have applied for external funding, have you submitted a Research Application Summary Form to the Grants or Contracts unit in the Office of Research Services?

You must submit a research application summary form to the grants or contracts office every time you apply for external funding. Provide explanation, if you haven't done so.

Not applicable

Comments

Haptic map installation: I have attached a funding-request document (see attached) intended to raise cash and in-kind contributions to pay for construction supplies, with 90% of the funding going directly to pay artist Chazz Elliott (see sections H & J).

Audio recordings: As of this writing, any use of existing MP3 audio recordings, or new recordings, will be provided as an in-kind contribution (dollar value TBD) from the WSÁNE School Board.

Blog content: the blog content, as part of my PhD dissertation work, is funded by a Joseph-Armand Bombardier Canada Graduate Scholarship, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, 2018-2021 (105K value). I also received President's Research Scholarships (total value of \$8K) for 2018/19. From September 2021 onward, I am funded by the University of Victoria's English Department (12K annually).

D. Multi-jurisdictional research

1. Will this research be conducted under the auspices of another academic institution or health authority in BC (e.g. recruiting through their sites/departments/listservs/poster placement, etc.; involving staff, patients, health records; research team member affiliation)? The [checklist](#) may be useful, if unsure.

Research Ethics BC harmonized review (a single coordinated review with the other institution(s) listed) applies if A) you will be conducting research under the auspices of any of the institutions listed in [REBC](#) website (involving staff, patients, health records, sites and/or recruitment through their sites, including recruitment via poster placement), and/or B) when members of your research team consist of faculty, staff and students from any of the REBC institution(s).

No

2. Does the proposed research require Research Ethics Board (REB) approval from outside BC?

No

3. If this is a multi-jurisdictional research, please indicate your role in the research project (Check all that apply).

If you answered "Yes" to question D.1 please STOP completing this form and contact HRE office ethics@uvic.ca, 250-472-4321 or 250-472-4545 as soon as possible.

Recruiting Participants

Collecting data

Analyzing data (with or without identifiers collected by you and/or your UVic research team members)

Analyzing data that contain identifiers: data to be collected by non-UVic research team members as outlined in this application

Analyzing data that does not contain identifiers: data to be collected by non-UVic research team members as outlined in this application

Dissemination of results via publications, reports, conferences, internet, etc.

Other

4. Additional information

E. Other approvals and consultations

1. If additional request(s) for permission/approval are required please complete the section below (check all that apply)

Other approvals and consultations	Yes, approval uploaded	Yes, will provide as received	No approval required
a. School district, superintendent, principal, teacher			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
b. Health authorities outside BC involving staff, patients, health records, sites and/or recruitment through their sites (including recruitment via poster placement)			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
c. Other regional government authority			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
d. Community group (e.g. formal organization, informal collective)			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
e. UVic Biosafety Committee approval			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
f. Other approval		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	

Please upload proof of having made request(s) for permission or any permission/approval documents that you received. Please forward approvals upon receiving them. Be assured that ethics approval may be granted prior to receipt of external approvals.

Comments

Haptic map installation: Artist Chazz Elliott and I signed the attached "Haptic Map Agreement" document, which details the expectations and commitments of all parties.

Audio recordings: the map installation may use audio files (MP3) of spoken toponyms. The WSÁNE School Board owns the rights to these audio files. Chazz Elliot and I are meeting with the WSÁNE School Board in January to get feedback from Elders on ideal candidates for the 12 SENOEN we propose to use, and I have verbal confirmation from Tye Swallow, Facilitator Language Revitalization WSÁNE School Board, that Tye will facilitate the creation of any new recordings (for the sake of audio clarity) of spoken toponyms. Any new recordings will be conducted, recorded, and owned by the WSÁNE School Board. It may be that I will receive an email of approval from Tye Swallow, following a meeting with WSÁNE School Board Elders, which I can upload to this file, or pass on as needed.

Blog content: As with the haptic map installation, Chazz Elliott and I signed the attached "Haptic Map Agreement" document, which details the expectations and commitments of all parties for the blog-content.

F. Scholarly review

1. What type of scholarly review has this research project undergone?

- External peer review (e.g. granting agency)
- Supervisory committee or supervisor - required for all student research projects
- None
- Other

G. Researcher(s) qualifications

1. In light of your research methods, the nature of the research, and the characteristics of the participants, what training, qualifications, or personal experiences do the principal investigator, the principal applicant, and/or your research team members have?

E.g. research methods course, language proficiency, committee experience, training on the equipment to be used.

The following addresses my qualifications for the haptic map, audio file, and blog elements, which are all ultimately interrelated. I have worked to incorporate Indigenous content and perspectives into the Colonial Despatches (CD) project (see <https://bcgenesis.uvic.ca>) for the last several years. The CD project applied and received a 30K grant from the Victoria Foundation. Grant funds went to Indigenous students, through the invitation for the CD project to have an information table at the 2019 Indigenous Career Fair at UVic's the First Peoples House, to work toward "decolonizing" the CD project's content; this "decolonizing" work was informed, in part, by the stated aims of my successful Joseph-Armand Bombardier Graduate Scholarship for 2019-2021. I was the

defacto project manager, instructor, and technical, research, and writing mentor for 4 Indigenous students during the Victoria Foundation grant term (1 year). My Victoria Foundation grant experiences built on some of the pro-d courses I took while a UVic employee, and furthered my overall professional goals and personal desire to emphasize anti-racist work in my daily life, and scholarly practice; the pro-d courses are as follows: "How-to-Seminar" Seminar (UVic English Department, 2018), Indigenous Cultural Acumen Training (UVic, 2017), Awareness and Prevention of Workplace Bullying, Harassment and Discrimination (UVic, 2017), Mediation in a Box (UVic, 2016), Creating Spaces: Reflections on Privilege and Power (UVic Equity Office course, 2016), Intercultural Conflicts (UVic Equity Office course, 2016), Dimensions of Diversity (UVic Equity Office course, 2015), Student Mental Health Literacy Program, levels 1 & 2 (UVic, 2015 & 2016), Issues in Large Project Planning and Management (DHSI course, 2009). In addition to hands-on ethical and collaborative work, I have the technological background necessary to construct a working prototype of the "haptic map," an interactive art and language-learning installation. I have a history of fabrication and building in wood, metals, fiberglass, and tool-use for the same. I am trained in drawing and art, both digital and analogue, and so I feel comfortable creating mockups, sketches, and other visual representations of the installation. I worked as a Business Analyst at UVic, from 2014-2018, which taught me about requirements gathering, information management and dissemination, project management, and interpersonal mediation across varying levels of departments and areas of expertise. I have experience researching and writing about toponyms, working with geocoordinates, and editing, and publishing hundreds place-name entries for the CD project (see <https://bcgenesis.uvic.ca/places.html>). I also have skills in audio recording and editing (original music and podcasts), should the WSÁNE School Board require my input, and I have web-technology skills to add text, audio, images, and video to the Blogger platform, having taught two semesters of ENGL 401: Web Design. Finally, I have completed the following graduate courses, all of which in some way apply to the thematic, ethical, historical, research, and technological aspects of working on the haptic map installation: Textual Studies and Methods of Research (ENGL 500); Literary Computing and Representation (ENGL 503); British Columbia Literature (ENGL 585); Content and Process Modeling in Digital Literary Studies (ENGL 503); North American Environmental Literature (ENGL 590, Special Studies); Paper Computers (ENGL 590, Special Topic in Digital Studies); Literatures of the West Coast (ENGL 582); Studies in Commonwealth and Postcolonial Literatures, Special Topic: "Radical Intertextuality and Postcolonial Studies" (ENGL 581); and Public History (HSTR 515A).

2. Tri-Council Policy Statement - [TCPS2 CORE Tutorial](#) requirements

All UVic graduate students conducting research with human participants for their UVic project, thesis or dissertation are required to complete the Course on Research Ethics (CORE Tutorial) and provide evidence of ethics training by uploading a CORE completion certificate under this section.

List all current UVic graduate students (also listed under A.2 and A.3) involved in this research project for their UVic project, thesis or dissertation, and upload their Course on Research Ethics (CORE) tutorial certificate(s), if available. This CORE certification is required as of September 1, 2020 for new applications - see the [human research ethics](#) web page for more information.

Name	Email	Role in the project	CORE tutorial completion date
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Comments

Attached below.

H. Research Involving the First Nations, Inuit and Métis Peoples of Canada

The [TCPS2 \(chapter 9\)](#) is designed to serve as a framework for the ethical conduct of research involving Aboriginal (including First Nations, Inuit and Métis) or Indigenous peoples, regardless of where they reside or whether or not their names appear on an official register. Its purpose is to ensure, to the extent possible, that research involving Indigenous peoples is premised on respectful relationships and encourages collaboration and engagement between researchers and participants.

This Policy acknowledges the role of the community in shaping the conduct of research that affects First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples. The nature and extent of community engagement should be determined through discussion with, and under the advisement of, the relevant community, taking into account relevant characteristics and protocols and the nature of the research.

The [University of Victoria Indigenous Plan](#) recognizes that research with Indigenous communities or involving Indigenous peoples must be conducted in a respectful and culturally appropriate manner, following protocols regarding entering community sites, engaging with communities, Elders and Knowledge Keepers, acknowledging cultural knowledge and cultural property, and disseminating research findings.

1. Conditions of the research

a. Will you be conducting research that is situated on any of the following kinds of lands or waterways: First Nation reserves, Indigenous settlements, Indigenous lands under self-government agreements, territories with Indigenous land claims agreements, or other lands designated by Federal, Provincial, or local governments as Indigenous territory?

Yes

Provide details

Haptic map installation: for the building of the haptic map, I am working with Chazz Elliott (see https://wsanec.com/avada_portfolio/temoseng-chazz-elliott/) in his art and carving studio in the WJOEP (Tsartlip) community (see <https://maps.fpcc.ca/content/w%CC%B1jo%C6%9Ae%C6%9Ap-tsartlip>). This is not "conducting research," as I understand it, but getting together to talk ideas about the directions for the haptic map installation, and then working together on the map's construction (see attached Haptic Map Agreement document).

Audio recordings: I am working directly with Tye Swallow and the WSÁNE School Board to use existing audio recordings of spoken SENOËN place names. This work will put me in contact with WSÁNE School Board Elders, who will decide whether or not

we can use the files (12 place names, TBD) as part of the haptic map installation.

Blog content: part of the blog's content-gathering will take place in Chazz Elliot's studio in the WJOEP (Tsartlip) community (see attached Haptic Map Agreement document).

b. Do any of the criteria for participation include belonging to an Indigenous nation, community, group of communities, or organization, including urban Indigenous populations?

No

c. Does the research seek input from participants regarding Indigenous cultural heritage, cultural practices, artifacts, Indigenous or traditional knowledges, or distinct characteristics of Indigenous experience or reality?

Yes

d. Will Indigenous identity or membership in an Indigenous community or group (e.g. Métis Nation) be used as a variable for the purposes of analysis?

No

e. Will the results of the research make specific reference to Indigenous communities, homelands and/or waterways, peoples, languages, histories or cultures?

Yes

2. Indigenous engagement

a. Processes and protocols for engagement differ across communities, organizations, committees, and groups, as well as across different research contexts. Describe the process that you have followed with respect to Indigenous engagement.

Include any documentation of collaboration (e.g. formal research agreement, letter of approval, email communications, advisory committee, mentorship, etc.) and the role or position of those consulted (e.g. Elder, Knowledge Holder, governing body, Chief, etc.), including their names, if appropriate.

I relate this as a personal chronicle because this reflects my process and approach to the work, and it emphasizes the interpersonal connections that have led to my "Indigenous engagement." I began this PhD journey over 5 years ago, by consulting my friend Dr. Rob Hancock, Assistant Professor and IACE Associate Director Academic at UVic, First Peoples House. At the time, I was thinking of ways to "decolonize" the Colonial Despatches (CD) project, and to make this type of work as a possible focus of a PhD. I also consulted with Dr. Dawn Smith [Sii-yaa-ilth-supt], Nuuchahnulth from Ehattesaht, Facilitator TTW, and Education Developer CETL, about settler allyship approaches to support Indigenous priorities, perspectives, and histories in post-secondary spaces. Dawn and Rob inspired my successful SSHRC application, entitled "Learning to Indigenize the Digital: Decolonizing the Colonial Despatches." By my second year of study, Rob put me in touch with Renee Livernoche, LE, NONET Experiential Learning Coordinator. Thanks to Renee, the CD project was invited to an Indigenous career fair at First Peoples House. The career fair connected with students who would eventually work on the "decolonization" project, funded by the Victoria Foundation, to find ways to "decolonize" the CD project's content and database. At this time, too, I met Jon Rabeneck, who works for the First Nations Health Authority. Jon was curious about what we were trying to do at the CD project and he and I have collaborated since then on non-academic projects. As I worked alongside the students, I was considering ways to engage settlers with the Indigenous lands, toponyms, and perspectives. Following many conversations with the students, it became clear to me that words are not enough: I would need some way to employ curiosity and positive defamiliarization to foster alternative paths to allyship and Indigenous-toponym awareness, and an art-installation of some kind seemed a vehicle to make this happen. After refining my thinking and ideas, I mentioned the "haptic map" plan to Jon Rabeneck, and he suggested that I meet with Chazz Elliott (see section J). I met with Chazz at his studio. Chazz agreed to work on the map, and we've been in regular contact about it ever since. I needed approval to use the MP3 files of spoken SENOEN place names. Sydney, one of the Victoria Foundation students, asked me to be a reference for a job at the First Peoples' Cultural Council. The CD project had previously partnered with the FPCC (see section G for details), so some contacts there knew me already, but not in the context of my PhD work. Thanks to Sydney, I was able to ask some questions about who best to consult with regards to possibly using some MP3 files from the First Voices website (see <https://www.firstvoices.com/>). Sydney set up a meeting with some key folks at the FPCC, and I was introduced to Kyra Borland, Language Technology Programs Coordinator and Glenn Jim, Language Revitalization Coaches main contact--Glenn is also directly involved in education projects at the AU, WELEW Tribal School. I had a long conversation with Glenn about my idea for the map and Glenn put me in touch with Tye Swallow, who works directly with Elders on the WSÁNE School Board. Tye was openly supportive of the map project and asked that Chazz and I meet with School Board Elders, over Zoom, to pitch the map idea and to get permission to use 12 place-name audio files, and to suggest which 12 places might be preferred. Tye did not foresee any impediments to using the MP3 files, and went further to offer that if the audio files were not of a high enough quality for the display, then he (Tye) would arrange to have 12 place names re-recorded. As of this recording, Chazz and I plan to meet with with School Board Elders in January, 2022.

b. Explain how Indigenous community members will be meaningfully involved throughout the research process, from research design to knowledge sharing.

Outline the plan, as developed with the community, for the outcomes of the research, including research data ownership, sharing, storage, and governance.

Haptic map installation: Chazz Elliot will fabricate the main, visual features of the "haptic map," that is, the conceptual topographical elements. Essentially, the map's look, feel, materials, and scale is entirely of Chazz's making. Chazz, who also carves what settlers might call "traditional" work, has expressed excitement about incorporating various technologies into his art. I will work with Chazz, as needed, to construct the installation.

Audio recordings: Chazz and I will be consulting directly with community Elders on the use of up to 12 SENOEN toponyms. Elders on the WSÁNE School Board will be encouraged but not expected to suggest any particular toponyms to be incorporated into the map. The WSÁNE School Board already owns the usage rights to the existing MP3 files, and so they are already responsible for their storage and data ownership. Once the haptic map has been displayed as part of my dissertation defense, I intend for it to be the property of Chazz Elliott, who will, thereafter, decide how best to exhibit it. To ensure that Chazz maintains exclusive rights to his work (see attached Haptic Map Agreement).

Blog content: Chazz will be consulted on the blog posts that mention his work, and the process of building the map. Chazz will be invited to suggest content changes prior to any blog posts that discuss his work.

c. If you have answered "yes" to any of the questions in H.1 but have not yet engaged with the community, committee, organization, or group, please explain why not and outline how you plan to conduct a study that respects Indigenous communities and participants in the absence of prior engagement.

This is explained above.

3. Comments

I. International research

1. Will this study be conducted in a country other than Canada?

No

J. Description of research project

1. Briefly describe in non-technical language

a. The research objective(s) and question(s)

Haptic map installation: the haptic map installation is motion-activated art-object that plays audio clips of spoken toponyms, in SENOEN and English, of the WSÁNE Territory/Saanich Peninsula, respectively. The map will represent landscape contours and features, but it will not have any roads, signs, buildings, or the usual Western Anglo, or WENITEM, cartographic marks. This prototype will feature the spoken audio of 12 toponyms that have both SENOEN and English names. SENOEN is an Indigneous language spoken in WSÁNE territories, in the Salish Sea, including what settlers call the Saanich Peninsula. This map will invite people to engage aesthetically and physically with a representational topography by interacting with installation's topographic features to listen to what they are called. As of this writing, I am working with Chazz Elliott (Temoseng) (see https://wsanec.com/avada_portfolio/temoseng-chazz-elliott/) on the project. The plan is for Chazz to fabricate the map and for me to help out where needed and assemble the various map components, such as the motion sensors, base, and other physical components.

Audio recordings: the audio clips of spoken SENOEN toponyms will be incorporated into the map by way of 12, individual, motion-activated hardware units that each comprise of a motherboard, motion sensor, and speaker. MP3 audio clips will be loaded onto the units as one would for transferring files onto a USB data stick. The hardware units will be installed in various locations on the haptic map installation. The MP3 audio clips will be sourced from original recordings produced by members of the WSÁNE School Board and SENOEN speakers. I will record audio clips of any spoken English toponyms and load them onto the hardware units in the manner described above.

Blog content: I will write a blog, at namespace.ca, that discusses the creation of the haptic map, the thinking behind it (conceptually, aesthetically, educationally, and ethically) and details the processes involved in the map's creation, such that future readers who wish to build something similar can learn from our collaborative work. The blog will post writing, images, video, and audio, and each post will be written for a Public Humanities audience. I will publish a maximum of 10 posts of roughly 1,000 words in length each. The blog will also discuss Chazz Elliott's work, our interactions and collaborations, as well as provide resources, in the form of HTML links, to related work and content. Note that these blog posts will be evaluated by my supervisory committee prior to publishing to the namespace.ca website.

b. The importance and contributions of the research

Haptic map installation: the haptic map has two, broad aspirations: to invite curiosity about how we experience connections to place through landscape and place names, and to provide new ways to learn orally about SENOEN and settler namespaces through curiosity and play. Indigenous toponyms are becoming more present in the non-Indigenous zeitgeist every year, with changes to park and street names, for example, and increased stories in the settler media about Indigneous toponyms; there are growing calls in popular media for British Columbia to change it's name (see <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/bc-name-change-1.6126983>). My research, in part, reflects my attempt to find a way to respond to this call from the WSÁNE Leadership Council: "[T]he WSÁNE Leadership Council asks all government institutions, private companies, and individuals operating within WSÁNE territory to help the WSÁNE Nation in their efforts to revitalize WSÁNE culture and re-establish a WSÁNE presence on WSÁNE lands." The haptic map is a multifaceted knowledge mobilization tool that offers new ways to understand "place" and landscape aesthetically, historically, and culturally; the haptic map also represents an attempt to explore positive loci to harmonize Indigenous and settler namespaces, and, by extension, ontological perspectives and understandings.

Audio recordings: in providing aural toponyms, the maptic map's audio clips will contribute to SENOEN language-learning and will represent, symbolically and practically, one way to experience SENOEN and English toponyms, and to understand these

toponyms as equally important, contextually, as opposed to how toponyms are administered and presented in the BC Geographical Names Office, which currently designates "official" settler place names as distinct from "traditional" Indigenous place names.

Blog content: this blog will be of value to those who wish to make similar language-learning installations in their communities. I will provide links to technology resources and I will detail the creation process in plain language. Moreover, this blog is written from the point of view of a settler attempting to find ways to engage in issues of "decolonization" in creative and personally meaningful ways. I will provide blog posts that ask settlers to consider their subject-position and to encourage a spirit of engaged allyship.

c. If applicable, provide background information or details that will enable the Research Ethics Board to understand the context of the study when reviewing the application

The following applies to my work on the haptic map, audio recordings, and blog content: broadly, my role in this process is inspired in part by what Paige Raibmon calls "transformational listening," a way for settler to approach working with and about Indigenous Peoples, what I think of as "contracolonial" work: "transformational listening" is "a transformative experience of learning and unlearning [. . .] it requires that we bring intellectual patience and cultural humility to all the learning situations in our lives, not just those that occur in school." I would add, too, that settlers, especially those in privileged positions, like mine, learn to get out of the way and find ways to support and champion Indigenous voices in both scholarly and non-scholarly contexts. The thinking behind the haptic map is informed by the aims of "Public Humanities" to promote "knowledge exchange" across "diverse publics" (see UBC's Public Humanities page: <https://publichumanities.ubc.ca/about/what-are-the-public-humanities>). The haptic map intends to open a co-cultural door for Chazz's work to inform Indigenous and settler viewers about WSÁNE toponymies and connections to place, land, and identity, and to recontextualize settler namespaces as being within and connected to Indigenous namespaces. The haptic map is one way to showcase creatively the interrelationships between Indigenous and settler presences in WSÁNE territory, through an interactive and aesthetic method--a way of learning, as Sir Ken Robinson argues "when you are present in the current moment, when you are resonating in the excitement of this thing you are experiencing" (see <https://filmenglish.files.wordpress.com/2010/12/transcript-sir-ken-robinson.pdf>).

K. Recruitment

1. Participant details

Provide details of your participants

a. Briefly describe the target population(s) for recruitment

Ensure that all participant groups are identified (e.g. group 1 - teacher, group 2 - administrators, group 3 - parents).

n/a

b. Why is each population or group of interest?

n/a

c. What are the salient characteristics of the participants for your study (e.g. age, gender, ethnicity, class, position, etc.)?

List all inclusion and exclusion criteria you are using.

n/a

d. What is the desired number of participants for each group?

n/a

2. Recruitment and process

Provide details of your recruitment process

a. List all source for information used to contact potential participants

E.g. personal contacts, listserves, publicly available contact information, etc. Clarify which sources will be used for which participant groups.

n/a

b. List all methods of recruitment

E.g. in-person, by telephone, letter, snowball sampling, word-of-mouth, advertisement, etc. If you will be using "snowball" sampling, clarify how this will proceed (i.e. will participants be asked to pass on your study information to other potential participants?). Clarify which methods will be used for which participant groups.

n/a

c. If you will be using personal and/or private contact information to contact potential participants (as stated above), have the potential participants given permission for this, or will you use a neutral third party to assist you with recruitment?

Note that this is not a concern when public and/or business contact information is used.

n/a

d. Who will recruit/contact participants?

E.g. researcher, assistant, third party, etc. Clarify this for each participant group.

n/a

e. List and explain any relationship between the members of the research team (including third party recruiters or sponsors/clients of the research) and the participant(s) (e.g. acquaintances, colleagues)

Complete section 3 (Power relationship) if there is potential for a power relationship or a perceived power relationship (e.g. instructor-student, manager-employee, etc.). If you have a close relationship with potential participants (e.g. family member, friend, close colleague, etc.) clarify the safeguards that you will put in place to mitigate any potential pressure to participate.

n/a

f. In chronological order (if possible) describe the steps in the recruitment process

Include how you will screen potential participants, where applicable. Consider where in the process permission of other bodies may be required.

n/a

Please upload all the supporting documents relevant to the recruitment methods identified in this section

Examples of supporting documents: email recruitment script, poster, invitation letter, etc. Where draft versions are uploaded please ensure that final versions are submitted when available. If final versions differ significantly after you have obtained research ethics approval, you will need to submit a Request for Amendment.

3. Power relationship (dual-role and power-over)

If you are completing this section, please refer to the guidelines for ethics in dual-role research for teachers and other practitioners and the [TCPS2, article 3.1](#) and [article 7.4](#).

Are you or any of your co-researchers in any way in a power relationship, including dual-roles, that could influence the voluntariness of a participant's consent? Could you or any of your co-researchers potentially be perceived to be in a power relationship by potential participants?

Examples of "power relationships" include teachers-students, therapists-clients, supervisors-employees and possibly researcher-relative or researcher-close-friend where elements of trust or dependency could result in undue influence.

No

L. Data collection methods

1. Data collection methods

Use the following sections in ways best suited to explain your project. If you have more than one participant group, be sure to explain which participant group(s) will be involved in which activity/activities or method(s).

If this research will/may include in-person activities during the global pandemic, you must fulfill the requirements supporting in-person research with human participants. Please complete relevant section of the application and appendices with the information outlined in the current UVic Human Research Ethics COVID-19 Bulletin, under the human research ethics [webpage](#).

a. Which of the following methods will be used to collect data? Check all that apply

If this research will/may include in-person activities during the global pandemic, you must fulfill the requirements supporting in-person research with human participants. Please complete relevant section of the application and appendices with the information outlined in the current UVic Human Research Ethics COVID-19 Bulletin, under the human research ethics [webpage](#).

i) Interviewing participants

If this research will/may include in-person activities during the global pandemic, you must fulfill the requirements supporting in-person research with human participants. Please complete relevant section of the application and appendices with the information outlined in the current UVic Human Research Ethics COVID-19 Bulletin, under the human research ethics [webpage](#).

ii) Administering a questionnaire or survey

iii) Administering a computerized task (describe in section L.1b and/or upload documents)

iv) Observing participants. In section L.1b describe who and what will be observed. Include where observations will take place. If applicable, upload an observational collection sheet for review.

v) Recording of participants and data

Audio

Video

Photos or slides

Note taking

Flipcharts

Data collection sheets (upload)

Other

Refers to information/data that was originally gathered for a purpose other than the proposed research and is now being considered for use in research (e.g. patient or school records, personal writings, lesson plans, etc.).

vi) Using human samples (e.g. saliva, urine, blood, hair)

vii) Using specialized equipment/machines (e.g. ultrasound, EEG, prototypes, etc.) or other (e.g. testing instruments that are not surveys or questionnaires)

viii) Using other testing equipment not captured under other categories

E.g. artifacts, paintings, drawings, photos, slides, art, journals, writings, etc.

ix) Collecting materials supplied by, or produced by, the participants

Please specify

Haptic map installation: Chazz Elliott will produce the material fabrication work for the map.

Audio files: the WSÁNE School Board will provide MP3 audio files, as either existing or newly recorded files, and I will receive them either as email attachments (to my uvic.ca email account) or download them from a cloud-storage location provided by the WSÁNE School Board.

Blog content: I will record original content (images, video, or audio) of the map-making process in Chazz's studio and at my studio. I will also use the world wide web (Internet) to source content such as links to applicable resources and I will cite sources from the Internet as required.

Refers to information/data that was originally gathered for a purpose other than the proposed research and is now being considered for use in research (e.g. patient or school records, personal writings, lesson plans, etc.).

x) Analyzing secondary data or secondary use of data

xi) Other

b. Provide a sequential description of the procedures/methods to be used in your research study

Be sure to provide details for all methods checked in section L.1. Clarify which procedures/methods will be used for each participant group. Indicate which methods, if any, will be conducted in a group setting. List all of the research instruments and interview/focus group questions, and append copies (if possible) or detailed descriptions of all instruments. If not yet finalized, provide drafts or sample items/questions..

If using a web program (online surveys, video conferencing etc.) with a server located in the United States (e.g. SurveyMonkey), or if there are other reasons that the data will be stored in the US (e.g. use of US-based cloud technology, sharing data with US colleagues, etc.), you must inform participants that their responses may be accessed via the U.S. Freedom Act. Please add the following to the consent form(s): "Please be advised that this research study includes data storage in U.S.A. As such, there is a possibility that information about you that is gathered for this research study may be accessed without your knowledge or consent by the U.S. government, in compliance with the U.S. Freedom Act."

Haptic map installation: throughout the map's creation, I will be in regular contact with Chazz to discuss project direction and outcomes. Once complete, Chazz will provide me with his portion of the completed map-installation, which I will then assemble either at this studio (with permission) or at my own.

Audio recordings: for the audio recordings of spoken place names, I will work with Tye Swallow directly to receive the files. I will also work with Tye to receive files of any and all newly recorded place name audio files: these new audio recordings will be

recorded and stored by the WSÁNE School Board. Tye will share any files with me in accordance with WSÁNE School Board policies.

Blog content: I will draft blog posts and, when applicable, discuss posts with Chazz and get approval (as per attached Haptic Map Agreement) for future publishing. All posts will be vetted by my supervisory committee, and will then be published to the namespace.ca (Blogger platform).

c. Where will participation take place for each data collection method/procedure?

Provide specific location (e.g. UVic classroom, private residence, participant's workplace). Clarify the locations for each participant group and/or each data collection method.

Haptic map installation: any work conducted by Chazz Elliott will take place in his studio in the Tsartlip First Nation community.

Audio recordings: the WSÁNE School Board: 7449 W Saanich Rd, Brentwood Bay, BC V8M 1R3.

Blog content: blog-content research about some aspects of the map will take place in Chazz Elliott's studio in the Tsartlip First Nation community.

d. For each method, and in total, how much time will be required of participants?

Clarify this for each participant group, each data collection method, and any other research related activities.

Haptic map installation: Chazz Elliott will be working on the fabrication of the map sporadically over the course of several months.

Audio recordings: The spoken toponym audio-files that require new recordings will take roughly one hour per toponym, for a total possible time of 12 hrs.

Blog content: roughly 5 hours of interaction and conversation about the blog posts relevant to Chazz's work on the haptic map.

e. Will participation take place during participants' office work/hours or instructional time?

No

2. Data collection materials checklist

Data collection methods checklist

- Standardized instrument
- Survey
- Questionnaire
- Interview and/or focus group questions
- Observation protocols
- Other

Please make sure that you have uploaded all the documents relevant to this section. Add any other documents that you think may be relevant to this section.

Where draft versions are appended please ensure that final versions are submitted when available. If final versions differ significantly after you have obtained research ethics approval, you will need to submit a Request for Modification.

M. Possible benefits, inconveniences, and risks of harm to participants

1. Benefits

Identify any potential or known benefits associated with participation and explain below

Keep in mind that the anticipated benefits should outweigh any potential risks.

- To the participants
- To society
- To the state of knowledge

Please explain

Haptic map installation: I predict several benefits to the participants, in this case, Chazz Elliott and the broader WSÁNE community. For Chazz, this is an opportunity to work with different media and to incorporate specific technologies into his work.

Should the map end up in the ÁU, WELEW Tribal School, for example, students will have another way to connect place names to place, through the topographic representations presented in the map.

Audio recordings: for SENOEN-language learners, the haptic map will provide an aural and interactive way to learn SENOEN toponyms, and therefore language. Settler audiences will also learn to pronounce some SENOEN toponyms, and learn that familiar English-language place names have SENOEN counterparts. The map's attempt to harmonize and co-present SENOEN and English toponyms represents one way, practically and symbolically, to promote broader examples of shared Indigenous-settler relationships to place, and to further knowledge of Indigenous presences and histories on the lands represented in the map.

Blog content: the blog will serve as a technological and ethical-considerations resource for Indigenous and non-Indigenous readers. The blog will provide further public-exposure for Chazz's artistic portfolio. The blog will also provide practical resources for others who wish to build their own versions of interactive, language-learning art installations.

2. Inconveniences

Identify and describe any known or potential inconveniences to participants

Consider all potential inconveniences, including total time devoted to the research.

Haptic map installation: n/a

Audio recordings: n/a

Blog content: n/a

3. Level of risk

The [TCPS 2 article 6.12](#) definition of "minimal risk research" is as follows: 'Research in which the probability and magnitude of possible harms implied by participation in the research is no greater than those encountered by the participant in those aspects of their everyday life that relate to the research.'

Based on this definition, do you believe your research qualifies as 'minimal risk research'?

Yes

Explain your answer with reference to the risks of the study and the vulnerability of the participants

Haptic map installation: regarding the TCPS2, "For the purposes of this Policy, "minimal risk" research is defined as research in which the probability and magnitude of possible harms implied by participation in the research are no greater than those encountered by participants in those aspects of their everyday life that relate to the research." I am working with Chazz Elliott, who already fields art projects and initiatives from a cross-section of the public, both settler and Indigenous, and so the haptic map is in keeping with Chazz's established artistic practices and processes.

Audio recordings: the spoken toponym audio-files are already in the settler and Indigenous public domains, and the WSÁNE Leadership Council has already made knowledge mobilization around language a priority: "[T]he WSÁNE Leadership Council asks all government institutions, private companies, and individuals operating within WSÁNE territory to help the WSÁNE Nation in their efforts to revitalize WSÁNE culture and re-establish a WSÁNE presence on WSÁNE lands" (see WSÁNE Leadership Council, "WSÁNE Art Protocol," WSÁNE Leadership Council (blog), accessed March 9, 2021, <https://wsanec.com/4482-2>).

Blog content: n/a, as Chazz Elliot already has a public-facing Internet presence that discusses his artistic work.

4. Estimate of risks of harm

Potential risks of harm	Very unlikely	Possibly	Likely
a. Emotional or psychological discomfort, such as feeling demeaned or embarrassed due to the research	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		
b. Fatigue or stress	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		
c. Social risks, such as stigmatization, loss of status, privacy and/or reputation	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		
d. Physical risk such as falls	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		
e. Economic risks (e.g. job security, salary loss, etc.)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		
f. Risk of incidental findings (see article 3.4 of the TCPS 2 for more information)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		
g. Other risks	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		

Consider the inherent foreseeable risks associated with your research protocol and complete the table below by selecting the options that best fit the potential risks listed below. Be sure to take into account the vulnerability of your target population(s) if applicable.

If other risks, please specify

5. Possible risks of harm

If you indicated in item 4 (a) to (g) that any risks of harm are possible or likely, please explain below

a. What are the risks?

I.e. elaborate on risks you have identified above.

b. What will you do to try to minimize, mitigate, or prevent the risks?

c. How will you respond if the harm occurs?

I.e. what is your plan?

d. If you have indicated that there is a risk of incidental findings in item 4 (f), please outline your proposed protocol for information and /or action

e. If one of your participant groups could be considered vulnerable, please describe any specific considerations you have built into the protocol to address this

6. Risk to researcher(s)

Does this research study pose any risks to the researchers, assistants and data collectors?

7. Deception

Will participants be fully informed of everything that will be required of them prior to the start of the researcher session?

If not, complete the [Request to use Deception](#) form on the ORS website

N. Incentives, reimbursement and compensation

1. Is there any incentive, monetary or otherwise, being offered for participation in the research (e.g. gifts, honorarium, course credits, etc.)?

Explain the nature of each incentive and why you consider it necessary

Also consider whether the amount or nature of the incentive could be considered a form of undue inducement or affect the voluntariness of consent. Clarify which participant groups will be provided with which incentives.

2. Is there any reimbursement or compensation for participating in the research (e.g. for transportation, parking, childcare, etc.)?

3. Explain what will happen to the incentives, reimbursement or compensation if participants withdraw during data collection or any time thereafter

E.g. compensation will be pro-rated, full compensation will be given, etc.

If Chazz were to withdraw from the work, he will be paid for his time to the date of withdrawal.

nb. I include this information here not because Chazz is a research participant but because he is supporting the work with his talents and expertise.

O. Free and informed consent

Consent encompasses a process that begins with initial contact and continues through to the end of the research process. Consult article 3.2 of the [TCPS 2](#) and appendix V of the guidelines for further information.

1. Participant's capacity (competence) to provide free and informed consent

Capacity refers to the ability of prospective or actual participants to understand relevant information presented about a research project, and to appreciate the potential consequences of their decision to participate or not participate. See the [TCPS 2, chapter 3, section C](#), for further information.

Identify your potential participants (check all that apply)

a. Competent

- i) Competent adults
- ii) A protected or vulnerable population (e.g. inmates, patients)
- iii) Competent youth aged 13 to 18
- iv) Competent children under 13 (who are able to provide fully informed consent)

b. Non-competent

- i) Non-competent adults
- ii) Non-competent youth
- iii) Non-competent children (young children and/or children with limited abilities to provide fully informed consent)

2. Means of obtaining and documenting consent and/or assent:

Check all that apply

When completing this section make sure that you consider all of your participant groups, upload copies of relevant materials and complete section O3.

Signed consent

Upload consent form(s) in section O.5 or section S - see [template](#).

- Verbal consent
- Letter of information for implied consent (e.g. anonymous, mail back or web-based survey)
- Signed or verbal assent for non-competent participants
- Other means
- Consent will not be obtained
- Signed consent from the parents/guardians for youth/child participants
- Information letters for the parents/guardians of youth/child participants

3. Informed consent

Describe the exact steps (chronological order) that you will follow in the process of explaining, obtaining, and documenting informed consent

Ensure that consent procedures for all participant groups are identified (e.g. group 1 - teachers, group 2 - parents, group 3 - students). Be sure to indicate when participants will first be provided with the consent materials (e.g. prior to first meeting with the researcher?). If consent will not be obtained, explain why not with reference to the [TCPS 2 articles 3.5 and 3.7](#).

Haptic map installation:

1. Meet with Chazz to discuss my need to obtain informed consent, and answer any questions he may have about the process.
2. Show Chazz the agreement/consent document and discuss any questions he may have, prior to signing.
3. Chazz and I to sign the consent/agreement document and I will provide digital and/or hardcopies of said document for Chazz.
4. Upload the signed document to UVic servers and attach the signed document to this application.

Audio recordings:

1. For existing audio files (on the First Voices website) and new recordings, I will obtain permission in writing from Tye Swallow, or the WSÁNE School Board to use the MP3 files as discussed.

Blog content:

1. Meet with Chazz to discuss my need to obtain informed consent, and answer any questions he may have about the process.
2. Show Chazz the agreement/consent document and discuss any questions he may have, prior to signing.
3. Chazz and I to sign the consent/agreement document and I will provide digital and/or hardcopies of said document for Chazz.
4. Upload the signed document to UVic servers and attach the signed document to this application.

4. Ongoing consent

Will your research occur over multiple occasions or an extended period of time (including review of transcripts)?

Yes

Describe how you will obtain and document ongoing consent

If consent procedures differ for each group or activity, please clarify each group or activity that you are referring to.

Haptic map installation: Chazz's artistic work, over the predicted months of making the map's artistic elements, is iterative and ongoing, and I will be consulting with him throughout the process as he requires.

Audio recordings: n/a, as once consent is given, the files will be in use and there will be no need to contact the WSÁNE School Board about future consent.

Blog content: this will not require ongoing consent, formally (see attached Haptic Map Agreement), but I will be chronicling, in text and images, our collaborative artistic work, as we make the map. Chazz will be given the option to review each post that mentions him, prior to publishing to the live site. Note, too, that although I will be drafting blog posts as we make the map, the posts will be published at once, following Chazz's review, and the review of my supervisory committee.

5. Participant's right to withdraw

[Article 3.1](#) of the [TCPS 2](#) states that participants have the right to withdraw at any time and can withdraw their data and human biological materials.

a. Describe what participants will be told about their right to withdraw from the research at any time (i.e., who to contact and how)

If compensation is involved, explain what participants will be told about compensation if they withdraw. If you have different participant groups and/or different data collection methods, clarify the different procedures for withdrawing as necessary.

Haptic map installation: the attached Haptic Map Agreement notes that "3. Chazz can withdraw from any and all work on the haptic map at any time." Note, too, that the predicted amount paid to Chazz (see attached funding-request) is a financial amount in keeping with Chazz's established rate for such work, and I do not consider this amount to represent and undue inducement.

Audio recordings: n/a, as use of the audio files it is at the exclusive consent of the WSÁNE School Board.

Blog content: the attached Haptic Map Agreement allows me to discuss partially completed work that mentions Chazz's name: "4. Kim can write about the making of the map on the namescape.ca blog, this includes mentioning Chazz Elliott's name and posting media, (text, images, video, audio) about the build process of the incomplete or completed map. This blog content may remain in the public domain in perpetuity or until Kim removes it, with Chazz's permission."

b. What will happen to a person's data if they withdraw part way through the study or after the data have been collected/submitted?

If applicable, include information about visual data such as photos or videos. If you have different participant groups and/or different data collection methods, clarify the different procedures for withdrawing as necessary. Ensure this information is included in the consent documents.

Participant will be asked if they agree to the use of their data

Describe how this agreement will be documented

Haptic map installation: see the attached Haptic Map Agreement document, but Chazz has exclusive rights to how and where and for how long the installation, partial or complete, is stored.

Audio recordings: n/a, as use of the audio files it is at the exclusive consent of the WSÁNE School Board.

Blog content: content mentioning partial or incomplete creation of the map will feature on the namespace.ca blog, as discussed in this clause of the Haptic Map Agreement: "6. Kim can write about the making of the map on the namespace.ca blog, this includes mentioning Chazz Elliott's name and posting media, (text, images, video, audio) about the build process of the incomplete or completed map. This blog content may remain in the public domain in perpetuity or until Kim removes it, with Chazz's permission."

- It will not be used in the analysis and will be destroyed
- It is logistically impossible to remove individual participant data (e.g. anonymously submitted data)
- When linked to group data (e.g. focus group discussions), it will be used in summarized form with no identifying information

Please make sure that you have uploaded all the documents relevant to this section. Add any other documents that you think may be relevant to this section.

Where draft versions are appended please ensure that final versions are submitted when available. If final versions differ significantly after you have obtained research ethics approval, you will need to submit a Request for Modification.

P. Anonymity and confidentiality

1. Anonymity

Anonymity means that no one, including the principal investigator, is able to associate responses or other data with individual participants.

- a. Will the participants be anonymous in the data gathering phase of research?

No

- b. Will the participants be anonymous in the dissemination of results (be sure to consider use of video, photos)?

No

If anonymity will not be protected and you plan to identify all participants with their data, provide the rationale below

Haptic map installation: Chazz Elliot's name will be on or presented alongside the haptic map installation and credited as its co-creator.

Audio recordings: the WSÁNE School Board's name will be on or presented alongside the haptic map installation and credited as a contributor.

Blog content: Chazz Elliott's name WSÁNE School Board's name will be mentioned in my blog, namespace.ca, which details various aspects the haptic map's creation.

2. Confidentiality

Confidentiality means the protection of the person's identity (anonymity) and the protection, access, control and security of their data and personal information during the recruitment, data collection, reporting of findings, dissemination of data (if relevant) and after the study is completed (e.g. storage). The ethical duty of confidentiality refers to the obligation of an individual or organization to safeguard entrusted information. The ethical duty of confidentiality includes obligations to protect information from unauthorized access, use, disclosure, modification, loss or theft.

- a. Are there any limits to protecting the confidentiality of participants?

Yes, there are some limits to the researcher's ability to protect the confidentiality of participants (check all that apply)

E.g. focus groups. The researcher cannot guarantee confidentiality.

- Limits due to the nature of group activities

The nature or size of the sample from which participants are drawn makes it possible to identify individual participants (e.g. school principals in a small town, position within an organization).

- Limits due to context

The procedures for recruiting or selecting participants may compromise the confidentiality of participants (e.g. participants are identified or referred to the study by a person outside the research team).

- Limits due to selection

E.g. legal or professional.

Limits due to legal requirements for reporting

E.g. when there will be data storage in the United States. When using USA based data instruments and data storage systems researchers are responsible for determining if this applies.

Limits due to local legislation such as the U.S. Freedom Act

Other

Please specify

Haptic map installation: the installation, for the purposes of my dissertation presentation, will take place in a publicly accessible venue, and I cannot protect entirely from other people or organizations manipulating or reproducing this content in other media.

Audio recordings: as above, WSÁNE School Board's audio recordings will appear as part of my dissertation presentation, which will take place in a publicly accessible venue, and I cannot protect entirely from other people or organizations manipulating or reproducing this content in other media.

Blog content: the namespace.ca blog is hosted on a public-facing Internet platform (Blogger), and so I cannot protect entirely from other people or organizations manipulating or reproducing this content in other media.

b. If confidentiality will be protected, describe the procedures to be used to ensure the anonymity of participants and for preserving the confidentiality of their data (e.g. pseudonyms, changing identifying information and features, coding sheet, etc.)

If you will use different procedures for different participant groups and/or different data methods be sure to clarify each procedure.

n/a

c. If there are limits to confidentiality indicated in section P.2.a, explain what the limits are and how you will address them with the participants

If there are different procedures for different participant groups and/or different data collection methods, be sure to clarify each procedure.

Haptic map installation: see this section in the attached Haptic Map Agreement: "8. The dissertation presentation takes place in a publicly accessible venue, and Kim or the University of Victoria are not responsible for what other people, organizations, or technologies do to and with the haptic map installation."

Audio recordings: n/a, as permissions for use will be set by the WSÁNE School Board and I will upload any signed, consent documentation accordingly.

Blog content: see this section in the attached Haptic Map Agreement: "6. As the namespace.ca blog is free and public-facing on the Blogger platform, Kim is not responsible for what other people, organizations, or technologies do to and with the content posted to the blog."

Q. Data management

1. Use(s) of data

a. What use(s) will be made of all types of data collected (field notes, photos, videos, audiotapes, transcripts, etc.)?

Haptic map installation: the haptic map is intended to be permanently housed in WSÁNE communities, in the care and disposal of Chazz Elliott. For the purposes of my dissertation presentation, the haptic map will be stored temporarily on University of Victoria grounds, likely in the Humanities Computing and Media Centre, or in the Digital Scholarship Commons (see <https://onlineacademiccommunity.uvic.ca/dsc/>). Depending on interest, and agreement with Chazz Elliot, the haptic map may remain on temporary display in one of the aforementioned locations.

Audio recordings: 12 MP3 audio recordings will be stored on 12, separate motion-activated motherboard/speaker units. These audio files will be stored on these individual units for at least the duration of the installation's dissertation exhibition. Should we need to make new recordings of spoken SENOEN toponyms, these will be stored and maintained by WSÁNE School Board, in accordance with their policies and practices.

Blog content: the blog content (writing, images, video, audio) will be posted to and stored on the Blogger platform, at namespace.ca.

b. Will your research data be analyzed, now or in future, by yourself for purposes other than this research project?

No

c. Will your research data be analyzed, now or in future, by other persons for purposes other than explained in this application?

No

2. Commercial purposes

Do you anticipate that this research will be used for a commercial purpose?

No

3. Maintenance and disposal of data

Describe your plans for protecting data during the project, and for preserving, archiving, or destroying all the types of data associated with the research (e.g. paper records, audio or visual recordings, electronic recordings, coded data) after the research is completed:

a. Means of storing and securing data

E.g. encryption, password protected computer files, locked cabinet, separation of key codes from raw data etc.

Haptic map installation: for the duration of my dissertation presentation, the map will be housed on the University of Victoria's campus, and therefore subject to UVic's security policies and procedures. Thereafter, it will be transported back to Chazz Elliott's studio.
Audio recordings: I will upload and store copies of the 12 MP3 audio files. These files will be protected by my password to my uvic.ca data. These files will be archived in this way for a duration 5 years, in keeping with UVic's information management policies (see https://webapp.library.uvic.ca/uvicrecords/more.php?id=303).
Blog content: any blog content/data will be stored on the Blogger platform, password protected Google-user account, with content backups in Kim Shortreed's personal Google Drive (same level of protection) and UVic account, also password-protected.

b. Location of storing data

Include location of data-storage servers if using web-based technology.

Haptic Map installation: Chazz Elliott's studio, or the University of Victoria grounds.
Audio recordings: copies of haptic map audio files will be stored on UVic servers, under Kim Shortreed's password-protected account.
Blog content: any blog content/data will be stored on the Blogger platform, with content backups in Kim Shortreed's personal, password-protected Google Drive and UVic accounts.

c. Duration of data storage

If data will be kept indefinitely, explain why this is necessary and state whether the data will contain identifiers or links to identifiers.

Haptic Map installation: n/a, as storage is at the discretion of Chazz Elliott.
Audio recordings: n/a, as storage is at the discretion of Chazz Elliott and the WSÁNE School Board. My backup files will be destroyed in 5 years, in accordance with UVic's information management policies (see https://webapp.library.uvic.ca/uvicrecords/more.php?id=303).
Blog content: 5 years, in accordance with UVic's information management policies (see https://webapp.library.uvic.ca/uvicrecords/more.php?id=303).

d. Methods of destroying or archiving data

If archiving data, please describe measures to secure or protect the data. If the archiving will involve a third party (e.g. library, community agency, Aboriginal band, etc.) please provide details.

Haptic Map installation: n/a, as storage is at the discretion of Chazz Elliott.
Audio recordings: backup audio files will deleted from UVic servers.
Blog content: will be archived on Kim Shortreed's Google Drive account and portable hard drive, and on UVic servers as part of my dissertation content.

4. Dissemination

How do you anticipate disseminating the research results? (check all that apply)

Thesis/dissertation/class presentation

- Presentations at scholarly meetings
- Internet (students: most UVic theses are posted on 'UVicSpace' and can be accessed by the public)
- Media (e.g. newspaper, radio, TV)
- Directly to participants and/or groups involved

Indicate how (e.g. report, executive summary, newsletter, information session)

Haptic Map installation: the haptic map installation will feature as part of my dissertation presentation to a public audience in attendance. It is possible that the University of Victoria publications, such as The Ring, may wish to publish content on the haptic map installation. In addition, and with Chazz Elliot's consent, the haptic map installation could appear in the University of Victoria's Legacy Gallery, UVic's First Peoples House, and the McPherson Library, and possibly other art and public venues.

Audio recordings: as above, the audio recordings will appear as part of the haptic map installation's dissemination venues.

Blog content: all blog content will be published on a public-facing and free website (Blogger platform), which has the potential to reach global audiences.

Published article, chapter or book

Other

R. Conflict of interest

1. Apart from a declared dual-role relationship (section K.3), are you or any of the research team members in a perceived, actual or potential conflict of interest regarding this research project (e.g. partners in research, private interests in companies or other entities)?

No

S. List of uploaded documents

Review the [document requirements](#) list and the uploaded documents to ensure that you have all the applicable documents. Make sure to remove all duplicates. Upload appendices as individual documents, instead of clustering appendices under one attachments. Incomplete applications and applications with incorrectly uploaded appendices will not be reviewed. You will be notified in this case.

App. version	Section	Descriptive name	File name	Type of document	Date uploaded	File version
V1.0	--	ÁBET/Haptic Map Funding Request	ÁBET_Haptic Map Funding Request.pdf	Other	Sep 23, 2021 2:51:51 PM	Funding request as of September 23, 2021.
V1.0	--	TCPS 2 Core Completion Certificate	Shortreed_tcps2_core_certificate.pdf	Other	Oct 7, 2021 5:42:15 PM	Issued 2021-10-08
V1.0	--	Haptic Map agreement	SIGNEDHapticMapAgreement.pdf	Consent /assent form	Dec 14, 2021 11:34:57 AM	Version 1, signed.

T. Signatory/Departmental sign-off

Select the Chair/Director/Dean or their designate to sign-off on this application for submission. Once signed-off, the application will be submitted to the Human Research Ethics Board for review.

By signing-off the application, the signatory is affirming that adequate research infrastructure is available for the conduct and completion of this research project.

Signatory name

Michael Nowlin

Appendix B: UVic Human Research Ethics Certificate of Approval

Certificate of Approval

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Janelle Jenstad (Supervisor)	ETHICS PROTOCOL NUMBER 20-0610 Expedited review - delegated
PRINCIPAL APPLICANT: Kim Shortreed PhD student	ORIGINAL APPROVAL DATE: 17-Mar-2022
UVIC DEPARTMENT: English ENGL	APPROVED ON: 17-Mar-2022
	APPROVAL EXPIRY DATE: 16-Mar-2023

PROJECT TITLE: **Contracolonial Practices in Digital Storyscapes**

RESEARCH TEAM MEMBERS:
 Alexandra D'Arcy - ethics advisor, UVic

DECLARED PROJECT FUNDING: **None**

DOCUMENTS INCLUDED IN THIS APPROVAL:
 ABET_Haptic Map Funding Request.pdf - 23-Sep-2021
 Shortreed_tcps2_core_certificate.pdf - 07-Oct-2021
 SIGNEDHapticMapAgreement.pdf - 14-Dec-2021

Conditions of approval

This Certificate of Approval is valid for the above term provided there is no change in the protocol.

Amendments

To make changes to the approved research procedure in your study, please submit "Amendments" or "Annual renewal with amendments" form. You must receive research ethics approval before proceeding with your amended protocol.

Renewals

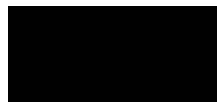
Your ethics approval must be current for the period during which you are recruiting participants or collecting data. To renew your protocol, please submit a "Request for Renewal" form before the expiry date on your certificate. You will be sent an emailed reminder prompting you to renew your protocol about six weeks before your expiry date.

Project Closures

When you have completed all data collection activities and will have no further contact with participants, please notify the Human Research Ethics Board by submitting a "Notice of Project Completion" form.

Certification

This certifies that the UVic Human Research Ethics Board has examined this research protocol and concluded that, in all respects, the proposed research meets the appropriate standards of ethics as outlined by the University of Victoria's policies for research involving human participants.



Dr. Sandra Gibbons
 Chair, Human Research Ethics Board



Dr. Matthew Murphy
 Vice-chair, Human Research Ethics Board

Appendix C: TCPS 2: CORE Certificate of Completion

Certificate of Completion

This document certifies that

Kim Shortreed

*has completed the Tri-Council Policy Statement:
Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans
Course on Research Ethics (TCPS 2: CORE)*

V00192187

Date of Issue: **8 October, 2021**

Appendix D: Haptic Map Agreement

Haptic Map Agreement

Project name

The Haptic Map: Experiencing Indigenous and Settler Place Names through Interactive Art

Principal applicant: Kim Shortreed

Artist/creator: Chazz Elliott (Temoseng)

Background

Kim Shortreed, a PhD candidate in Media Studies and Digital Humanities (English Department) at the University of Victoria, proposed to create a “haptic map” (title as of this writing) as part of his dissertation project. This “map” is a touch- or motion-activated art installation that speaks aloud toponyms, or place names, in SENĆOŦEN and English. Kim approached artist, carver, and fabricator Chazz Elliott (Temoseng) to prototype the map and Chazz agreed to work on the map, with creative, technical, and assembly collaboration from Kim. This prototype will feature 12 toponyms that have both SENĆOŦEN and English names.

Creative goals and outreach

The map has two, broad aspirations: (1) to invite novel ways to experience connections to place through representations of landscape and place names, and (2) to provide a way to learn orally about SENĆOŦEN and settler namescapes through curiosity and play. The map will be presented as part of Kim’s dissertation defense, and anywhere else approved after that by Chazz Elliott.

Our agreements

This is what we agree to about the haptic map’s creation, use (permissions), and ownership:

1. Chazz will lead the creative process of the map, with final decisions on materials, design, and construction location.
2. Chazz’s portion of the map’s creation will be completed by the end of May, 2022.
3. Chazz can withdraw from any and all work on the haptic map at any time.
4. Chazz will be paid in accordance with agreed terms in Chazz’s submitted invoice to Kim Shortreed or the University of Victoria.
5. Chazz is the owner of the map, during its creation and following its completion, partial or full, with exclusive rights to decide where and for how long the map is exhibited, stored, and reported.
6. Kim can write about the making of the map on the namespace.ca blog, this includes mentioning Chazz Elliott’s name and posting media, (text, images, video, audio) about the build process of the incomplete or completed map. This blog content may remain in the public domain in perpetuity or until Kim removes it, with Chazz’s permission.

7. All blog writing and media about or featuring Chazz Elliott will be approved, verbally or in writing, by Chazz prior to publishing.
8. As the namespace.ca blog is free and public-facing on the Blogger platform, Kim and the University of Victoria are not responsible for what other people, organizations, or technologies do to and with the content posted to the namespace.ca blog.
9. Kim can exhibit and discuss, verbally and in writing, the map and its creation, as part of his PhD dissertation presentation and publications.
10. The dissertation presentation takes place in a publicly accessible venue, and Kim and the University of Victoria are not responsible for what other people, organizations, or technologies do to and with the haptic map installation.
11. Kim is responsible for assembling and transporting the map for the purposes of exhibition during Kim's PhD dissertation presentation.
12. The map will feature audio files of up to 12 place names in SENĆOŦEN and up to 12 place names in English.
13. Kim is responsible for managing and incorporating the map's audio files and related technologies into the map.
14. Any and all audio files of SENĆOŦEN toponyms used in the map will be approved, verbally or in writing, for use by WSÁNEĆ School Board.
15. Any mentions of funders or partners for the map, in association with its creation or display, will be approved by Chazz and Kim.

Signatures

I, the undersigned, give permission to Kim Shortreed to use the "haptic map" as described above and agree to the above. I fully understand this agreement, and that all questions pertaining to this agreement have been answered to my satisfaction.

Name of Participant (print name):

Signature:

Date:

I, the undersigned, give permission to Chazz Elliott to create the "haptic map" as described above and agree to the above. I fully understand this agreement, and that all questions pertaining to this agreement have been answered to my satisfaction.

Name of Principal Applicant (print name):

Signature:

Date:

Appendix E: Untitled TETÁCES Map: Artists' Statement

The *Untitled TETÁCES* map was created by TEMOSEN (Charles “Chazz” Elliott) and Kim Shortreed, with contributions from Matthew Parlby-Elliott and Ben Olson. The *Untitled TETÁCES* map features audio recordings of spoken SENĆOTEN—the language spoken by WSÁNEĆ Peoples—and English place names. Its name combines the English word “Untitled” with the SENĆOTEN word “TETÁCES,” meaning island. The *Untitled* part of the name plays on the term “unceded.” With its uppercase first letter, it points to a contradiction: it is a proper name that is also something unnamed. *Untitled* also evokes terms like “land title” and the “un” in undoing and unlearning.

The *TETÁCES* part of the name means island in SENĆOTEN and refers the interactive element of the map’s design: the islands that speak their names aloud when moved. This “un-map” does not have traditional Western, cartographic conventions like cardinal directions, state borders, or planar projections. Instead, it presents something on the metaphorical border between cartography and art, an “artographic map,” intended to evoke a sensation of finding location more through feeling and interaction than through geospatial precision. The outer wall’s carving is inspired by traditional Salish goat horn bracelets, which were intricately carved with traditional Salish designs by Coast Salish Peoples. Like a bracelet’s embrace, the *Untitled TETÁCES* map embraces you in a wraparound Salish Sea horizon, in which you will hear a soundscape from a WSÁNEĆ/Saanich Peninsula shoreline. The starlight effect within

the body of the carving evokes night-sky stars to complement the inside wall's dawn/sunset seascape. The *Untitled TETÁCES* map places SENĆOTEN and English toponyms in symbolic conversation to encourage new dialogues in other contexts and to celebrate continued WSÁNEĆ Peoples' presence in our shared landscapes. Learn more about the artists and the *Untitled TETÁCES* map and project at Namescape.ca, or scan the first QR code to go to Namescape.ca. Scan the second QR code to learn more about WSÁNEĆ territories, including the islands featured in the *Untitled TETÁCES* map, and about allyship with WSÁNEĆ Peoples.



Appendix F: Untitled TETÁCES Map Guide

The *Untitled TETÁCES* map is intended to be experienced in a number of ways. You can move around the outside of the map to experience the carving. Walk inside the map space for a representation of a WSÁNEĆ/Saanich Peninsula seascape and to hear a shoreline soundscape similar to one you might hear anywhere on a Salish Sea coastline. Each TETÁCES, or island in SENĆOTEN (a language spoken by WSÁNEĆ Peoples), is intended to be moved around so that you can hear both its SENĆOTEN and English name. The islands' shapes are traced from the actual islands in the Salish Sea that they represent. Imagine yourself standing on a shoreline, looking out to the islands' silhouettes, or from on top of ŁÁU,WELNEW_ the highest point on the Saanich peninsula and sacred to the WSANEC people. Do they look familiar to you? If so, try to arrange them in a way that feels recognizable from your time spent on local shorelines, or try to arrange the islands as they might look based on the location of where the *Untitled TETÁCES* map is right now. Would they sit side-by-side, or above or under each other? There is no right or wrong with your arrangement. Feel yourself building an understanding of familiarity of place. Move the islands from memory, feel their shapes with your hands, listen to their names and try to say them. These islands are part of the living landscapes in WSÁNEĆ Territory and the Salish Sea.

If you have no memories of these islands, or would like a refresher of their locations, then scan the following QR code to be taken to a Google Maps tour of the

islands in the *Untitled TETÁCES* map. In this tour, you can see how the islands' names are written in SENĆOŦEN and English and learn a little more about them.



[Go to the *Untitled TETÁCES* map](#)

Namescape.ca: Evaluated Blog Writing

Kim Shortreed

Doctoral Dissertation Portfolio: Article 7

November 28, 2022

Introduction

The following blog content is part of my portfolio dissertation project. I include all blog entries in this section. I have formatted them (font and layout) to reflect as closely as possible how they will look on the Namescape.ca blog, a Google Blogger HTML website platform that I have customized. I chose to write a blog for several reasons: to reflect my belief in the aims of Public Humanities approach to public engagement and interaction, to create a publicly-accessible addition to my PhD output, and to encourage others to build their own versions of a haptic map. In overall terms, the blog is intended to provide some background, context, and support materials for the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map project and to discuss some of the thinking that went into its construction. The posts are necessarily short and do not contain footnotes, endnotes, or other elements of academic writing that could alienate non-academic readers. In terms of voice I employ what is intended to read as friendly, conversational, and informative solution-based journalism, which David Venn, in “The Power of Solutions Journalism (and Some History),” defines as journalism that reports on solutions to complex problems:

The idea is that reporting on responses to problems can provide larger impact, more insight, increased engagement, and examine issues in closer detail by looking at the other side of stories we rarely see.

In part, the haptic-map concept is a response to the problem of an imbalance in representation between Indigenous and settler toponymies, especially in the Salish Sea and for W̱SÁNEĆ Peoples’ toponymies. The first iteration of the haptic map, the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map, intends to encourage viewers to examine the namespaces around

them in more detail and with increased engagement and curiosity. The blog is intended to show, for non-academic audiences, the creative process that TEMOSEN and I undertook to make the map, as well a little about our particular artistic-scholarly collaboration.

Structurally, the blog is designed for non-linear exploration. The navigation, for example, which contains links to posts with the same tag(s), is not intended to be read in a particular order. Readers can, as the navigation heading implies, navigate their way in an order that suits them. The “My Current Perspective” contains a link to my dissertation’s “Prologue,” and dissertation, for readers who wish to learn more about what motivates this project—on the same post, I also include a “read more,” a <details> section in HTML-speak, for those satisfied with a basic introduction.

I have learned that when doing “decolonization” work that sharing my intentions can be as important as taking allyship actions towards reconciliation. On the blog, I am therefore intentionally open about wanting the settler state to make systemic changes to its representations of Indigenous toponymies and histories. Indigenous toponymic resurgence is a political issue, one that also connects to the broader “land question” in that having a right, self-appointed or not, to name a place is linked intrinsically to questions of title. In the lands also known in Canada, and globally, I want to see Indigenous Title(s) acknowledged and for Indigenous Peoples to be fairly compensated for the many deplorable inequities and injustices wrought by ongoing colonization. I acknowledge that these are complicated issues and so I approach the blog with inclusivity in mind, and, as with the haptic-map concept, the goal is to create work that

invites further exploration and not to cause defensiveness in those that might not have thought about “decolonization” and reconciliation through the lens of toponyms.

About section

My current perspective

A happy hello to you. My name is Kim Shortreed (he/him) and I am an uninvited guest in [ləkwəŋən](#) and [WSÁNEĆ](#) territories in the [Salish Sea](#). Among other things I am currently a [PhD Candidate](#) in English in Media Studies and Digital Humanities at the University of Victoria. My academic work is interdisciplinary: I focus on place names, or toponyms, through a particular lens, drawing from a mix of geohumanities, cartography, history, media studies, digital humanities, Indigenous studies, and settler colonial studies. I am interested in the settler-politics and social-justice aspects of “namescapes,” what I understand as the way we make and maintain a sense of place through naming landscapes.



Enjoying dinner out with Jillian.

I recognize that it is important to provide this personal context so that you can understand a little more about what motivates my work, which is all part of a lifelong journey to connect with, learn about, and honour the landscapes and seascapes around me that I love so much. You can read the [Prologue](#) of my PhD dissertation,

[“Contracolonial Practices in Salish Sea Namescapes,”](#) which goes into much more detail than this post on some of the thinking and influences that led to doing a PhD in the way that I have.

[Click here](#) to read a little more of this post. [Note to committee: the “Click here” link opens an HTML container that shows the remainder of this post.]

I was born on the west coast of England, in a beach town called [Weston-super-Mare](#). Maternally my family has roots in England, Australia, and India. When I was five, we emigrated to Treaty 6 territory (Edmonton) next to the [North Saskatchewan River, or kisiskâciwanisîpiy](#) in Cree, where my stepdad was born and raised. We then moved to [White Rock](#), what I consider my home town, in [SEMYOME Territory](#). I grew up playing on the beach as an uninvited guest within and around the boundaries of the [Semiahmoo Reserve](#). My childhood

soundscape was seagull cries, surf, and passing trains, and my scentscape was dusty rosehip bushes, sunbaked kelp, steaming tidal pools, and train-track creosote, and that particular wet-bone tang of decayed sand dollars.



Where I grew up, in Semiahmoo Territory, near the Canada/USA border.

To this day I could not imagine living away from the sea. I spent countless hours staring across Semiahmoo Bay to W̱SÁNEĆ territory, or the [Gulf Islands](#) and [Vancouver Island](#), in the distance. At the time, like most [WENITEM](#), or White, Anglo settlers, I knew nearly nothing about the Indigenous histories and ongoing presences on SEMYOME or W̱SÁNEĆ lands, despite the fact that when we were all kids, my brother Jode and I used to hang out and mostly skateboard with [Charlie Xwopokton Chappell](#), who became SEMYOME Chief in late 2016. It feels surreal that Charlie would go on to be Chief. It is also telling of the settler education system's shortcomings: I grew up playing on and next to the Semiahmoo Reserve, yet I was taught very little about the Indigenous cultures and Peoples around me.



Looking south from TATLU (Campbell River), in SEMYOME territory, to W̱SÁNEĆ territories.

The older I get the more grateful I am for my time in SEMYOME territory. About 25 years ago I moved to lək̓ʷəŋən Territory (Victoria) and I have explored this region by

land and sea ever since, along with Jillian, whom I've been with for over 20 years. Her family has welcomed me with open hearts. I am grateful to have written these words on unceded WSÁNEĆ and ləkʷəŋən lands.

As part of my PhD dissertation project, artist [TEMOSÉN](#) and I are prototyping the first iteration of a “haptic map” concept, [the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map](#) (which this blog is about): a motion-activated art installation that plays audio clips of spoken toponyms in [SENĆOŦEN](#) and English. This installation portrays an artistic representation of a WSÁNEĆ territory seascape but without signs, cardinal directions, borders, or the usual elements found on Western-style maps. You walk into a wraparound map space of what looks like a seascape with a distance horizon.

When inside the map, you will hear sounds that you might experience on a Salish Sea shoreline, such as seagull cries, lapping waves, and wind. Three-dimensional objects, intended to represent silhouettes of islands, sit along an ocean horizon. Each island contains a motion-detecting sensor and a speaker. Moving an island activates an audio voice recording of that island's toponym in SENĆOŦEN and English. You can arrange the islands in a way that looks familiar to you, based on the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map's exhibition location. For example, the islands would be arranged differently to look accurate if the map was on display in the WSÁNEĆ Tribal School or on the University of Victoria's campus. Or, if you're not familiar with these territories or would like a refresher, you can scan a QR code that opens a Google Maps information tour of the islands featured in the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map.

The *Untitled TETÁCES* map intends to encourage curiosity about how we experience connections to place through landscape and place names and to provide new ways to learn about SENĆOŦEN and settler namescapes in the [WSÁNEĆ/Saanich Peninsula](#) area. The haptic map concept is an attempt to reimagine ways in which Indigenous and settler toponymies can coexist differently in what is normally a settler-dominant namescape, and to encourage settlers to experience what Natchee Blu Barnd, in [Native Space: Geographic Strategies to Unsettle Settler Colonialism](#), calls “Native geographies that unsettle,” ideally as [ontological](#) equals and not “ontological disturbances.”

In part, the haptic map concept and this Namescape blog are inspired by this passage in the [Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada’s Summary](#): “The education system itself must be transformed into one that rejects the racism embedded in colonial systems of education and treats Aboriginal and Euro-Canadian knowledge systems with equal respect.” Namescapes, the networks of place names we create, are a kind of knowledge system in urgent need of working toward an equal respect. The haptic map that TEMOSEN and I are making intends to further this work for SENĆOŦEN namescapes.



A screenshot, from the [First Peoples' Map of B.C.](#), showing where Straits Salish dialects, including SENĆOŦEN, are spoken.

Welcome to the Namespace blog



View from atop PKOLS, looking northward into W̱SÁNEĆ Territory, known also as the Saanich Peninsula.

Hello from the unceded territories of the [ləkʷəŋən](#) (Esquimalt and Songhees Nations) and [WSÁNEĆ Peoples](#), on the lands known also as Vancouver Island.

"Namescapes" are the landscapes of place names, or toponyms, that we create culturally and individually to name the places around us. Namescapes are part of our shared knowledge systems and histories.

This blog is part of my personal journey to understand ways to encourage new harmonies between settler and Indigenous namescapes, especially in and around the Salish Sea. I also want to celebrate a growing chorus of those working toward reconciliation—an evolving and understandably contested term—through the acknowledgment, restoration, and creation of Indigenous toponyms.

As part of this journey, I have the great fortune to be working on an art-installation project intended to get us to think differently about how we learn about the places around us, cartographically and historically.

What the blog labels mean

[About](#): a bit about why I am doing this work and an introduction to the first "haptic map" prototype.

[Links](#): right now, I have a list of links to mapping resources with an Indigenous emphasis, as well as a list of articles on and related to Indigenous place-name restoration and creation, mostly in and around the Salish Sea.

[Creating](#): these posts discuss the making of the first "haptic map" prototype. These posts are intended to inspire you to make your own version of a haptic map by showing you how we made the first one.

[Reflecting](#): I put on my thinking cap and reflect on some issues, considerations, and inspirations related to making art-maps, like the haptic map, and more.

Note that this blog is not yet "officially" published. I am doing this work as part of [ongoing PhD work](#) at UVic, and much of the writing is yet to come. Feel free to contact me about anything by using the contact form at the bottom of any post.

Meet TEMOSEN



TEMOSEN laying out part of the framing for the *Untitled TETÁCES* map.

[TEMOSEN](#) (aka Chazz Elliott, Charles Elliott Jr.) was born into WŚÁNEĆ and Lekwungen Nations and was raised and still lives and works in WJOŁEŁP (Tsartlip First Nation).

TEMOSEN learned about Coast Salish art and WŚÁNEĆ teachings as a young child and art is in the family: his mother, Myrna Crossley-Elliott, is a Salish blanket weaver and his father, TEMOSENƧET (Charles Elliott Sr.), is a master carver and artist, who

received the Order of British Columbia in 2005 for his work. TEMOSEN's brother Mathew Parby-Elliott also carves and the two often work closely together on various projects out of TEMOSEN's studio in WJOŁŁP.

TEMOSEN's pieces reflect the histories, narratives, and knowledges of WSÁNEĆ culture through new approaches and media. TEMOSEN has pieces in various private collections around the globe. Locally, TEMOSEN has works at the Royal Jubilee Hospital, First Peoples Cultural Council, and Sidney Town Hall. In the summer of 2022, TEMOSEN and his family had a group show, on Salt Spring Island, called JSINSET — SWEŁOKE (Family Growing Ourselves Up), which you can read about on the [Salt Spring Arts website](#).

In our early conversations about what would become the *Untitled TETÁCES* map, we were both excited to work in new mediums and to incorporate technology elements: [the sound units](#) and the LED lighting. TEMOSEN and I are already chatting about another project that could incorporate sensor-based technologies in new ways. See [TEMOSEN's Instagram](#) to see more works.

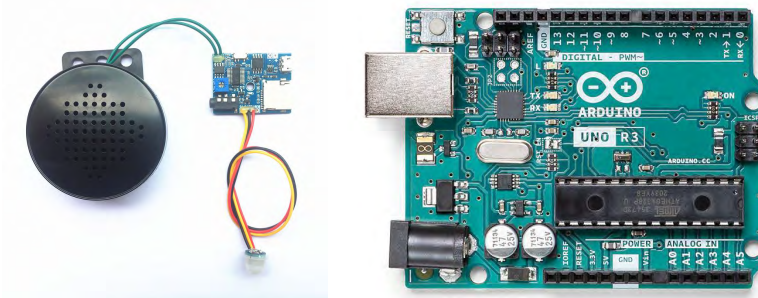
Creating section

Building the first haptic map: the *Untitled TETÁCES* map gallery



[Note that this is a placeholder image for the *Untitled TETÁCES* map. Please see the [Namescape.ca](#) blog for the latest images.]

Sound Tech: Flyrontech's FN-M2A vs. Arduino



Flyrontech's FN-M2A PIR Motion Sensor Activated Audio Player [L], and the Arduino Uno R3 microcontroller board [R].

The first haptic-map prototype, the *Untitled TETÁCES* map is, in part, a language-learning installation, so it requires clear audio of spoken place names in [SENĆOTEN](#) and English. Moving the map's various islands activates passive infrared ([PIR](#)) sensors embedded in them. When the PIR sensors detect motion, MP3 audio files play through

a speaker hidden in the body of the islands. This set-up all seems simple enough until you have multiple people playing with multiple islands at once.

It is unrealistic, and little comic, to force people to use the map one at a time, or ask them to move only one island at a time. It should be possible for multiple people to interact with the map simultaneously. This goal comes with specific technology requirements. I chose an off-the-shelf solution for the *Untitled TETÁCES* map: Flyrontech's FN-M2A PIR Motion Sensor, instead of using other possible technological solutions, like Arduino or Raspberry Pi, and here are some reasons why.

Why not Arduino?



Arduino Uno R3 microcontroller board.

Arduino defines itself, on its [introduction page](#), as “an open-source electronics platform based on easy-to-use hardware and software.” While this description is fair in that mastering Arduino is easier than learning to code or building a device from scratch, it does take significant reading, practice, and financial investments that could deter folks like me, who want to make something as technologically basic as the *Untitled TETÁCES* map.

I like Arduino; and their website’s content is well written and easy enough to follow, and their community is very helpful and friendly. I might use Arduino for future projects, but a helpful workshop at [UVic’s Digital Scholarship Commons](#) reiterated for me that Arduino works more like a switch than a computer. The Arduino introduction page writes that Arduino is able “to read inputs,” such as “light on a sensor, a finger on a button, or a Twitter message,” and turn these inputs into outputs like “activating a motor, turning on an LED, publishing something online,” but it is not ideal for multiple, simultaneous, input events through one board—the *Untitled TETÁCES* map, for example, would require that multiple motion-sensors triggering multiple audio events to play simultaneously through an external speaker. Arduino might be able to play these one after the other, but not simultaneously, so I had to find other solutions.

For the “[makers](#)” reading this, I can hear you screaming “what about [Raspberry Pi](#)?” This is a valid question because Raspberry Pi is, essentially, [a fully functional, programmable computer](#). With that in mind, a guiding principle of any haptic map is that others should be able to imitate its functionality without having to know how to code, so I

consider Raspberry Pi a little too costly in terms of time and money, at least for our first prototype.

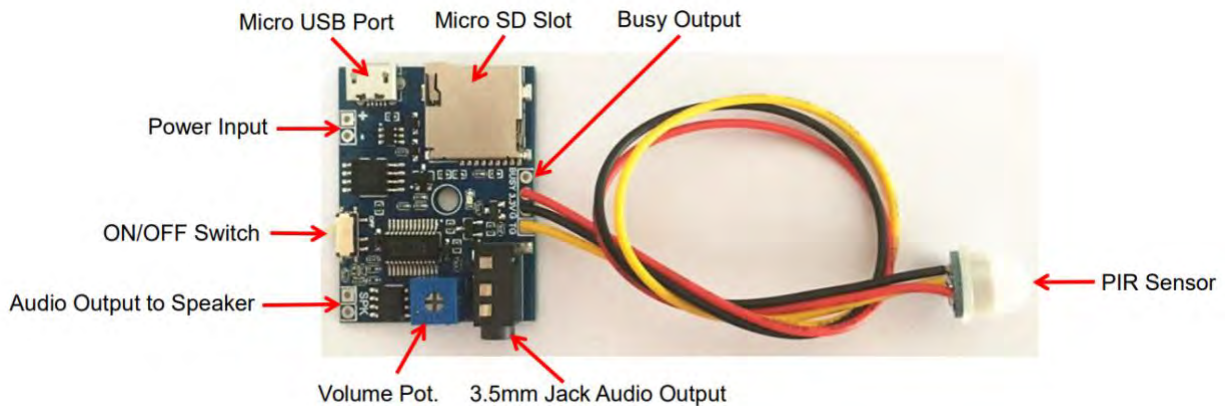
Instead of Arduino or Raspberry Pi, I chose Flyrontech's FN-M2A PIR Motion Sensor because it plugs into a USB port of any computer, regardless of operating system—e.g., Windows, Apple, or Linux—and you transfer audio files to it as you would for any other external drive, like a [USB flash drive](#), or data stick/key.

Introducing Flyrontech's FN-M2A Motion-Sensor Activated Audio Player



Flyrontech's [FN-M2A PIR Motion Sensor Activated Audio Player](#).

As a collection of parts, the [FN-M2A](#) is about as close as I could get to something I would custom-build for the *Untitled TETÁCES* map. It has a motion-sensor, a processing board, and a 3W speaker. You can load files onto the FN-M2A by connecting it to any computer with the [micro-USB port](#), or you can load files onto a [micro-SD card](#) and insert it into the micro-SD slot.



An image from the FN-M2A manual.

The FN-M2A has 4MB of onboard storage, which is not much. For the *Untitled TETÁCES* map's demands, however, 4MB of storage is enough. If you need more than the onboard storage for your project, then you could load your files onto a micro-SD card and insert it into the micro-SD slot. The FN-M2A is programmed such that even if you have loaded files onto the onboard storage, the SD card will override them once inserted. I store only two, short audio clips on each of the six FN-M2A units—that is, one in SENĆOŦEN and one in English, so the 4MB storage is plenty.

The audio files you load onto the FN-M2A, either using onboard storage or with an SD card, will play in either numeric or alphabetical sort order, depending on how you name your files. For example, a file named “ardvark-sings.mp3” will play before a file named “baboon-opera.mp3.” So, if you wanted one file to play one before the other, you would have to change their names. For example, I would rename “baboon-opera.mp3.” to “01-

baboon-opera.mp3” and change “ardvark-sings.mp3” to “02-ardvark-sings.mp3” to swap their playing order.

If you load more than one file onto FN-M2A, either onboard or micro-SD storage, it is programmed to play one file after the other, following each sensor activation. If you loaded two files, for example, then motioning once will play the first file and motioning again will play the next file, and so on with each additional file.

FN-M2A power options



An example of the [3.7V battery case](#) used to power the FN-M2A unit.

The FN-M2A has two power options. The first option is to power it through the onboard micro-USB port, using a phone-charger cable and adapter plugged into a household wall outlet (15 Amp, AC). Make sure that your power adapter provides 5V and 1A of power. I used an old phone charger and cable and it worked perfectly. The second

option is to power the FN-M2A with batteries, but this option requires some soldering and the purchase of a battery case and appropriate batteries—see the [FN-M2A's manual](#) for appropriate voltage ranges. TEMOSEN and I wanted the *Untitled TETÁČES* map to be able to work without having to be near a wall-plug power outlet, so I soldered on [3.7V AA-battery cases](#) to each FN-M2A unit.

So far, I am happy with the FN-M2A's performance and ease of use. Each unit costs around \$20 CDN on the [AliExpress website](#).

Links section

Place-name changes in and around the Salish Sea



Image from Erica Simek Sloniker and the [TNC](#).

This is a running list of links, in date order, to articles and information related to what some call Indigenous toponymic resurgence: the reclamation and creation of Indigenous-language place names. I also include articles and other media that ask us to consider this resurgence in new ways.

This list will not have everything, but I am doing my best to keep it updated as the changes roll in. I am mostly focused on the Salish Sea and the West Coast but

acknowledge that these welcome changes are happening across Turtle Island/North America. I want to keep track of these changes to show that all the hard work is paying off.

It takes time for settler bureaucracies, like the [British Columbia Geographical Names Office](#), to change, but as [Tsayout hereditary Chief WEC'KINEM \(Eric Pelkey\) said](#) of the recent (August, 2022) and long fought-for official name change of Mount Douglas to PKOLS, such renamings are another step forward on the road to reconciliation.

Place-name changes list

Please contact me using the contact form, below, if you would like me to add something, or if you find a broken link. Thanks 😊

- ["PKOLS to Be New Official Name for Mount Douglas Park,"](#) Times Colonist (TC), 17 August 2022
- ["City Renames Trutch Street to Su'it Street, Lekwungen Translation for 'Truth',"](#) City of Victoria, 11 July 2022; see Tweet
- ["City of Victoria Renames Trutch Street, Su'it Street as an Act of Reconciliation,"](#) CHEK News, 10 July 2022
- ["2 Indigenous Place Names Restored on B.C.'s Sunshine Coast,"](#) CBC News, 19 August 2021, Wilson Creek now called ts'uḱw'um, Saltery Bay now sḱelhp
- ["Should British Columbia Change Its Name? As We Reckon with History, Some Say It's Time,"](#) CBC News, 2 August 2021

- ["Restoring Indigenous Place Names Rebuilds Relationships to Land: University of Victoria Scholar,"](#) Victoria News, 11 June 2021
- ["SMONEĆTEN Name Reclaiming Ceremony,"](#) WSÁNEĆ Leadership Council YouTube channel, 4 May 2021: On May 4th, the name SMONEĆTEN was restored to what was formerly known as McDonald Campground in Gulf Islands National Park Reserve
- ["Bilingual Hul'q'umi'num Street Signs Coming to Downtown Duncan,"](#) TC, 19 January 2021
- ["Rename British Columbia,"](#) The Walrus, 16 June 2020
- ["We Should Consider Changing the Name of British Columbia,"](#) The Tyee, 16 June 2020
- ["New James Bay Library Branch Given Lekwungen Name,"](#) TC, 24 January 2018: "[...] city council consulted with the Songhees and Esquimalt nations [sic] and selected the Lekwungen word for the James Bay area—sx^wen^ʔx^wən^ʔ tan^ʔexw, pronounced s-hweng hw-ung tongue-oo-hw."

- [Colonial Despatches map collection](#): "200 maps of the B.C. area dating from the colonial period and before." Some of the historical maps and content presented on this site may contain racist and potentially traumatizing colonial terminology and language.
- [Ditidaht Places](#): a fantastic project "created for the purpose of education and reflects the learning of students at Ditidaht Community School." Using Open Street Maps, "It builds on the efforts of Ditidaht Elders and Knowledge Holders who have shared and recorded their knowledge over many generations."
- "[First Nations of BC](#)," map by BC Studies journal.
- "[First Nation Profiles Interactive Map](#)," by Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada.
- "[First Peoples' Map of B.C.](#)," by the First Peoples' Cultural Council. Highly recommended.
- "[Interactive Map](#)," by the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, shows "residential schools, events, and/or hearings" on a digital map of Canada.
- "[Musqueam Place Names Map](#)," produced by the Musqueam Indian Band [sic].
- "[Stories from the Land: Indigenous Place Names in Canada](#)," a Government of Canada map-based project that claims the following: "Over time, as additional Indigenous place names are adopted across Canada, this map will be updated to show the changes."
- [David Rumsey Map Collection](#): a largesse of historical and international maps. Some of the historical maps and content presented on this site may contain racist and potentially traumatizing colonial terminology and language.

Reflecting section

Haptic map origins: making places whole from place-name pieces

The *Untitled TETÁCES* map began as a concept intended to explore ways that interactive art can teach and challenge us to think differently about the relationships between Indigenous and English place names.

As I mention in the [My Current Perspective](#) post, the haptic map idea would not have emerged without my personal connections to the Salish Sea and my academic and social-justice influences. The haptic-map concept also draws inspiration from two people in particular who I think challenge, through art, understandings of place and perception: cartographer and artist [Margaret Pearce](#) and artist and presenter [William Kentridge](#).



Margaret Pearce and the *Coming Home to Indigenous Place Names in Canada* map.



William Kentridge's self-portrait, from the [Kentridge Studio website](#).

Pearce's [Coming Home to Indigenous Place Names in Canada](#) map is not like the typical Western-style maps. In a recent paper, "[What Shall We Map Next? Expressing Indigenous Geographies with Cartographic Language](#)," Pearce, a member of [Citizen Potawatomi Nation](#), describes working against "how maps are obligated to look and what they are obligated to include and achieve." The *Coming Home* map advances the

presences of Indigenous place names and removes or changes cartographic elements typical of most Western-style maps, such as settler-colonial toponyms, scale information, and cardinal directions, like north and south.

Pearce and Stephen J. Hornsby talk about the making of the *Coming Home* map in "[Making the Coming Home Map](#)," mentioning that they pushed against Western notions of "research" in "the tradition of anthropology and ethnogeography" when making the map and instead "sought to compile traditional names from language programs, language keepers, and cultural committees and liaisons" and determined "if the names could be shared with the outside, through a process of permissions and approvals."



The *Coming Home* map, from the [Canadian-American Center](#), where you can purchase this map.

The *Coming Home* map is not intended, as Pearce says, to be comprehensive or to represent every Indigenous community in Canada:

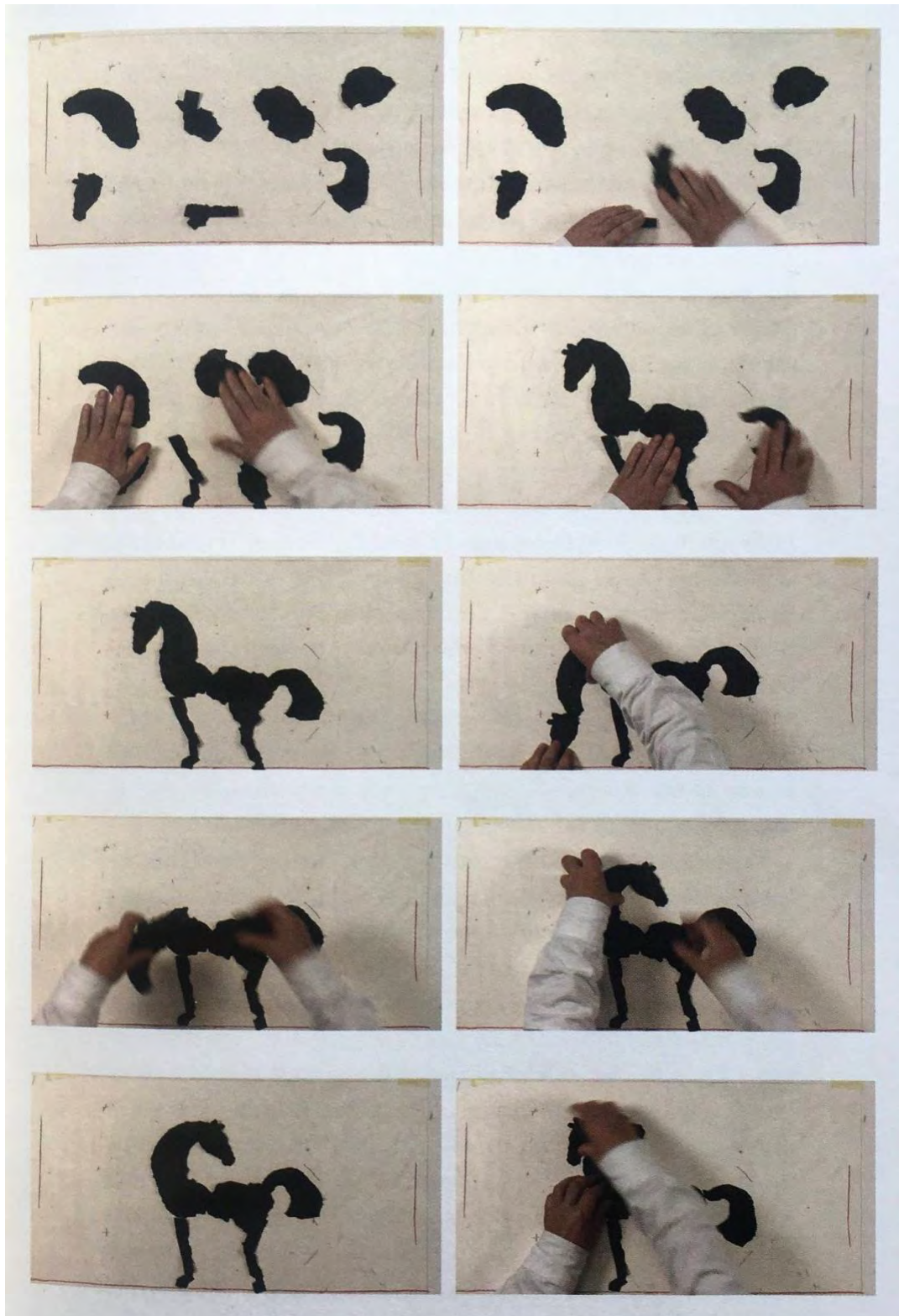
I endeavoured to make a map that would include only enough names to alter readers' perceptions of Canada, that would represent those names clearly as cultural property, and that would raise awareness for protection of cultural property as inherent to the protection and respect for Indigenous rights to self-determination.

I picture Pearce as a painter who sees maps as a canvas; Pearce works within a cartographic frame or medium, but finds ways to express an observation, a moment, or a visual idea that is by intent and creation incomplete or complicated, but also engaging and defamiliarizing. I am inspired by the *Coming Home* map's creative approach to finding ways to challenge Western cartographic expectations, a challenge that I hope the haptic-map concept and the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map bring to the cartographic table.

In the early days of thinking about the haptic map, I knew that I wanted to remove typical Western cartographic expectations, such as roads, bridges, borders, and other usual indicators of colonial presence on the land. I approached the haptic-map concept as an art installation and was primarily concerned with how a haptic map would feel as an aesthetic, relational experience, one in which we are engaged to explore more about something that appears simultaneously familiar and foreign.

The *Untitled TETÁCES* map, like the *Coming Home* map, is not intended to be cartographically accurate. It attempts instead to encourage us to feel differently about how we each construct our personal perceptions of landscape as a familiar place.

The haptic-map concept is also in part an inquiry into how much “mapness” can be removed from a map before a representation of landscape turns purely abstract. I found echoes of this investigation in William Kentridge’s exercise called “Making a Horse,” which is in Kentridge’s [Six Drawing Lessons](#)—you can see the video versions of *Six Drawing Lessons* on the [Mahindra Humanities Center’s YouTube channel](#).



William Kentridge's "Making a Horse" exercise, from *Six Drawing Lessons*.

Kentridge works in several media, but in the “Making a Horse” exercise, in *Six Drawing Lessons*, we see torn pieces of paper rearranged into the shape of a “horse.” Kentridge asks an important question through this exercise: “are we unable to stop ourselves from seeing in them a shape, a form, a horse?” Even when the “horse” shape is reduced to a minimum of paper pieces, Kentridge remarks that “we cannot help ourselves from seeing the horse,” and that this tendency reveals in us “an unwilling suspension of disbelief.” I wonder, similarly, if it is possible to stop seeing what we think of places we know on already familiar landscapes.

One way of understanding place, and there are many, reminds me of the horse exercise. Imagine toponyms, such as park names, as pieces of paper in the horse exercise. When arranged on a map these names create a namespace that represents a familiar region. Like the sheet of paper upon which the horse appears, a sense of “placeness” imposes itself, through place names, upon the backdrop of a landscape. Through this associative process we compose a *whole* sense of placeness, a belonging, from place-name pieces—it is as if there is a sense of place, or placeness, waiting to be triggered in the landscape, just as Kentridge says “there is a sense of HORSE, or horse-ness, waiting to be triggered” in the pieces of paper.

Kentridge describes a “pressure for meaning, taking the fragments and completing an image,” and that this pressure “is present not only in looking at shadows but in all that we see.” I wonder if we carry this “pressure for meaning” into our placeness projections

upon what we imagine “landscape” to be. The *Untitled TETÁĆES* map draws from Kentridge’s exercise in that it attempts to visually dismantle how we construct a sense of place through maps. The *Untitled TETÁĆES* map does not rely on representations of places on maps—it has no street names, borders, or cartographic marks. The *Untitled TETÁĆES* map’s design intends to reveal something about what Western culture has conditioned the public to expect to learn from a map about real-world landscapes by omitting the expected.

In a playful moment of unfamiliarity, when viewers might expect to be shown “where” they are, they might learn to see landscape as something more than, or different from, a collection of English-language place names, locations, municipalities, or private property. As Kentridge suggests in the horse exercise, we may learn something valuable about our “own self-deception” in the process of making the unfamiliar feel familiar.

Foremost, the haptic-map concept intends to address the absence of Indigenous place names in Western-style maps—Pearce and Hornsby, in “Making the *Coming Home* Map,” argue that this “cartographic silence can be a tool for cultural assimilation, colonization, and genocide.” People who engage with the *Untitled TETÁĆES* map will hear its artistic “landscape” speak back in SENĆOŦEN place names, the language of WŚÁNEĆ lands that predates colonization by many thousands of years. For many settlers, hearing SENĆOŦEN place names might change the way in which we

understand what we are missing by interpreting the namescapes around us through narrow understandings of place.

This project was created on the land of the ləkʷəŋən People, known today as the Esquimalt and Songhees Nations, as well as in ƵJOŁEŁP' Tsartlip Nation and other lands of the ƵSÁNEĆ People—HÍSWƵE for helping us learn how to be better guests.