

**Hypermedia and Ethnographic
Research:**

Nuu-chah-nulth and Upper St'át'imc case studies

by

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ABSTRACT

Polyvocal hypermedia publications provide an avenue of redress for certain postmodern, feminist, and postcolonial critiques of ethnographic and social sciences research and reportage. The thesis opens with a critical positioning of anthropology in colonialism and the construction of an exoticised “other” with reference to representations of the Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka) and Upper St’át’imc (Lillooet) First Nations with whom the author has worked collaboratively. This critical enquiry sets the background for an explication of the current politics, ethics, and methodologies for ethnographic research and publication. In light of these issues and current responses, the latter half of the thesis explores hypermedia publication as an avenue for further experimentation in research and publishing methods. An analysis of the features, benefits, possibilities and challenges of working in hypermedia is provided with illustrations from two hypermedia projects that the author co-produced with Nuu-chah-nulth and Upper St’át’imc organizations. In conclusion, the author supports further experimentation in hypermedia while raising concerns about navigational design and technological obsolescence.

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Preface ~ A Note on Names

Many of the names previously used for visible minorities in Canada have been contested because of the way in which they can be representative of unequal power relations and carry negative connotations. The adoption of names which are less pejorative, or more acceptable with visible minorities, than historically predominant terms – a process known by its detractors as “political correctness” – has created much debate. This debate is in itself an indication of the importance of names in how we understand ourselves, our group associations and others. The power to name and its political implications necessitates an explanation of the terms that I use throughout this thesis. At times I use the term “First Nations”, which is currently widely accepted in Canada as an appropriate term for one of the three aboriginal groups in this state (the other two being the Inuit and Métis). While I consider this term to be generally acceptable, it is from the English language, a language that has been a part of the colonial process of forced assimilation in Canada. I view the use of terms from indigenous languages instead of English as a way to both destabilize the normative hegemony of white English speaking society in Canada and draw attention to languages that have been for so long silenced. With over fifty indigenous languages in western Canada alone, there is no single indigenous word that can replace the general English terms currently in use. I do not want to privilege one indigenous language over the others but the Nuu-chah-nulth language is the one with which I am most familiar and I have chosen to use a term from this language in my discussions¹.

¹ I feel an apology is due to the Upper St’át’imc people I have worked with because I could have selected terms from their language to use in my writing although I am not as familiar with it and their term
Footnote continued on next page.

When I was working with Nuuchahnulth² people, I often heard them use the term “Quuʔas”³ to refer to indigenous people generally. It seems that this term was used a little more broadly than “First Nations”, for I also heard it applied to indigenous people from Latin America. When used by Nuuchahnulth people the word seems to be a broadly inclusive category for indigenous people as opposed to the “Mamaʔnʔi”⁴. The term Mamaʔnʔi literally means “boat people” and is synonymous with “white people”. Although I employ the Quuʔas - Mamaʔnʔi dichotomy throughout much of this thesis and speak of an imbalance of power between these groups, I do not intend to imply that these categories are clear-cut or in any way objective. This dichotomy is socially constructed and, while useful in the context of much of the following discussion, it excludes many non-European peoples. Although Quuʔas - Mamaʔnʔi relations may in certain colonial contexts be equated with oppressed and oppressor making this analogy would be an oversimplification and suggest the alignment of other peoples who have been oppressed with the Quuʔas when it does not seem the Nuuchahnulth term is used in this way.

In addition to political reasons for using these Nuuchahnulth terms, the unfamiliarity of most readers with these terms is useful. As readers have to repeatedly read these terms in the paper, I hope that they remain conscious of the process by which

¹ “Ucwalmicw” (First Nations) is a challenge for me, a monolingual English speaker with a lamentable ignorance of Salish pronunciation.

² The Nuuchahnulth First Nations (referred to in older literature as the Nootka) live along the west coast of Vancouver Island, British Columbia.

³ Despite the difficulty in explaining how to pronounce this word (something that would be simple if this were hypermedia with audio rather than just text), I can provide a rough guide for English speakers. The “q” is hard like “k”, the “uu” is a long vowel like the “oo” in “moon”, the “ʔ” is a quick glottal stop, and the “as” is pronounced like the “us” in the word “bus”.

⁴ The first part of this word, “mama” is pronounced similarly to English. The character “ʔ” is pronounced almost as you would “kl” in English except your tongue remains in the center of your alveolar ridge (just behind your front teeth) and air is forced around the sides. This produces the fricative that is also written as “ɬ” in the International Phonetic Alphabet. In the final portion of the word, the “n” is as in English, the apostrophe is a very short glottal stop and the “i” is a short vowel sound.

they harness these unfamiliar words into their particular overlay of judgements and categories with which they understand the world. I ask readers to consider whether the use of these Nuu-chah-nulth terms alters their perceptions or understandings of the following discussion of the representations and history Mamaʔn'i - Quuʔas relations.

A final term that I employ throughout the thesis has been considered to be synonymous with the more current term First Nations but I do not intend to use it this way. In the North American context, the name "Indian", although known to be a misapplied name for the indigenous people of North America, has remained in use since Christopher Columbus' initial confusion about his geographic location. The term tells us more about what Christopher Columbus' expectations were for the people in the Americas than the reality of the actual people whom he saw. The persistence of this misnomer for indigenous people is emblematic of a power-knowledge structure that has been successful at silencing the voices of Quuʔas peoples. The privileging of Eurocentric ideas about who the Quuʔas are over their perceivable lived existence is explored in this essay. Just as the Quuʔas peoples of North America do not in actuality bear a great cultural resemblance to the peoples of South Asia, the Nuu-chah-nulth and other indigenous peoples are not easily mistaken for the Lone Ranger's sidekick Tonto. I use the term "Indian", in quotations, to refer to the various representations and ideas about who the Quuʔas are. My use of this term could be considered an abbreviated form of what Canadian history author Daniel Francis (1993) calls the "Imaginary Indian" – the

Quuʔas as they are imagined by many Mamaʔn'i rather than as they are actually viewed and heard⁵.

A classic example of an "Indian":



Fig. 1. The 1950s Lone Ranger's sidekick Tonto⁶.

⁵ I realize that there is a danger here in suggesting that there is an "actual" reality. Of course, we all interpret what we see and hear in our own subjective ways but as the paper progresses, it will be shown that many of the people who produced material that created the "Imaginary Indian" were not trying to represent what they were observing and instead were trying to recreate an imagined past for the Quuʔas.

⁶ This image was copied from <http://www.lonerangerfanclub.com/images/LRandTTcolor.jpg> and reduced to less than half its original size.

I. Introduction

This thesis is situated at the convergence of two temporal streams of work derived from research. One stream is that of ethnographic research within a broader flow of qualitative social sciences research and the other is the development of communications technologies. I join the first flow of representations of social realities by researchers at a time when many employed positivist methodologies and seemingly objective reportage that privileged the researcher and colonial powers while it silenced the indigenous peoples it represented. In more recent times, this stream of representations has run towards greater recognition of subjectivity and collaboration with its previously muted subjects. The second and initially wholly separate stream of research, the development of new communications technologies, has recently grown into a heterogeneous mix of digital forms with an increasing prevalence of visual communicative modes. This technology flow has recently intersected with the stream of qualitative social sciences research providing ethnographic and social science researchers with new options for communicating research results to their audience.

While I wade through the first stream of social research in Part 1 and then investigate its convergence with the flow of technology in Part 2, I will anchor my discussion in both cases to two groups of Quuʔas⁷ peoples with whom I have had the experience of working. I had the privilege in 2003 and 2004 of working on a culture and language revitalization project with a Central Region Nuuchahnulth⁸ First Nations'

⁷ The term Quuʔas means indigenous or First Nations people in the Nuuchahnulth language. For a more detailed explanation, see page iv of the Preface.

⁸ Older ethnographic literature refers to the Nuuchahnulth people as "Nootka" or "Westcoast People".

organization based in Ucluelet, British Columbia. During this time, I had the opportunity to assist this group with creating a CD-ROM of ethnographic and linguistic information aimed at educating Nuu-chah-nulth youth and the general public about their language and cultural knowledge. Following my work with the Nuu-chah-nulth organization, I worked from 2004 to 2005 with an Upper St'át'imc⁹ organization that was also dedicated to linguistic and cultural revitalization. I assisted the Upper St'át'imc Language Culture and Education Society (USCLES) that is based in Lillooet, British Columbia (see Fig. 2) with the creation of a website that would present their history through a collection of archival photographs.



Fig. 2. Nuu-chah-nulth & Upper St'át'imc Territories.

⁹ Much of the older ethnographic literature refers to the St'át'imc people as the "Lillooet".

My experience working with Nuu-chah-nulth and St'át'imc communities is the foundation for much of this thesis and as such, I draw on examples from the history of research and representations of these peoples as substantive examples for Section 1. Likewise, I use the projects that I worked on with these two groups as case examples for Section 2 where I discuss the convergence of new technologies with qualitative research reportage. It is my intention that anchoring the discussion to the Nuu-chah-nulth and St'át'imc provides some specificity and continuity to the paper without greatly reducing the broader applicability of my argument. Much of what I propose applies to other geographic locations and I expect that many of the points I make in my argument are applicable to most ethnographic research and even more broadly to much of the research being conducted in the human sciences¹⁰.

Overall, the first half of the thesis provides a history and context, and identifies a number of challenges to be addressed in the latter half of the essay when I investigate the use of “hypermedia” (interlinked electronic files that can include text, images, audio and video) for publishing research results. The first chapter opens with a presentation of the construction of ideas about the Quuʔas. Starting from a broad explanation of the dichotomy of Europeans versus “Indians”, my focus narrows to investigate how anthropology as a discipline has aided in constructing this dichotomy and how it has supported colonization. The second chapter then examines how ethnographic research on Quuʔas peoples has become represented in museums, textbooks, film, photography and fine arts. These various representations of the Quuʔas have worked to convey specific ideas and stereotypes of the Quuʔas to the general public. Understanding the way in

¹⁰Marcus and Fischer (1986) suggest using the term “human sciences” to include the social sciences as well as law, art, architecture, philosophy, literature, and the natural sciences.

which anthropological knowledge construction operates in reference to presentation and representation (or re-presentation) of the Quuʔas and how even well intentioned ethnographic research created problematic representation of the Quuʔas lends insights into the relationship between language, knowledge and power. These insights are the foundation for the third chapter where I present some of the issues raised by postmodern, feminist, and postcolonial critiques of ethnographic research. These critiques have resulted in a broad questioning of the modus operandi of anthropology and of the human sciences in general. The fourth chapter details some of the current responses to these critiques. In anthropology in particular and many of the human sciences, a new political awareness has developed with resulting innovations in collaborative methodologies, new styles of writing ethnographies, and attention to issues of intellectual property rights. This final chapter in Section 1 lays the groundwork for an exploration of ways in which these developments can be augmented by the flow of new communications technologies, which is presented in the latter half of the essay.

The second section of the thesis discusses new developments in communications technology that should be of great interest to academic researchers working in the human sciences. These relatively new electronic forms of publication have been called “hypermedia” and consist of sets of interlinked text, still or moving images, and sound files, or a combination of these (e.g. websites, CD-ROMs, DVDs)¹¹. Chapter five

¹¹ “Hypermedia” is often used synonymously with the term “New Media” although the latter seems to be somewhat broader and more ambiguous in meaning. In usage, New Media seems to be used more often when speaking about digital artists and has a greater focus on art although it can also be used to refer to everything classified as hypermedia. The only real difference is that New Media does not have to explicitly include documents that are linked together with hyperlinks. In this sense, New Media is a useful term because it does not preclude the inclusion of as yet unknown forms of electronic publication whereas hypermedia has the potential to be obsolete with changes in technology. See Lev Manovich’s (2001) book, *the Language of New Media*, for further discussion on New Media as opposed to hypermedia.

contextualizes hypermedia within a broad history of changes in communication technology that seems to be increasingly turning towards visual representation. The chapter continues with a detailed investigation of the aspects of hypermedia publication that will be of particular use in communicating human sciences research findings. In particular, it is shown that hypermedia publications may address some of the damaging critiques of research that were raised in the third chapter. Following this general analysis of hypermedia, the projects that I co-produced with members of the Nuu-chah-nulth and St'át'imc First Nations are presented in chapter six as examples of simply structured ethnographic hypermedia publications. In the concluding sections of this chapter, I discuss some of the as yet unrealized potentials of hypermedia publication as well as some concerns and limitations of working with the medium. My conclusion is that although researchers will have to learn a number of design skills to properly communicate in hypermedia, this medium will be an increasingly important form of research reportage. Major advantages of hypermedia publication include the flexibility of presentation allowed by multiple media formats and their usability in challenging stereotypic views of indigenous peoples. Moreover, creating polyvocal hypermedia can better represent the collaborative projects that are now common in anthropology. While I advocate for an increasing use of hypermedia in academic reportage, I also warn that obsolescence is the largest long-term challenge to broader acceptance and innovation in hypermedia publishing. Only with increased experimentation by authors in working in this medium and the allocation of adequate resources by research institutions will the potentials of hypermedia be realized.

II. Part 1 ~ Ethnographic Research

Chapter 1: Constructing the Other

1.1 The "Indians"

In order to trace the development of anthropological knowledge I will start at its foundation. For anthropology to become a discipline it had to have a subject of study and this had to be carefully selected from the innumerable elements of human reality. To accomplish the delineation of its subject anthropologists created a great divide in the world between those people like the early researcher people of European ancestry and all others. These "others" were made the special purview of anthropologists. The tools of the anthropologists, ethnographic research methods, were employed to develop an extensive body of representations that at times tell us more about Western notions of the "other" than they do about the actual peoples they intend to represent.

Literary theorist Edward Said (1978) explained how the "other" was built up as a thing which was constructed to define the West. The Qu?as were the "other" first for European colonial powers and then for what Christopher Bracken (1997) has termed the "Europe-in-Canada" that was constructed in present day British Columbia. Bracken argues that in order to define and delimit European and then Canadian settler society, the semantic slot of the "other" was constructed as the opposite to "civilization, the West, Christianity, improvement, progress, elevation, the settler, the colonist, and, inevitably, "the White man"" (Bracken 1997:11). The rendering of an uncivilized, non-Western, non-Christian, backward, traditional, lowly, "red man" who is "close to nature" is largely

the product of over two-hundred years of Western scholarship, academic theories, social fictions, and Western image making.

At the height of the British Empire, the colony of British Columbia was created as a new “Europe-in-Canada” that existed at the very edge of the empire. As the empire’s outermost reach, these British settlements were the final boundary between that which was European and its opposites, Asia and the subaltern “Indians”. As previously mentioned, the original misnomer “Indian” indicates that the Quuʔas became re-presented within the larger Mamaʔnʔi discourse which Said (1978) described as Orientalism and structured the world into a broad dichotomy of the European and civilized versus the uncivilized “other”. This “other” was under construction well before the Quuʔas – Mamaʔnʔi relationship began in the late 1700s when Spanish and British sailors first arrived in ships on the west coast of current day British Columbia looking for lands to claim and fortunes to be made from trade. In this sense, the colonial paradigm of the day had a slot ready for the Quuʔas even before Captain Cook described them in his journal.

1.2 Enlightenment, Knowledge and Power: ethnographic research as power over the Quuʔas

This history of colonialism and the relations between Mamaʔnʔi and Quuʔas people in British Columbia can be understood through the intersection of a particular European epistemology with expansion of Western European economies and peoples overseas. This foundational set of ideas that had already created a semantic slot for the “other” and in many ways shaped both representations of the Quuʔas and colonial policies has been called the Enlightenment. Starting in the 18th century, the

Enlightenment was a project of positivist science with a grand vision. David Harvey (1992) explains the Enlightenment in his book, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, his broad narrative on global social, economic, technological, demographic, and stylistic flows, as follows:

The idea was to use the accumulation of knowledge generated by many individuals working freely and creatively for the pursuit of human emancipation and the freedom from scarcity, want, and the arbitrariness of natural calamity. The development of rational forms of social organization and rational modes of thought promised liberation from the irrationalities of myth, religion, superstition, release from arbitrary use of power as well as from the dark side of our own human natures. (Harvey 1992:12)

Enlightenment ideas propounded the world as objectively knowable and governed by laws that could be discovered through scientific methods. Positivist scientific knowledge and social reformation were conjoined, with the result that knowledge of how the Quu?as were different from Europeans was gathered to construct them as a problematic “other” lacking the benefits of bourgeois European society and therefore in need of reform. Once this “other” was conceived as a subject of study, rational scientific methods were employed to gain knowledge of it. This knowledge operated in a Foucauldian sense – as power over the Quu?as – a power that was gained through research and then exerted through the institutions of state control – schools, prisons, mental institutions, the army, etcetera. Only once knowledge of this “other” was gained could the panoptic powers of the state be employed. Before state institutions could work to dominate and to ultimately remold the non-European people and places into a semblance of European people and landscapes, territories had to be mapped and the “other” studied.

This knowledge of the “other”, to be employable in the Enlightenment knowledge-power project, had to be fitted to a Western scientific taxonomy that broke it into ever smaller and knowable pieces. As Thomas Richards explains in his book the *Imperial Archive*, “the various civil bureaucracies sharing the administration of Empire were desperate for these manageable pieces of knowledge.... they pared the Empire down to file-cabinet size” (1993:4). For Britain to include North America in its Empire it was necessary to have the Quuʔas understood as “Indians” and (not always in a metaphorical sense) delivered to its institutional repositories of knowledge in “file-cabinet size” pieces¹². Richards suggests that this was done because Britain was unable to exert the same control over these foreign territories as it could within its own borders. He points out that “most of the procedures of control Michel Foucault spent his life studying are the internal prerogatives of the single nation-state. Prisons, schools, armies are national institutions...” and these were not well established in many areas of British Columbia until the mid to late twentieth century¹³ (Richards 1993:2).

The early absence of these institutions of state control caused a high importance to be placed on knowing the new peoples and lands placed under the auspices of the empire. Richards depicts the growing imperial archives as being indispensable to the empire itself for “...the British viewed their empire as an immense administrative challenge. Nobody in Britain ever thought seriously about occupying most of the red blotches on the world map of empire” (1993:1-2). The distant colony that became British

¹² Here I refer to the delivery of the bones of Quuʔas ancestors to British museums as well as live Quuʔas people who were shipped to Europe to be viewed by colonial rulers in carnivalesque spectacles arranged for public audiences.

¹³ In fact even to this day, many areas in British Columbia are sparsely populated by Mاماʔnʔi people and these areas are only nominally under government control.

Columbia was in the early days only under firm British rule within a few ghettos of colonial domination. Although Quu?as were wary of British gunboats, they had already gained access to European muskets before British settlers arrived and vastly outnumbered the colonists everywhere except for within a few fortified settlements. This lack of real control over the large land mass claimed by the British crown meant that the collection of knowledge and data from the new colonies was a key component of the British claim to power over land, people, and resources.

The scientists that Spanish and British explorers brought with them when they were laying claim to new lands were of great importance for scientific discovery, the Enlightenment ideal of progress, and for empire building. In Daniel Clayton's depiction of Captain Cook's time spent among the Nuu-chah-nulth, he states that these "...scientists and artists who accompanied [Cook] ...contributed to a body of European ideas about non-European lands and peoples that induced, supported, and legitimized imperial expansion" (Clayton 2003:134). On Cook's and subsequent voyages of "discovery", geographic, geologic, botanical, and ethnographic specimens were gathered to be shipped back to European institutions. Richards depicts the administrative center of the British Empire as being "...built around knowledge-producing institutions like the British Museum, the Royal Geographic Society, the India Survey, and the universities..."(1993:4) and that these worked to gather specimens as raw data that could be inserted into scientific taxonomies for ordering a Eurocentric world.

Archival evidence of British Columbia was first inserted in the British colonial institutions of knowing by the scientists and geographers on Captain Cook's and Captain Vancouver's expeditions, and this process of data gathering was continued by geographic

surveys that were also sponsored by colonial governments. For example, George M. Dawson was a geologist who initially worked for and then was director of the Geological Survey of Canada from 1875 to 1885. Ira Jacknis, in his book on ethnographic knowledge gathering in British Columbia, speaks of George Dawson as being “not unlike the [American] Smithsonian scientist John Wesley Powell in his combination of geological and ethnological interests. Dawson spent a good deal of time on his geological surveys gathering data on Natives. In the inclusive nineteenth-century style, he collected minerals, plants, and animals, along with human curiosities” (2002: 22). A scientist who started out with similar work on geographic surveys was Franz Boas (1858-1942). Although he was originally trained in physics and geography, Boas’ early work on geographic expeditions led to his collection of large numbers of ethnographic artefacts and his work as an early anthropologist. Between 1886 and 1900, Boas collected ethnographic artefacts on a number of expeditions for the British Association for the Advancement of Science and then for a number of different museums in Europe, Canada, and the USA. Franz Boas also went on to almost single-handedly found the discipline of anthropology in North America and train its first generation of anthropologists (McGee & Warms 1996).

Although Boas established anthropology as a new discipline in American universities, there had already been a number of scholars producing ethnographic texts and theory. Early ethnographic works, born of the Enlightenment, attempted to produce objective knowledge of the “other” and fit it into a classificatory system of development pointing the way to social advancement. Nineteenth century evolutionists, such as the forefathers of anthropology Henry Morgan and Herbert Spencer, viewed the Quu?as as living fossils that provided evidence of the earlier stages of a unilineal chain of social

evolution. For these unilineal evolutionists, the state of Quu?as peoples as they were assumed to have existed before European contact was taken as an earlier stage of social evolution that all of the more advanced Western societies had also passed through. According to these social Darwinian notions, the Quu?as people would either die out (which in light of a series of epidemics, many believed they were doing) or they would become “civilized” like Europeans. The ideas of the social evolutionists were later rejected by Franz Boas and a school of thought that he founded - historical particularism.¹⁴ The historical particularists of early twentieth century anthropology in North America were explicitly opposed to the long standing racist ideas of the evolutionists, as were their British contemporaries, functionalists¹⁵, who conceived of timeless homeostatic societies that were contrary to the evolutionary framework. While both the American historical particularists and the British functionalists of early anthropological thought did not have the explicitly racist overtones of evolutionists, they both practiced a positivist anthropological method based on the hard sciences. In fact, both the fathers of American and of British anthropology, Franz Boas and Bronislaw Malinowski (1881-1955), obtained their PhDs in the hard sciences before becoming primarily concerned with ethnographic work. They both attempted to develop rigorous field methods that largely mimicked the objective atomizing methods of the hard

¹⁴ Boas’s school of thought in anthropology, labelled historical particularism only after its heyday, rejected the idea of unilineal evolution and proposed that each culture was a unique result of three factors: environmental conditions, psychological factors, and historical connections. Of these three, Boas considered the historical circumstances of a culture’s development to be the most important (McGee & Warms 1996).

¹⁵ The functionalist school of thought that tended to dominate anthropological discourse in Britain in the first half of the twentieth century employed the metaphor of a biological organism to explain the functioning of societies. “Looking for cause-and-effect relationships, they saw society as a system of interrelated parts that, like the parts of an organism, operated independently. Social institutions, they suggested, exist because they serve a function – they maintain the stability of the system” (McGee & Warms 1996:154).

sciences. Although historical particularists did not investigate Quu?as societies for clues to an unilinear evolutionary scheme, they were primarily interested in the precontact state of these societies. With a concern for the unique attributes and histories of each cultural group, anthropologists of this school made every attempt to uncover what indigenous societies were like in a pure, raw form, prior to the contamination of European cultural influences. This practice that shaped North American anthropology and has continued to permeate most ethnographic work done in British Columbia in the twentieth century¹⁶ became known as salvage anthropology.

¹⁶ It seems that the majority of ethnographic work from the 1890s through to the 1980s could be characterized as salvage anthropology. It is notable that even Arima's ethnography of the Nuuchahnulth published in 1983 is essentially informed by the salvage anthropology paradigm.

Chapter 2: Salvaging an Imagined Past

2.1 Salvage Anthropology and the Role of “Collecting” in Anthropological Research

In their 1986 review of the state of anthropology, authors George Marcus and Michael Fischer describe the previous century of ethnographic work as typified by a motif of salvage.

...The main motif that ethnography as a science developed was that of salvaging cultural diversity, threatened with global Westernization, especially during the age of colonialism. The ethnographer would capture in writing the authenticity of changing cultures, so they could be entered into the record for the great comparative project of anthropology, which was to support the Western goal of social and economic progress. The salvage motif as a worthy scientific purpose (along with a more subdued romantic discovery motif) has remained strong in ethnography to the present. (Marcus & Fischer 1986:24)

This idea of salvage started with the previously mentioned collecting of ethnographic materials, along with plants and rock samples, done on scientific expeditions. Although Jacob Gruber paints salvage anthropology in a very positive light – that would be questioned in subsequent years – his 1970 article, *Ethnographic Salvage and the Shaping of Anthropology*, details the way in which the motif of salvage drove the discipline of anthropology. “In 1884, E.B. Tylor, moved by the sense of impending loss of the valuable sources of ethnological data, called on the newly established section on anthropology of the British Association for the Advancement of Science to initiate an intensive effort to record that which is about to disappear” (Gruber 1970:1296). Franz Boas continued this collecting to construct “...anthropology as a science of culture rather

than of the colonial encounter, an historical mode of inquiry that rested on a principled effort to construct history as a pre-contact, romanticized past..." (Briggs & Baumann 1999:516).

This precontact past that was the object of much ethnographic investigation in the twentieth century was spurred on by the negative impacts of colonialism that seemed to doom Quuʔas peoples to extinction or complete assimilation. Anthropologists felt that they must collect as much evidence as possible of the soon to be lost cultures of these peoples while at the same time assuming that they must only document the cultures as they imagined them to be before European contact. In large part, only the truly "other" was recorded and collected, the impact of colonialism was largely stricken from the ethnographic record for it was not a part of this imagined precontact existence. Many aspects of Quuʔas peoples' lives experienced during field research were intentionally ignored even though in British Columbia there are no ethnographic records that predate the influence of European contact¹⁷. For example, Captain Cook noted that Nuu-chah-nulth people were already using tools made from European metal when he arrived on the West Coast in 1778 (Arima 1983). Boas arrived a hundred years later and within Gruber's (1970) positive account of salvage anthropology, we can see the efforts that Boas had to go to in order to reconstruct a precontact past:

[Boas] ...moved among the remnants of once flourishing communities whose cultures and languages were already fragmented by the forces of acculturation that accompanied the missionary, the cannery, the town, and the railroad. From an informant here and a small group there he

¹⁷The arrival of European goods and early contact may not have been as important a historical event for Quuʔas peoples as our Eurocentric histories make it out to be. My focus on it here is not to emphasize its importance but rather to indicate that it was a part of the flow of history and not the momentous event that it appears to be in many academic works.

gathered the data that were assumed useful and necessary to the reconstruction of cultural systems already on the point of disappearance. (Gruber 1970:1296)

2.2 The Role of Museums in British Columbia: research collections and public exhibitions of Quuʔas artefacts and heritage

This idea of the "...savage vanishing on the disappearing frontier of an advancing civilization, set the tone and the method for much that was anthropology in the early years of its prosecution as a self-conscious discipline" (Gruber 1970:1297) and was also the driving force behind extensive museum collecting that was done in British Columbia. The institutions that sponsored the collecting shifted with the changes in colonial power from London to Ottawa and then Victoria, for museums signify "...in a very concrete sense, the culmination of the colonial mission. A museum, it might be said, marks the coming of age of a city (and particularly a colonial city) and its introduction into an elite company whose roots lie in the powerful colonial centers of England, France, and Spain" (McLoughlin 1999:106). The amassing of ethnographic collections from British Columbia was completed first for the British Museum in London, next in the Museum of the Geological Survey in Ottawa (which later became the Canadian Museum of Civilization) and then the British Columbia Museum in Victoria. These museums (and a number of German and American museums) worked to collect the objects from the Quuʔas communities in British Columbia to "salvage" what they could of the peoples and cultures that they believed to be doomed to extinction. The carvings, old tools, weavings, and human bones that they collected were evidence that was assumed to be representative of whole cultures. As Ira Jacknis suggests, "all collecting is an act of reproduction, the

creation of miniature worlds, in which the set of accumulated objects is regarded, metonymically, as standing for the larger whole” (Jacknis 2002:19). The objects that were collected in storerooms in colonial centres and then arranged in display cases were meant to represent these cultures (inclusive of whole communities of people, their world view, their art, and daily activities, etcetera).

The work of collecting for museums was about gathering objects considered to be *authentic* artefacts of a hypothetical precontact culture. “Authenticity” must be understood as “...the social construction of value, as it is a rhetorical privileging of something, making it significant in a hierarchy of value” (Jacknis 2002:6). Those objects considered authentic were the objects that seemed to lack visible signs of European influence and conform to the collectors’ ideas of what was representative of precontact culture. Since the idea of precontact culture was based on presuppositions about its difference from European cultures, or Western notions of the “other”, there was a process of double construction where items were classified as *authentic* and collected only if they conformed to the construct of an anthropologist’s notion of an imagined precontact culture. According to Jacknis (2002), if a certain *traditional* object was not available to a collector, they at times hired Quu’as artisans to carve or weave the desired item according to very specific instructions about the “traditional” style that was to be followed. Thus, anthropologists who worked to document culture, “...ended up creating what they collected, literally, with commissions and conservation treatment, but also more subtly, as they gathered some things and left out others” (Jacknis 2002:19).

Although a full explanation is beyond the scope of this paper, one result of the work of collectors was the monetary valuation of specific styles of artistic production that

were considered by collectors to be *authentic* and *traditional*¹⁸. This valuation has had substantial influence on the production of *traditional* artwork in British Columbia. For example, the skilful but simple style of carving that seems to have been practiced by Nuu-chah-nulth carvers around the time that Captain Cook visited them seems to have gone out of vogue since, due in large part to the commercial valuation of the more ornate Kwakwaka'wakw and Haida carving styles. In addition to collectors influencing the style of *traditional* artworks, Jacknis (2002) presents numerous examples of collectors and/or their local assistants altering artefacts (e.g. removing paint) to make them more *authentic* and commissioning the production of new *authentic* artefacts. These unaltered, altered and commissioned but now authenticated, artefacts then became museum collections. These museum collections aimed to "...construct a simulacrum, a *model of*, Native culture [and] the museum display that follows is then a simulacrum of the collection" (Jacknis 2002:3).

With the examples provided by Ira Jacknis, we can see how anthropologists and collectors created museum collections that were arguably as much a representation of their society's ideas of a traditional "other" as they were of the Quu?as peoples in British Columbia. The Baconian scientific understanding of how to dissect reality created the alienation of objects and records from their cultural context and transposed them into narratives of the "other" which said much about what Europeans considered themselves *not* to be and at best produced only a partial representation of the Quu?as peoples that they intended to portray. Moreover, in a process that is similar to the way in which

¹⁸ For a number of articles that explore this same process at work with *traditional* artwork from Australia, Africa, and the United States see the volume edited by Marcus and Myers (1995) *The Traffic in Culture: reconfiguring art and anthropology*.

textual authority is produced in ethnographies (this will be explored in Chapter 3), the museums provide scant background on the criteria they used for selecting objects, the way in which their collections were gathered and the commissioning or alteration of objects for display.

The representations that salvage anthropologists and museum collectors created did much to inform textbooks, history books, and media images of Quuʔas peoples. I argue that it is largely the work of salvage ethnographers and collectors that informed popular notions of the “Indians” as noble savages that lived a non-Western pre-modern existence. Mamaʔnʔi people have been well steeped in these images of the “Indians” that work to make real Quuʔas people in present day Canada often appear to be unauthentic or as having lost their culture if they do not appear to conform to popular images of “Indians”. Before I discuss responses from within academia born of a general realization of the problems of doing salvage ethnography, these images of the “noble savage” need further explanation. In the following section I will detail how some of the images that create ideas of the noble savage have operated in Canadian society.

2.3 The Imaginary Indian via Salvage Anthropology

The images of “Indians” that are consumed by Mamaʔnʔi Canadians are mostly derived from school textbooks, history books, novels, historic travellers’ accounts, paintings, photographs, museum exhibits, and the media. While it is far beyond the limitations of this paper to explore all of these areas of image-making, a few examples of how these images operate in museums, textbooks, artwork and in my own experience will

illustrate the way in which Mamaʔn'i notions of the "Indian" are both a pervasive and problematic part of Canadian consciousness.

In the summer of 2003, I was hired to work on a culture and language revitalization project with a Nuu-chah-nulth organization based in Ucluelet, British Columbia. During that summer, I was visited by an old friend who attended high school with me in British Columbia. He knew that I was working on a project with First Nations elders and he told me that he'd really like to meet some of the "Indians". A little embarrassed by the implications of his request, I suggested he go into the ice cream parlour across the street since it was Nuu-chah-nulth owned and operated. His response was "No. I'd like to meet some, you know... *real* Indians". Although he was well intentioned and had a genuine interest in meeting Nuu-chah-nulth people, the Nuu-chah-nulth people that he could meet on the street in Ucluelet or the other Quuʔas people that we went to high school with were not the authentic "Indians" that he enquired after. Notions of the "noble savage", of an imagined "Indian" with easily romanticized understandings rooted in a special connection with nature and non-Western understanding of the world were what he was after. Although in a sense many Nuu-chah-nulth people do have knowledge which is non-Western, and do have a different relationship to nature than many Mamaʔn'i people, he would not find any Nuu-chah-nulth people who would live up to his idealized notions of the "noble savage", and the ice cream parlour in Ucluelet was as good a place as any other to find knowledgeable Nuu-chah-nulth folks.

This personal experience indicates both the relevance and currency of my concern with the idea of images that Mamaʔn'i have of Quuʔas even when they grow up as

neighbours. Here I indict myself, a Mama'n'i raised on Indian Reserve land with Quu'as friends. I admit to being so indoctrinated with images and notions of the "Imaginary Indian" that I have also at times been surprised or disappointed by reality when Quu'as people do not live up to the vestiges of these images that have lodged themselves somewhere in my consciousness. If we are to look at ways to move beyond these stereotypical images, which I will do towards the end of this chapter and in chapter three, we must first investigate their origins. The first example I will explore in this investigation is that of the museum.

Museums play a leading role in the representation of Quu'as people to the general public. Professor of museum studies, Susan Pearce suggests that museum exhibits that depict the Quu'as are "...tied to past realities by the material which they show, but as works of interpretation, they bear only a metaphorical relationship to this reality" (1992:141). In the case of many museums, this metaphorical relationship has been one of certain types of objects being evidence for romantic Mama'n'i ideas of a pre-contact "Indian" past. There are direct connections between the ideas of anthropologists, museums and public perceptions of indigenous peoples as traditional and pre-modern. Two common metaphors that can be viewed in classic museum display are those of the Quu'as as Stone Age fossils of a unilineal evolutionary march towards modernity and the Quu'as as representative of humans living in a state of nature. The first evolutionary metaphor can be traced to the unilineal evolutionary theories that predominated in anthropology in the late eighteenth hundreds [especially the works of Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881), and Sir Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917)]. The many displays of Quu'as-made lithic technologies in museums, if not always

intended to place the Quu?as in a pre-modern evolutionary state, are likely understood that way by many museum viewers. The other metaphor – the state of nature – has a connection with the works of Thomas Hobbes and Jean-Jacques Rousseau¹⁹ and their depictions of a pre-social state of nature²⁰. Many of the natural history museums in the West have had the objective of collecting samples of nature that have included rocks, plants, animals, and the artefacts of Quu?as peoples. The Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History (SNMNH) in Washington D.C., the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) in New York, the Field Museum of Natural History (FMNH) in Chicago, and the Geological Survey of Canada Museum (now called the Canadian Museum of Civilization) (CMC) in Ottawa, as “natural history” museums literally embed their representations of the Quu?as in “nature”. This idea of the Quu?as as being a part of nature, with nature as the opposite of civilization, is intimately connected with the previously depicted project of salvage anthropology. As a part of nature, the Quu?as were timeless and primordial, but to be an authentic “Indian” the Quu?as could not appear to be too civilized. The “Indians” as a part of nature have been a key component of museum collecting. Three natural history museums that I recently had the opportunity to visit, the AMNH in New York, FMNH in Chicago, and the Royal British Columbia Museum (RBCM) in Victoria, currently have displays that are typical of classic natural history museum displays²¹. Each has substantial collections of materials from Quu?as peoples in British Columbia and although the AMNH and the FMNH have collections that date to

¹⁹ It has been suggested that Rousseau in developing his idea of a state of nature also invented the “noble savage” based on his assumptions about South Pacific Islanders (Smith 1999:49).

²⁰ The state of human existence in the state of nature is markedly different in the works of Hobbes and Rousseau but both are constructs of a past human existence that likely has never existed and certainly was not the human state of existence in North America in during the past millennium.

²¹ I have been fortunate to have the opportunity to visit each of these museums in the past three years.

the end of the nineteenth-century, as of 2003 their displays have changed little since the time of Franz Boas.

The RBCM has a collection that is a few decades more recent and a display that although slowly undergoing change, was mostly designed in the 1980s²². The RBCM has followed the lead of the AMNH and FMNH with permanent First Nations' displays that contain a preponderance of decontextualized ceremonial masks, stone tools, and traditional crafts²³. The only significant additions that the RBCM has made to this antiquated museum display are the short narratives about the destructive influences of colonization, although I would argue that this works to reinforce the notion that the Quu?as cultures are now dead or much diluted²⁴. Moira McLouchlin in her analysis of this museum also points out that the overall floor plan works to construct "...Native cultures as a homogenous world which acts simply as a preface, a moment, in the history of the 'Modern'" (1999:141). All three museums display collections of artefacts that were selected, gathered, and constructed according to the collectors' ideas of a pre-contact existence. Ironically these collections that attempted to "salvage" the cultures of the Quu?as before they became extinct reflect collectors and curators' imaginings of a precontact period and do not reflect material culture at the time that the collecting occurred. This is not to say that the majority of artefacts in these displays are not products of the cultures they come to represent but rather that the exhibits omit many of the other

²² Dr. Lorne Hammond, personal communication (April 29, 2005).

²³ There has been a temporary exhibit at the RBCM, "Out of the Mist", which represents a new collaborative way of creating a museum display. It received extensive input from Nuu-chah-nulth people and is a positive step in the direction that museums can take to address many of the issues presented in this chapter (Black 1999).

²⁴ On my last viewing, there were also a number of audio clips that would play as individual masks were lit in a case. Although the audio most mostly inaudible, it would be a small step towards better contextualization of the collection and create a connection to living Quu?as people if it worked properly.

artefacts of these cultures that would show them as similar to European settler cultures of the same time period. For example, most of the Nuu-chah-nulth families that I have worked with have been very involved in the commercial salmon fishery for more than three generations and made extensive use of their cultural knowledge in their fishing endeavours. I have yet to see a museum make any reference to First Nations' commercial fisheries. Most museums' displays of Quuʔas artefacts still lack significant contextualization for the artefacts and provide few if any links to the living people and cultures that these artefacts historically came from²⁵. Mamaʔn'i viewers all too often leave these museums with romantic notions of the "Imaginary Indian" (Francis 1993). "Native Canadian culture... appears as a *fait accompli*, a completed project that has achieved its zenith and will move no further (McLoughlin 1999:150). Instilling an understanding of the history of the real living cultures of Quuʔas people could be assisted by other methods of museum display²⁶.

It is not only the museums that present us with our notions of the "Imaginary Indian". These notions have generally been taught to us at an early age. This is exemplified in a children's textbook that could have been used in my own elementary schooling. The images below are from a social studies activity book published twenty-five years ago:

²⁵ Many museums are aware of the problem and as will be explained in the following section, have been working with often limited resources over the past couple of decades to address it.

²⁶ Although I do not have time to explore the curatorial strategies that would provide this link to living indigenous people, the Museum of New Zealand – Te Papa Tongarewa in my opinion does an exemplary job of making these connections. This museum displays fewer objects, provides more contextualization, and addresses current political issues. Their displays also include recently made items in a manner that connects displays of historic objects to present realities.

INDIAN CHART

Make your chart show how each group of Indians lived.

	Homes	Clothing	Food
Northeast Indians	A1	A2	A3
Plains Indians	B1	B2	B3
Southwest Indians	C1	C2	C3
Northwest Indians	D1	D2	D3

INDIAN CHART

1. Place each picture in the row that tells where these Indians lived.
2. Paste it in the box under the word that tells what this picture shows: home, clothing or food.

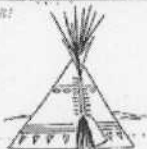


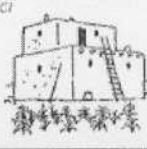








B1 	A2 	B3 
C1 	B2 	C2 
A1 	D1 	C3 
D2 	A3 	D3 

Fig. 3. Indian Chart

The “Indian Chart” (Instructo/McGraw-Hill 1974:19-20) appears to be the result of the extreme simplification and generalization of anthropological knowledge about the indigenous peoples of North America. The information that anthropology seems to have provided to the creator of this textbook has been simplified to the point where virtually all information about the real people is removed and what is left is only a rough approximation of anthropological constructs. The anthropological metanarratives remain with the most visible component of this exercise being the organization of very broadly perceived cultural groups into a classificatory scheme (splitting by geographic regions so broad as to be relatively meaningless to people indigenous to them). Also, in keeping with classic ethnographic texts, we can see the organization of cultures into a matrix of cross-cultural categories that are Western constructs imposed on these cultures (homes, clothing, and food). Having children cut out these rough illustrations of stereotypical

traditional “Indian” images and place them into an anthropological taxonomy could be conceived as a good first step towards training young anthropologists but certainly not for teaching youth about real Quu?as people who may even be their classmates or neighbours.

If we are to continue with textbook examples that shape us in our formative years, there has continued to be a regular uncritical selection of illustrations in history textbooks. According to Daniel Francis (1993), a painting completed by Benjamin West in 1771 depicting the English General James Wolfe dying on the battlefield on the Plains of Abraham and yet triumphant in his capture of Canada for Britain is one of the most commonly reproduced images in Canadian History textbooks²⁷.



Fig. 4. The Death of Wolfe²⁸

Despite its regular reproduction in non-fiction texts,

...this famous painting, *the Death of Wolfe* ...exemplifies the Imaginary Indian. It is largely a work of fiction, not an

²⁷ A search on Google added credibility to Francis’s claim; it produced almost twenty webpages with images of West’s Painting and many of them were sites about history or history texts but all lacking a critical perspective on the “Indian” in the painting.

²⁸ This image was copied from www2.gol.com/users/quakers/death_of_wolfe.jpg and cropped to about half its original size.

actual recreation of the event depicted... No Indian was there; Wolfe despised them and anyway, they fought on the side of the French. But Benjamin West was an admirer of the Noble Savage and so included the contemplative Native, mourning the death of his commander. The painting has enjoyed enormous popularity and has been reproduced in countless schoolbooks down through the years as an authentic view of the battlefield. (Francis 1993:11)

The Canadian painter Paul Kane followed in the footsteps of both Benjamin West and American painter George Catlin who inspired him to paint the “Indians” before they disappeared. The Quu?as people that Kane encountered in his journeys into Western Canada evidently did not fit well enough with his idea of the “noble savage”, so like the museum collectors who were working in the same time period, he worked to construct a more *authentic* “Indian”. He “...often added details of setting and landscape to highlight the romantic flavour of the scenes, and he sometimes “cheated” by adding clothing and artefacts foreign to the Indians in the paintings” (Francis 1993:21). Kane’s images of “noble savages” were well received and a series of his paintings was bought by the Canadian government and now resides in the National Gallery in Ottawa and these images have been subsequently inserted into many textbooks. As Francis suggests, “...for most of us, the Indian of nineteenth-century Canada is Paul Kane’s Indian” (1993:22) and I would extend this to the extent that these images form a basis for current day notions of the “noble savage”.

The more recent images of “Indians” and “Indian” artefacts, as depicted by famous Victoria artist, Emily Carr, also connect with the program of “salvage anthropology”. Haida/Tsimshian artist Marcia Crosby believes that Emily Carr’s paintings

...were authentic or real in the sense that they were ethnographic depictions of actual abandoned villages and rotting poles. However, her paintings of the last poles intimate that the authentic Indians who made them existed only in the past, and that all the changes that occurred afterwards provide evidence of racial contamination, and cultural and moral deterioration. (Crosby 1991:276)

If we consider early photographs taken of Quu?as people in British Columbia, there is a similar construction of the “noble savage” taking place. Starting in 1900, Seattle photographer Edward Curtis started a project that resulted in his production of over 1,500 prints of native people in North America. Again, in keeping with salvage anthropology and settler perceptions of the day, he labelled his first print in this massive series, “The Vanishing Race” (Francis 1993). As he travelled North America, “...he carried a stock of more or less authentic, more or less appropriate (often less, on both counts) clothing and accoutrements with which to deck out his [subjects]...” (Rosler 1999:310). In the photos that he took of Nuu-chah-nulth people, he had them dress up in traditional cedar bark clothing to cover the European style clothing that they usually wore and hold traditional tools or spears that were no longer used. Curtis tried,

...to present Indians as they existed before White Man came; or, more accurately, as he thought they existed before White Man came... Native people as they actually lived did not interest him because in his eyes they were no longer Indians. Only in his photographs might one find the real Indian, which is to say, the Imaginary Indian. (Francis, 1993:41)

While these are just a few examples of the construction of the “Imaginary Indian” from photography, painting, and school textbooks, there are numerous other examples that could be added. The construction of the Quu?as in British Columbia by salvage anthropologists as pre-modern, traditional and now endangered cultural groups has,

according to Morris (1994), become widely represented in the ethnographic films of the 1900s. The topic is explored in detail by Rosalind Morris (1994) in her book, *New World Fragments: film, ethnography, and the representation of Northwest Coast cultures*. Similarly, a book by Hirschfelder (1982), *American Indian Stereotypes in the World of Children*, presents the way in which numerous fictional children's stories place "Indians" in a traditional past that excludes them from the modern world. Philip J. Deloria's (1998) text, *Playing Indian*, depicts many instances where white Americans have "played Indian" [e.g. Ernest Thompson Seton's (1911) children's book, *Two Little Savages: being the adventures of two boys who lived as Indians and what they learned*] and the importance of conceptions of the "Indian" as "other" in the creation of an American identity that could be rooted in this continent. Ronald Haycock (1971) presents an analysis of the prevalent notions of "Indians" in Canada that appeared in popular national magazines from 1900-1970. His findings are that,

...in the general view of the years explored, the onset saw ideas that were remarkably and characteristically Social-Darwinistic in view. The natives were the perennial children of nature, noble savages, or lazy, shiftless and negligent. As such they were to be tolerated, regulated, and eventually assimilated. (Haycock 1971:90)

It should be noted that these images of "Indians" that run through Mamaṭn'i consciousness have the effect of what Johannes Fabian (1983) has referred to as a denial of coevalness – a lack of shared time. Creating the indigenous people of Canada as traditional while the rest of us are modern implies that they are a historical occurrence and thus if they live in the modern world, they are much diluted by European culture and

modern technologies or if they are not in traditional dress and acting²⁹ in the way “Indians” should act, they are not authentic and are not “real Indians”. The popular notions of what makes a real authentic “Indian” have implications for Canadian (and American) society and our ability to come to terms with our colonial history and the Quu?as peoples upon whose traditional territories we all live. Anthropology’s involvement in the creation of these stereotyped images of Quu?as peoples, albeit through probably well intentioned research, did create a need to examine the politics and ethics around such research, and various types of representations they produced.

Chapter 3: Deconstructing Anthropology

3.1 Crisis of Representation and Postmodernism

The issues of representation have been long recognized as a concern within the discipline of anthropology but really came to the fore with Postmodernism (Marcus & Fischer 1986). This moment within the human sciences and period of fragmentation and dialogue about the very foundations upon which all intellectual expression and research with humans rests, started soon after the mid-20th century decolonization and civil rights movements began and has continued to the current day. This storm raised in the human sciences has perhaps raged the strongest in anthropology and it is this discipline upon which the following discussion will hang.

²⁹ See both Berkhofer’s (1978), *the White Man’s Indian: images of the American Indian from Columbus to the present*, and the more recent compilation edited by Bird (1996), *Dressing in Feathers: the construction of the Indian in American popular culture*, for a presentation of the stereotypes of “Indian” behaviour as it has been constructed in popular culture.

Changes within academia were closely related to the flow of Western history and can be traced to the decolonization movement. The colonial powers of Europe were left in such tatters by the end of the Second World War that they lacked both the justification and often the means to resist the calls for state independence coming from most of their colonies around the world³⁰. A similar process was also at work within Canada as Quu?as communities were also trying to wrest control of paternalistic government programs away from government and into the hands of their local community leaders. In both international decolonization efforts and decolonization struggles within Canada, indigenous graduates of Western universities had a substantial impact on the success of these efforts. After WWII the Canadian government implemented a number of changes to policies regarding First Nations, although according to Tennant (1990) these changes were not the result of Quu?as political struggles within Canada, they were instead an attempt to develop a favourable reputation internationally in light of both the decolonization movements in other colonies and the civil rights movement in the United States. Just as these movements, as well as the women's movement, had an impact on government policies, they also had a considerable impact on academics working in the human sciences generally and in anthropology in particular. For anthropologists the criticisms of their work coming from the indigenous communities that had for a century been their objects of study were particularly damning.

There is no clear point at which the convergence of these many social movements and broad social changes came together with new critiques in academia but the late

³⁰ The colonies that were dominated by local European newcomer populations such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand had a different relationship with Britain than the White minority colonies and received forms of self-government much earlier. As well, Spain experienced a much earlier decline in its ability to control its colonies and its colonies in the Americas were mostly granted independence in the 1800s.

nineteen-seventies was when the works of deconstructionist Jacques Derrida, French philosophers Jean-François Lyotard and Michel Foucault, as well as literary theorist Edward Said, became very influential in academic circles³¹. In response to these new ideas and social movements, there was a crisis in anthropology that seems to have become widely recognized with the publication of *Writing Culture* (1982), a volume edited by James Clifford and George E. Marcus that indicted anthropology as a political activity and applied literary critiques to anthropology's genre of discourse – ethnography³². This work, along with the Clifford's *Predicament of Culture* (1988) and Marcus and Fischer's *Anthropology as Cultural Critique* (1986), launched anthropology into a process in which anthropologists worked to deconstruct their discipline. This was part of a wider movement of critique of the human sciences that became known as Postmodernism and was viewed as the end of the Enlightenment Project. The previously proscribed positivist ways of knowing that attempted to emulate the hard sciences were judged to be problematic to the point of obsolescence and there was a general destabilization of taken-for-granted epistemologies.

There were three general and closely related areas of criticism put forward by the postmodern critique that raged through academia in the 1980s and 1990s. The first criticism levelled at the Enlightenment epistemology was against its focus on the discovery of *truth* and a positivist belief in metanarratives that were used to explain wide scale social change and development. A second and related critique was a questioning of

³¹ Some of Foucault's work was published a decade earlier although he was also publishing in the late 70s and seems to have gained recognition in North American postmodern thinking at a similar time to the other authors.

³² Dell Hymes edited an earlier collection of essays, *Reinventing Anthropology*, in 1972 that, although it questioned where anthropology might be headed, was more of a call for reform than an outright critical critique of the discipline.

the ability of established research methods to create explanations of social reality in the context of increasingly complex and interrelated social worlds. A third problematic area that related to these first two critiques was a greater recognition of subjectivity and recognition of politics and power within academic discourses. The most damning critiques of the politics and power relations inherent in ethnographic research came from the very people who had been the subjects of this research. Vine Deloria Jr. and other academically trained indigenous people dealt especially powerful blows to the previous denial of culpability in colonial power relations that had been enjoyed by salvage anthropologists. As Marcus and Fischer explained in 1986:

The key feature of the moment... is the loosening of the hold over fragmented scholarly communities of either specific totalizing visions or a general paradigmatic style of organizational research. The authority of the "grand theory" styles seems suspended for the moment in the favor of a close consideration of such issues as contextuality, the meaning of social life to those who enact it, and the explanation of exceptions and indeterminants rather than regularities in phenomena observed – all issues that make problematic what were taken for granted as facts or certainties on which the validity of paradigms had rested. (Marcus & Fischer 1986:8)

The crisis of representation was also felt by museum curators who have been very much a part of the colonial encounter and salvage paradigm. In 1992, Susan Pearce explained that "in coming to terms with the ideological nature of collections and of traditional display policies, museums are faced with a crisis of representation, centering upon what is collected, how it is shown and who decides..." (1992: 241). Museum curators increasingly started to listen to critiques of their work that came from postmodern critics and the Quu?as peoples whom they attempted to re-present.

With decolonization and recognition of power imbalances under colonial regimes, some museums started the difficult process of returning human remains and ill-gotten artefacts to the communities from whence they came. Many museums have also used collaborative methods, as will be detailed in chapter four, to work with indigenous communities to produce new museum displays that break away from the problematic narratives of the evolutionary, decontextualized, and primitivist exhibits of the past.

The political realizations and critiques that became widely recognized with Postmodernism spurred an investigation into the writing styles employed in ethnographic texts (McGee & Warms 1996). Since much of the postmodern critique employed in anthropology was derived from literary criticism, it is hardly surprising that there was a close examination of tropes employed by ethnographers and the way in which their authority was cemented through writings that were underpinned by anthropology as a positive “science of man”. As suggested in the previous depiction of salvage anthropology, ethnographic texts have played a key role in the development of notions and stereotypes of the “Indian”. The way in which the power of the ethnographer was augmented by literary devices employed in ethnographic texts is an important aspect of my investigation into representations of the Quuʔas. I will now turn to an investigation of the creation of authority in ethnographic texts.

3.2 Textual Author-ity in Ethnographies

An element of the critiques of ethnographic representation that I have not yet discussed is that of textual authority. Franz Boas, the founder of anthropology in North America, was an expert at producing authority in his textual writing through the removal

of his presence and research methodologies from the ethnographies that he produced (Briggs & Bauman 1999). He wrote in the third person and provided no explanation of the way in which he was gathering his materials. In a text on the St'át'imc people (called Lillooet in older literature) the same group with whom I worked on a hypermedia project in 2004-2005, comes an exemplary couple of lines that were researched by James Teit and edited by Boas: "The ideas of the Lillooet regarding the world were similar to the Thompson tribe. The earth was believed to be round" (Teit 1906:274). In addition to the use of third person and the resulting implicit claim to knowledge, Boas ignored both the colonial context of his research and the way in which many of the stories that he published were gathered by local assistants who had created them through the compilation of stories from multiple informants and then "traditionalized" these stories through changes to their speech style and word usage (Briggs & Bauman 1999). Boas thus worked to produce, what Roland Barthes has termed "readerly" (lisible) texts – texts which attempt to force the reader to accept them as a true reflection of reality that requires no mediation on their part (Barthes 1970). Boas' intention was to produce ethnographic texts of such a "readerly" nature that "...many of Boas's students and defenders shared his conviction that texts collected and written down in the language of the informant constituted [in his words] 'the foundation of all future researches'" (Briggs & Bauman 1999:480). Boas created texts with such authority that he was able to convey to his readers the idea that his data was scientifically gathered, rather than being carefully selected, compiled, slightly altered reproductions of a number of conversations held within a colonial context.

Evidence of the success of Boas' creation of textual authority can be found in the wholesale reproduction of his ethnographic writing in a much more recent ethnography about the Nuu-chah-nulth – the same group that I worked with on a collaborative project in 2002-2003. So successful was Boas at removing his own presence from these texts and at establishing their authority as genuine artefacts of an original Nuu-chah-nulth culture that seventy years later the Canadian ethnographer Eugene Arima (1983) evidently felt no need to explain why he quoted nearly twenty pages of verbatim text from the stories published by Boas. These stories seem to have been accepted by Arima as *fact*. Arima relied on the work of Boas and his collaborator George Hunt despite his own ability to converse in the Nuu-chah-nulth language and numerous years of field work in Nuu-chah-nulth communities³³. In this ethnography, Arima's elevation of old texts over his own fieldwork signals his acceptance of anthropology as "...an historical mode of inquiry that rested on a principled effort to construct history as a pre-contact, romanticized past" (Briggs & Bauman 1999:516). I find it especially strange that Arima's ethnography (which is considered by many to be the most comprehensive on Nuu-chah-nulth people) makes little use of his experiences with the Nuu-chah-nulth that he has worked with and no mention of his field experience at all. Instead, Arima quotes Boas' texts and the accounts of early European explorers and colonists. Arima implicitly claims a totalizing knowledge of the Nuu-chah-nulth, a group of more than a dozen First Nations. They speak three dialects and have a current population of over three thousand people. Like Boas, Arima uses statements written in the third person claiming implicit knowledge of

³³ My knowledge of Arima's linguistic ability and years of fieldwork among the Nuu-chah-nulth are derived from personal communication with Dr. Lorne Hammond of the Royal BC Museum (April 29, 2005) and to a lesser extent from rumours of his work that were known among Nuu-chah-nulth people whom I worked with.

the Nuu-chah-nulth throughout the ethnography, for example: “They were not aware of the earth as a planet with all its diversity, nor that it circled the sun” (Arima 1983:7).

Arima’s writing style and preference for old texts over living informants is not surprising, given that he was writing before Postmodernism had succeeded in destabilizing mainstream anthropological discourse. It was three years after Arima published his ethnography on the Nuu-chah-nulth, that Vincent Crapanzano polemically criticized the ethnographic narrative style which Boas, Arima and many other salvage ethnographers employed:

The ethnographer must make use of all the persuasive devices at his disposal to convince his readers of *the* truth of his message, but, as though these rhetorical strategies were cunning tricks, he gives them scant recognition. His texts assume a truth that speaks for itself – a whole truth that needs no rhetorical support. (Crapanzano 1996 [1986]:499)

This criticism about the way in which ethnographies produce their textual authority is also indicative of the way in which ethnographic narrative styles used by salvage anthropologists tended to obfuscate the fact that these texts were very much a product of the colonial encounter. As Talal Asad, a Palestinian born post-colonial theorist and anthropologist, wrote in *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*:

The bourgeois disciplines which study non-European societies reflect the deep contradictions articulating this unequal historical encounter, for ever since the Renaissance the West has sought both to subordinate and devalue other societies, and at the same time to find in them clues to its own humanity. (Asad, 1973: 104)

The tropes that produce the textual authority of academically trained ethnographers elevate them to the status of experts on a culture, while the indigenous people of the

culture being depicted are silenced or delegitimized. This process has raised the ire of Native American scholar Vine Deloria Jr. who in 1969 asked: "Why should we continue to be the private zoos of anthropologists? Why should tribes have to compete with scholars for funds when the scholarly productions are so useless and irrelevant to real life?" (1969:95). In more recent times, Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith has decried both the silencing of indigenous voices and the removal of the colonial context from ethnographies. She feels that what is missing from the accounts produced by anthropologists is the "...numerous oral stories which tell of what it means, what it feels like, to be present while your history is erased before your eyes, dismissed as irrelevant, ignored or rendered as the lunatic ravings of drunken old people" (Smith 1999:29). This indictment against almost a century of anthropological study of Quuʔas peoples that has done little to improve their lives and much to define and silence them is also expressed by Okanagan First Nation author Jeannette Armstrong:

"Who we are" has been constructed and defined by Others to the extent that at times we too no longer know who we are. The resulting confusion, uncertainty, low self-esteem and/or need to assert control over identity are just some of the damaging effects of colonization. (Armstrong 1993:11)

Armstrong's accusation is uncomfortable for anthropologists because Quuʔas peoples in British Columbia have, in general, not been the producers of the representations of their peoples and cultures. The image of the Quuʔas as "Indians", as the "Imaginary Indian", and the noble savage which has been produced both textually and visually, has been the construct of anthropologists and other Mafn'i. Anthropologists' complicity in the colonial domination of Quuʔas peoples and the

silencing of their voices through an academic claim to expertise has resulted in a virtual implosion of the discipline.

Chapter 4: Picking Up the Pieces: current methodologies in research, ethics, and publishing

Some classically trained anthropologists have complained that new concerns over textual authority and representation diminished the work of many anthropologists to navel gazing. I would agree that there was a period of time when much energy was spent in deconstructing the past work of the human sciences rather than creating publications based on new materials but from this deconstruction began to emerge a new way forward. Marcus and Fischer have called this period of deconstruction "...a pregnant moment in which every individual project of ethnographic research and writing is potentially an experiment" (1986:ix). What seems to have emerged is a birth of new methods and ethics in research as well as new forms of publication. I will first consider new writing styles in research reports and then move on to discussions of new ethics and research methods.

4.1 Self-Reflexivity and Voice

One response to the postmodern critique of ethnographic discourse has been a greater attention to the positioning of the researcher within the text of the ethnography. Instead of writing in the third person, and claiming to represent the whole of a culture, ethnographers have been inserting themselves in the text. They attempt to represent their own subjectivity and describe what they have experienced through the filters that are inherent to their own way of knowing. An early example of this style of self-reflexive narrative was Renato Rosaldo's *Grief and a Headhunter's Rage* (1996 [1989]), where he presented a new understanding of Ilongot cultural practices that followed from the accidental death of his wife while they were doing fieldwork together. In the narrative he

presented his emotions and his understanding of the Ilongot people in light of his own personal tragedy.

This is perhaps one of the more successful early attempts at self-reflexive ethnographic writing. In my opinion, other ethnographers have at times delved too far into self-reflexivity with the result that post-modernists have been criticized for excessive “navel gazing” or narcissism. The domination of a text by an ethnographer’s internal dialogue and angst when it produces neither unexpected views of the field situation nor strong linkages to theory is objectionable. That said, it is important that a brief explanation of an ethnographer’s social position vis-à-vis his or her informants does not become a *de rigueur* meaningless exercise, as George Marcus suggested it had already become in 1994: “the practice of positioning can easily get stuck in a sterile form of identity politics, reducing it to a formulaic incantation at the beginning of ethnographic papers in which one boldly ‘comes clean’ and confesses one’s positioned identity (e.g., ‘I am a white, Jewish, middleclass, heterosexual female’)” (1994:401).

This recognition of “identity politics” – positioning oneself according to a matrix of privilege and power, according to one’s social, political and occupational position – has become so common in ethnographic writings and qualitative research reportage that many have included it without the necessary deconstruction of their own voice that an awareness of their positioning would suggest. When constructing a linear printed text, this positioning of the researcher can result in a more honest presentation of the way they interacted with the subjects of the research and is useful in displaying the way in which a researcher’s ideas about his or her subjects and data are formed. Interrogating one’s view can be an effective means for disengaging an ethnographic work from a singular location

and thus creating new juxtapositions, as well as linkages to theory and ethics.

Additionally, the inclusion of the author in the text also opens up their research to a more accurate reassessment by current and future scholars.

Although postmodern, postcolonial, and feminist critiques are in many ways distinct perspectives, there is an area of crossover between them in their analyses of ethnographic texts. They are all concerned with issues of voice in scholarly discourse. In this regard, the positioning of the researcher within the text is called for by each of these lines of critique. Feminist critiques of ethnography have pointed to the politics and textual devices used in classic ethnography and charged ethnography with being predominantly the interpretations of white Protestant males from Western industrialized nations (a charge also taken up by postcolonial critiques). When ethnographies, such as those by Boas and Arima³⁴, privilege the voice of the ethnographer and silence his subjects, the Quuʔas become understood through the categories of the dominant Mamaʔnʔi. Being visible and audible only through Mamaʔnʔi eyes makes them “Indians” rather than Stʔatʔimc or Nuu-chah-nulth people. “As a consequence, they cease to be the subjects of their own experiences and actions; they are reduced to being the objects of other subjects. They are subjugated in that sense” (Coffey et al. 1996: section 4.2)³⁵.

Feminist and other critics of classic ethnographic discourse suggest that the Quuʔas are rendered mute by this process and that because these people are already dominated in the context of colonialism, “...the ethnographic gaze may be in danger of

³⁴ It should be noted that even though Boas was German-Jewish and Arima is Japanese-Canadian, they are both Mamaʔnʔi. While they do not exactly fit the broad generalization of anthropologists as being white Protestants, they are not Quuʔas and their publications privilege their voices over those of their research subjects.

³⁵ My unorthodox inclusion of the section number in this in-text citation is intended to assist the reader in tracking down the source of the reference in the absence of page numbers in this online source.

performing a kind of double subjugation” (Coffey et al. 1996:section 4.2). Both feminist and postcolonial critics are concerned with subverting this ethnographic gaze and opening up publications to previously marginalized voices. Ethnography is recognized as political and new space can be made within this discourse to challenge white, male, Eurocentric hegemony. Postmodern, feminist, and postcolonial critics argue that we need to pay greater attention to ways of speaking that are more inclusive and less exclusive or authoritative³⁶.

Interrogations of textual authority and investigations into the politics of whose voices are heard and whose are silenced have led many qualitative researchers to the conclusion that the voices of the subjects of research must be heard. Thus, feminist, postcolonial, and postmodern critiques have resulted in new experiments in publishing that include both the voices of academic researchers and the voices of the people who are the subjects of the research. The result of widespread experimentation in ethnography has led Coffey et al. (1996: section 1.3) to suggest that “one can now identify an almost carnivalesque variety of approaches...” to doing ethnography. Some researchers have made attempts at multi-vocal or polyvocal ethnography with the inclusion of multiple voices in a single ethnographic publication. These publications attempt to decentre authority and provide for the publication of voices that might not otherwise be heard. There are many forms that polyvocal ethnographies can take. One form has simply been the inclusion of attributed lengthy direct quotes of informants within ethnographies that attempt to elevate the status of the informants, and at times the inclusion also of informants’ comments on the research process. Other ethnographies have been written as

³⁶ It is this critique that has also resulted in changes to North American language that has been somewhat derogatorily called “politically correct”.

collaborations between ethnographers and informants in an attempt to share power and voice in both research (as explained in the third section of this chapter) and publication. The text in the CD-ROM that Nuu-chah-nulth people and I constructed is an example of one such publication that was written in a collaborative group process. I was included as an outsider ethnographer, and the text was written through a group discussion, with suggestions for text coming from multiple participants, and a consensus on the final text was arrived at by the whole group. While this process does a better job of balancing the voices of research participants, it is not multivocal in the way that was achieved in the hypermedia project that I worked on with the Upper St'át'imc First Nations. In the webpage we created, there are unedited direct quotes from multiple St'át'imc people. In addition, members of their community controlled what text was uploaded to the website. The result is a community controlled polyvocal publication. There are many ways in which polyvocal ethnographies can be constructed and the formats available for polyvocal ethnography grow exponentially when a new form of digital publication is used instead of printed text. I report further on the Upper St'át'imc hypermedia project and explore more of the potentials available for creating polyvocal ethnographies or research reports in hypermedia in Section 2 which deals exclusively with the potentials of hypermedia for academic publication.

Before elaborating on options available in polyvocal hypermedia, it is useful to look at the research process that must occur before publication. Responding to the problematic nature of the authoritative texts produced by many salvage anthropologists is only one of the pieces that needed to be picked up after the deconstruction of the human sciences resulting from postmodern, postcolonial, and feminist critiques. Two other

pieces to be addressed in all research situations before publication are ethics and methods in research. I will discuss new ethics in research with indigenous peoples in the following section before I move on to look at critically informed research methodologies.

4.2 Current Ethics in Research

Changes to ethics in ethnographic research should be understood in the context of the decolonization of indigenous people around the world and their increasing success at taking power in multiple political arenas. Internationally, this has been pursued at the United Nations with the *UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights*³⁷ in 1948 being "...viewed by Indigenous peoples as a tool for decolonizing [their] ...oppressed lives" (Battiste & Henderson 2000:1) and continued with the creation of the *Draft UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*³⁸ and the 1992 UN Convention on Biological Diversity with a section recognizing "traditional knowledge". Although none of these UN declarations or drafts has legal weight within the colonial states that have oppressed indigenous peoples, they carry moral weight and signify the growing strength of indigenous political movements the world over.

In Canada, the laws that forbade Quu?as people from pursuing land claims, the anti-potlatch laws, and a racially segregated school system, came to an end in the 1950s. By the 1970s, there were strong Quu?as political organizations, a new generation of

³⁷ The creation of this declaration and recognition of a need for ethical standards in human research was also influenced by the 1947 Nuremberg Military Tribunals. The Tribunals resulted in condemnation of human research experiments that Nazis carried out in concentration camps during the war.

³⁸ This draft declaration has not been ratified by the UN but according to Battiste and Henderson (2000), is considered a major achievement that resulted from many years of international consensus building among numerous indigenous groups.

university educated Quuʔas leaders, and an increased consciousness among Quuʔas communities of their political struggle to wrest control of their lives and lands away from the Canadian state (Tenant 1990). For the Quuʔas peoples of British Columbia, their increasingly successful political struggles to assert authority over their lives, communities, and land along with a growing body of vocal Quuʔas people who are well versed in modes of academic and legal discourse, has resulted in major successes in land claims and changes to the way ethnographic research is being conducted in British Columbia. Some Quuʔas people in British Columbia have expressed sentiments similar to those of Vine Deloria Jr. (1969) when he asked why Native Americans should be continually subjected to the study of anthropologists with no apparent benefit to them or their community. Indigenous critiques of research ethics have been heard within academia, especially among those in the human sciences who were familiar with the postmodern, feminist, and postcolonial critiques previously reviewed.

Codes of ethics for research involving human subjects were first introduced for Canadian researchers on a national scale in the 1970s. When the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council was created in 1978 it adopted the guidelines that had previously been developed for medical research involving human subjects (Interagency Advisory Panel on Research Ethics 2005). A key concept within these codes of conduct has been that free and informed consent should be sought from all subjects of research. While there has been ongoing dialogue over how best to protect the rights of individuals who are the subjects of research, the recognition of indigenous group rights is much more recent. The most widely applied guidelines on ethics in research in Canada, the TCPS (*Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*) which

was drafted in 1998 and updated in 2005, includes a section outlining concerns but no agreed upon policies in this regard. The TCPS section six states that: "There is growing recognition that some research involving Aboriginal individuals may also involve the communities or groups to which they belong". The same TCPS section also expands on the notion of informed consent to suggest that "...informed consent and the concepts of harm, benefits and confidentiality should be informed by the perspective of the participant group". That is to say that it is not good enough to only get consent for ethnographic research from individuals within a Quu?as community. Battiste and Henderson (2000) come to the same conclusion and suggest that,

A central issue for discussion is when it is legitimate for researchers to interview members of Aboriginal communities in their own right as individuals, without regard to the interests of the group as a whole and without seeking permission from any group authority or spokesperson, and when the approval of the community as a whole is required. (Battiste & Henderson 2000:139)

There seems to be a growing consensus in the social sciences in Canada that the rights of the community must be considered when researchers are investigating cultural knowledge, practices, history and/or artefacts that may be shared or owned by multiple members of a community. Also, in light of the disrespect that some researchers have shown indigenous communities and the stigmatization that has resulted from some research publications, Quu?as groups have particular concerns with the types and methods of research conducted in their communities. There is an "...international consensus that has developed over recent decades that Aboriginal Peoples have a unique interest in ensuring accurate and informed research concerning their heritage, customs and community" (TCPS 2005:6.2). Many researchers now attempt to get the consent of

governmental or organizational bodies that represent an indigenous community as well as the individuals participating in their study. The way in which this is to be arranged as well as the relationship and need for reciprocity between a researcher and a community varies greatly from group to group.

Despite a growing recognition among researchers that power over research projects must now be shared and negotiated between researchers and communities, there are still incidents of disrespect and poor ethical conduct in research. The Nuu-chah-nulth communities that I worked with have been subjected to numerous studies and have been especially concerned about a recent research project. For example, in the 1980s, Dr. Richard Ward led a study in which 1,878 (or 82% of) Nuu-chah-nulth adults were interviewed and then 883 blood samples were taken from Nuu-chah-nulth participants in a search for genetic markers that might account for the unusually high prevalence of arthritis among these people (Glass & Kaufert 2001). The study participants signed consent forms for their blood to be used in this research into arthritis with the hope that new understandings and possible remedies could be developed. Dr. Ward did not have any agreements with the First Nations' governing bodies and he failed to report his findings back to the Nuu-chah-nulth communities. After completing a study that he claims had inconclusive results, he transferred universities, took the blood samples with him and went on to use them to date the antiquity of the Nuu-chah-nulth as a distinct genealogical group (Glass & Kaufert 2001). He also allowed other researchers to make use of the samples in other genetic studies (Glass & Kaufert 2001).

Commenting on Dr. Ward's study, bioethics professor Charles Weijer states that, "If further genetic tests were done, that relate to the origin of First Nations peoples from

blood samples, then that testing would have been done clearly without the consent of these participants. And that's of course what is problematic about this series of events" (Glass & Kaufert 2001:36). From the perspective of Nuu-chah-nulth people, this was another case of an outside researcher exploiting them for personal gain. They received no positive results from participating in this study and Dr. Ward went on to receive international acclaim for the later study on the genealogical antiquity of the Nuu-chah-nulth and a position as head of the Institute of Biological Anthropology at Oxford University (Glass & Kaufert 2001). The labelling of Dr. Ward's unethical research as "anthropology" has supported the common perception among the Nuu-chah-nulth and others indigenous peoples that "[anthropologists are] ...the epitome of all that is bad with academics" (Smith 1999:67).

It was with recognition of this sensitive situation among the Nuu-chah-nulth that I started working as an anthropology student on a Nuu-chah-nulth initiated and directed project only a couple of years after news of Dr. Ward's unethical behaviour had become local knowledge. At the same time as I was working on the ethnographic hypermedia project that will be presented in chapter six, a new protocol for researchers working with Nuu-chah-nulth Nations was being collaboratively written by local community members and Dr. Kelly Bannister of the University of Victoria. The protocol states that research with local communities should consist of "...mutually-beneficial research collaborations between local communities and researchers in ways that maximize benefits, share burdens fairly, minimize risks, support local participation, and make research results more locally-meaningful" (CLARET 2003:4). This protocol is an example of broader movements in critically informed research in the human sciences. The majority of

anthropological research with Quu?as communities in British Columbia is conducted not only according to new ethical arrangements based on a sharing of power, benefits, and skills but also extending to whole new conceptions of the way in which research is to be conducted.

4.3 Participatory Research Methods

Researchers in the human sciences have responded to the demand for higher ethical standards as well as the critiques of postmodernism, feminism and indigenous people with new methodologies. The widespread changes in ethics that we see today were anticipated by anthropologist Sol Worth who developed “action anthropology” in recognition of the politics of doing research with Native American communities. In 1951, Worth said that for “action anthropologists”, research in indigenous communities was “justifiable” only insofar as the results were “imminently useful to the community and easily outweigh[ed] the disturbance to it” (Gearing et al. 1960: 167-71).

Early action anthropology can be seen as the predecessor to new participatory methods in social research. The majority of human sciences research with Quu?as communities in British Columbia today has turned away from older positivist methodologies that presumed a degree of distance between a researcher and his subjects. Especially with sociocultural research, subjectivity is recognized, power over the research process is shared along with the benefits of research. There seem to be almost as many variants of critically informed research as there are research projects but many of these methodologies hold similar objectives to the research methods or guidelines called “participatory action research” (PAR). The aim of PAR is to counter the positivist

scientific methods founded on Enlightenment ideals that have operated as a “machinery of power” on indigenous peoples (Foucault 1979: 138). As Robin McTaggart suggests, an essential difference between PAR and most other research methodologies is an explicit recognition of the politics of research.

[PAR] ...is no more political than any other kind of research. The difference is that the politics of other kinds of research are undeclared and submerged under the spurious guises of ‘objectivity’ (rather than disciplined subjectivity), ‘detachment’ (rather than expressing a defensible human interest), and ‘value-free’ (rather than expressive of particular values in concrete research situations). (McTaggart 1997:7)

PAR’s recognition of the politics of research is in keeping with Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s requirement for a decolonizing methodology where researchers have “...a more critical understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations and values which inform research practices” (1999:20). Awareness of underlying assumptions is a first step towards understanding power dynamics within a research situation and attempting to democratize the research process. PAR typically calls for equal participation, where control over all aspects of the research project is shared among all research partners. Thus, rather than being the typical top-down approach where a researcher comes into a community and dictates the research agenda, PAR operates in the opposite direction.

Three key requirements of PAR according to Tandon are:

1. local people have a role in setting the agenda of inquiry,
 2. they must participate in data collection and analysis, and
 3. they must have control over the use and outcome of the whole process.
- (Tandon 1988:13)

In PAR, members of the organization or community being studied are “...actively engaged in the quest for information and ideas to guide their future actions” (Whyte et. al

1991:20). In other words, "...action research is the way in which groups of people can organize the conditions under which they can learn from their own experiences and make this experience accessible to others" (McTaggart, 1997:27). PAR can be means of self-empowerment for communities and organizations where they learn together through engaging in an organized process of study, self-reflection, and dialogue.

Hoare, Levy & Robinson, who have written about using PAR in Canadian aboriginal communities, find that "...it integrates especially well with Native culture, it meets criteria regarding validity and reliability³⁹, and it offers a pragmatic means of recording oral history before much of it is lost" (1993:51). These authors provide a very practical series of steps that PAR projects typically follow:

1. problems are identified by the community; the community investigates the problem and isolates its components;
2. adult trainees acquire the tools of research and analysis, in order to identify the social, economic and political structures contributing to the problem;
3. alternative actions are identified which offer the potential to resolve the problem;
4. evaluation of these alternatives is undertaken;
5. a program is designed for implementation of the preferred alternatives; and
6. community awareness is raised of the potential to effect change and to foster a subsequent deeper commitment to work towards resolving community problems.
(Hoare et al. 1993:51-2, numbers added)

³⁹ Hoare et al., mean that because the community is constantly reviewing their findings individually and as a group, the research report that they produce has been validated and is considered to be reliable from the perspective of the community. They argue that since all research results are, in certain respects subjective, research results from a PAR process will be both "valid" and "reliable" according to the criteria that is most relevant to the community and that this criteria may be a higher standard than that used by outside 'fly-in fly-out' researchers.

The steps outlined by Hoare et al. (1993) correspond reasonably well with the ethnographic hypermedia project that I worked on with Nuu-chah-nulth people. The project was conceived of and controlled by the Nuu-chah-nulth participants. While this collaborative process will work in many situations, it can often be hard to overcome centuries of colonial power relations and the history of Mamaʼnʼi – Quuʼas relations that has resulted in “‘research’ ...probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary” (1999:1). Given that this is the state of the field before most researchers enter it, what the literature on PAR seems to lack is recommendations for setting up dispute resolution mechanisms. There needs to be work put not only into how to organize better collaborative research projects but also how best to deal with research situations that have gone awry. Universities, funding agencies, professional associations, and indigenous political bodies and leaders should find mechanisms for dealing with unethical researchers such as Dr. Ward and also situations where individuals from indigenous communities commit wrongs against researchers. If the knowledge in academic communities is going to be of any value to indigenous peoples, there needs to be ongoing dialogue and development of collaborative methodologies and research arrangements that can benefit all people involved.

While overall I still believe that the PAR literature sets reasonable guidelines for research, each research situation will be different and academic researchers may have to work with their community partners to further develop methods and mechanisms for all participants to benefit from the research process. Robin McTaggart views the value of PAR as being in the process and this will occur in quite different ways in different research situations. When it comes to ethnographic research, community-based

collaborative research where the community is fully engaged is often the best way to proceed. Through this methodology, community members become researchers in their own right and research publications must change to reflect this. As discussed, multivocal texts present one format for publishing the results of truly collaborative projects. In the next section I will investigate how hypermedia, as newly accessible technology, presents a promising option for anthropologists wishing to pursue ethnographic projects with indigenous peoples.

III. Part 2 ~ Academic Hypermedia Publication

Chapter 5: Hypermedia Considered

In light of the history of research and representations of the Quu?as presented in Section 1, hypermedia publications present new possibilities for engaging with these issues of power, politics, and voice. Before I consider the potentials of working in hypermedia and describe the two hypermedia projects that I have participated in, I will position hypermedia within a broad context of the social history of communication technologies. After setting the technology within an historic framework, I will engage with an ongoing academic discourse about the potentials and pitfalls of working with this publication format. The end goal is to consider what potentials are offered for academic publication by new forms of digital publication.

5.1 History of Communication Technology and the Visual Turn

Technologies are heavily laden with value judgements and have been used in teleological histories of the West to mark stages in the march towards modernity while denying indigenous peoples a role or place in these narrative of the West (Wolf 1982). My undergraduate textbook on the history of Europe started its grand narrative with human beings' superior ability to communicate: "People are different from other animals in that they are capable of producing and passing on... culture" (Kagan et al. 1991:2). This implies an imagined evolutionary moment of human creation; we became humans as

opposed to animals because we developed an ability to communicate. Although this narrative commences with our shared humanity, it soon narrows to rather mythic linear progression that excludes the “other” in a line of development that stretches from Egypt to Greece to Rome and then to Western Europe and North America (Trigger 1989). This Mamaʼnʼi history employs select views of the development of technologies to transport the reader on a teleological journey away from the indigenous peoples of the world on a march towards a Mamaʼnʼi modernity. While the authors that I cite are Mamaʼnʼi and my brief historic contextualization employs broad generalization, it would be erroneous to assume the history of communications technology is only a Mamaʼnʼi history. Developments in communication technology are the result of ongoing learning and innovations that, although some arose in particular places at particular times, were all based upon knowledge that was shared over time between numerous peoples from many locations.

In the most expansive terms, a shared history of communication technologies can be conceived in three periods since the development of spoken languages. Writing systems seem to have first been developed around five thousand years ago (and also arose at other times independently in a number of societies around the world). A second major technology development was that of the printing press with moveable type which was probably first developed in China during the eleventh century and was further developed at later dates in Korea and Europe. The third major change in our communication technology does not hinge on a single technology or have an exact starting date. This third set of revolutionary communication technologies has been labelled the “visual turn”. As Mitchell Stephens describes it in, *The Rise of the Image the Fall of the Word*, “...at

some point in the second half of the twentieth century for perhaps the first time in human history—it began to seem as if images would gain the upper hand over words” (1988:5). With the development of photography, cinema, television, and video, images were increasingly used for communication⁴⁰. Stephens continues to point out that international studies now indicate “...that almost three billion people are watching television regularly, for an average of more than two and a half hours a day...” (1988:6-7). Books, the product of the second major communication revolution, do not currently receive as much attention as TV. This “visual turn” has been widely lamented by academics, possibly none more than by Neil Postman:

On the one hand, there is the world of the printed word with its emphasis on logic, sequence, history, exposition, objectivity, detachment, and discipline. On the other, there is the world of television with its emphasis on imagery, narrative, presentness, simultaneity, intimacy, immediate gratification, and quick emotional response. (Postman 1992: 16)

As described by Postman, the world after the “visual turn”, dominated by TV, sounds like the antithesis of all traditional scholarly ideals. Although I do not see commercial television as an ideal medium for academic communication, this is an early technology in the succession of visual communication technologies that started with photography, film, television, and then video. Mitchell Stevens in fact sees these previous visual technologies being subsumed by digital video and refers to the whole group of technologies as simply “video” – “derived from the Latin verb *vidēre* ‘to see’” (1988:8). He states that,

⁴⁰ It can be noted that the telephone is somewhat recent nonvisual technology and email is mostly text. As I will argue later, these technologies may soon be subsumed into a more heterogeneous visual based medium.

...Video is, by my reckoning, humankind's third major communication revolution, and the disruptions occasioned by the first two – writing and print – are surprisingly similar to those we are experiencing now. The stages in which new technologies were adopted seem comparable, as does the profundity of the transformations they cause. Even the anxieties and anger sound familiar. (Stephens 1988:11)

While Stephens sees the future of the new visual media being a new form of fast-cutting video that can communicate vast amounts of information extremely quickly with as yet unknown consequences, I would point more to the increasing convergence of technologies producing greater options for communication. Stephens was writing in 1988, therefore I can forgive his omission of computers, cell phones, and the Internet from his “third major communication revolution”. Although the Internet had already been around for a decade and a half, it was the World Wide Web and the first web browser that made the Web a very useful means of communication. Tim Berners-Lee invented the WWW in 1990 and he describes the difference between the Internet and the WWW as follows:

The Web is an abstract (imaginary) space of information. On the Net, you find computers -- on the Web, you find documents, sounds, videos ...information. On the Net, the connections are cables between computers; on the Web, connections are hypertext links. The Web exists because of programs which communicate between computers on the Net. The Web could not be without the Net. The Web made the net useful because people are really interested in information (not to mention knowledge and wisdom!) and don't really want to have to know about computers and cables. (Berners-Lee 1998)

His invention was so popular that less than ten years later, the combined increases in computer power along with the WWW were of obvious consequence to the public and to researchers. A 1998 U.S. National Science Foundation's call for research proposals

stated that, “the recent explosive growth in computer power and connectivity is reshaping relationships among people and organizations, and transforming the processes of discovery, learning, and communication” (Hakken 2003:57). The increased power of computers worked in combination with prior communication technologies to create a motley amalgamation of new media forms.

This new amalgam, hypermedia, is a computer dependent form of publication that can incorporate all new digital communication technologies. Hypermedia is the conjoining of different forms of digital communication technologies with hyperlinks that allow viewers to jump between a diverse number of media formats. Although I do not suggest that hypermedia is *the* means of communication that will dominate in the future, it will be of increasing importance and should be of particular interest to academics both for the social implications of its use and for the potentials that it offers academics as a new medium for publication. For if we accept that there has been a major turn towards using visual images for communicating and the general public is increasingly engaged in this form of communication, then looking at both how to better express ourselves in a visual way as well as the implications of doing so should be important for academics.

5.2 Hypermedia Ethnography

The ability to combine text, images, sound, video, and animations into an organized publication should be of particular interest to social scientists struggling with the “crisis of representation” (Marcus & Fischer 1986). In 1986, when Marcus and Fischer described a “...pregnant moment in which every individual project of

ethnographic research and writing is potentially an experiment,” (1986:ix) hypermedia was not yet an accessible publication format. In order to consider how it can be employed as another experiment in ethnographic research, a clearer understanding of its potentials is necessary.

Hypermedia is described by visual anthropologist Sarah Pink:

...sets of interlinked files that might contain written words, still or moving images, sound, or a combination of these. The interlinkages between files, or points (e.g. Words and images, theoretical sections and ethnographic description) within files support the interactivity of hypermedia... Users can normally move between files through hyperlinks embedded in their text as well as using other navigational tools. Links are usually represented with words or visual symbols. (Pink 2001: 156)

A main advantage to hypermedia over other forms of publication is the way in which it allows the inclusion of text, audio, still photos, and video in nearly any arrangement desired. The result is that different aspects of a single presentation can be included in whichever format is considered best for that component. This provides a much greater degree of freedom for an author than is available from any of the four mediums on its own. An ethnographer may choose to intersperse their academic narrative of a field situation with audio or video clips from the actual scenes being discussed. In fact, whole interview recordings or transcripts could be placed within a hypermedia publication with multiple links between the researcher's narrative and those of their research subjects. The links throughout the document would allow the viewer/reader/listener to jump back and forth between each narrative path.

In addition to providing the opportunity for the melding of various media forms, the links in hypermedia are themselves of significance. The links connecting seemingly

disparate pieces of information aid the viewer in drawing new cognitive connections. “A designer’s creation of multiple links, describing different analytic dimensions via different paths to the same document-node, is worth the effort because it sensitizes users to the multidimensionality of the ethnographic surround” (Biella 1994)⁴¹. Of course this means that just as in categorizing information, creating links can convey the author’s values and judgements. In Bowker and Star’s book, *Sorting Things Out: classification and its consequences* (1999), they investigate the many covert ways in which classification systems have social and political consequences. They suggest that, “every link in hypertext creates a category. That is, it reflects some judgement about two or more objects: they are the same, or alike, or functionally linked as part of an unfolding series” (Bowker & Star 1999: 7). While the potential to create greater multidimensionality in ethnography can be of great benefit, we also must recognize the implicit power of the author that is implicit in their ability to create links⁴².

Links allow the viewer to choose the order in which disparate segments of a publication are viewed and in this way develop their own system of relations between them, and if the publication is well constructed – to reveal the “profound interconnectedness of the human world”⁴³(Biella 1994). These links can provide for a

⁴¹ A number of quotes in this chapter do not have page numbers in the reference because they are attributed to online documents with no page numbers. This is an issue that has been dealt with on many recent online academic publications. Page numbers or section numbers are often included in the text of online documents to provide for accurate referencing. While there is no standard for this in place yet, numbered paragraphs are in my mind a better option because all HTML (Hypertext Mark-up Language) documents include the “<P>” code for paragraph which will remain constant in all webpage browsers.

⁴² There are hypermedia systems discussed by Hall et al. (1996) that allow the user to author links. This would of course place the power that Bowker and Star speak of back in the hands of the user.

⁴³ From my own experience working with Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations, the idea of linking texts and other elements in nonlinear ways may be more in keeping with conceptions such as “Hishuk ish ts’awalk” [all things are one]. The relations of “all things” would be much easier to represent with linked nodes as opposed to a single linear text.

much greater sense of connectivity between sections of an ethnographic work than is available through normal textual means. To further explain the way in which this technology can provide new possibilities, I suggest that works of classic ethnography, such as those by Boas (Teit 1906) and Arima (1983) that were problematized in Chapter 3, could appear quite different if presented as hypermedia. An ethnographer could choose to present multiple linear sequences in the ethnography in similar way to the Boas-Teit (1906) text with its sections on “Geography”, “Material Culture”, “Religion”, and “Social Organization and Festivals” among others⁴⁴ but instead of each being separated into chapters, these reified categories could be pierced with many cross links. The links would work to disrupt this reified matrix while maintaining the Eurocentric organizational structure of the text that assists western viewers in perceiving what may otherwise be a chaotic depiction of the field site. Even better would be to have the same data categorized and linked in different ways, potentially producing one series that accords with indigenous categories and another that is shaped by Eurocentric understandings along with an explanation of the differences in worldviews.

Another potential of hypermedia is that much longer quotes from research participants can be published. Greater respect could be paid to indigenous oral historians by keeping their narratives whole and allowing the ethnographer to link to a section of an elder’s narrative without having to chop the narrative into pieces and completely remove the segment from its original position within an indigenous narrative. In a book, the reader understands these areas as being separate, subjugated into chapters whereas in a

⁴⁴ Some of the other categories that the authors presents in this text, such as “Warfare”, would probably be considered objectionable by St’át’imc people. I would expect a current researcher to pick categories, which if not completely valid from a St’át’imc perspective, are at least representations that are politically acceptable to St’át’imc people.

hypermedia presentation, the reader can follow links back and forth between these chapters. The result would be a form of polyvocal ethnography that is in keeping with the postmodern and feminist polyvocal ethnographies presented in chapter four. If the hypermedia publication is constructed in an orderly fashion while still having numerous links, the viewer may understand much more about the interconnectedness of a culture than they would from reading a typical ethnographic text.

Despite the value of links for providing connectivity between disparate datasets or narratives, heavily linked hypermedia publications have been criticized by some authors. Although he does not reference any published examples, Marcus Banks imagines the following of links within hypermedia to be an “endlessly recursive project” (1994). “The user may require footnotes of the footnotes, further paths and diversions, beyond the existing paths and diversions” (Banks 1994). In response to Banks’ worry of a hypermedia labyrinth that traps the viewer in its never ending twists and turns, Biella directly responds that,

Banks’ critical standards are unreasonably high. The author’s print-based monographs are not criticized for failing to anticipate and satisfy every requirement of every reader. Works produced in hypermedia should be judged by the same criteria that are applicable elsewhere in the discipline. (Biella 1994)

A more recent essay by Anderson (1999) does provide more concrete evidence than Banks and indicates that too many links can be disorienting. Anderson cites studies conducted in 1996 and concludes that “heavy reliance on hypermedia text in place of integrative learning techniques essentially leaves the user forever at sea without necessarily ever setting anchor” (Anderson 1999). In his conclusion, he states that the potential for links to cause confusion is a design problem rather than an inherent problem

of hypermedia. In Anderson's analysis, he does not describe the hypermedia that was studied and I would point out that as the technology for constructing hypermedia increases the ease with which audio and animation can be added to publications, there will be an increasing array of nontextual navigational tools available to provide orientation to users.

In *The Effects of Graphical Overviews on Knowledge Acquisition in Hypertext*, De Jong and der Hulst (2002) review a number of studies from the 1980s and 1990s where educational hypertext documents were shown to be more confusing to learners than were standard printed texts. Their findings challenge the early studies that they have reviewed and are supported by more recent studies that have concluded that providing graphical maps of hypermedia organizational structures makes hypermedia a beneficial learning tool. The importance of providing visual cues for hypermedia organization becomes more important with increasing complexity in the size and scope of a hypermedia environment. These authors also note that "experts" who were already familiar with a common design interface had no problems with navigating new hypermedia environments. As many people become increasingly familiar with surfing the Internet, they also learn a growing number of conventions in the construction of webpages. When creating new hypermedia documents, designers should consider keeping with common design principles that are in current use in commonly used hypermedia environments. Through consistent use of common navigational norms, designers can rest assured that many of their users will already be "experts" in using their navigational features. For example, the use of a vertical navigational menu on the top left of the screen is a common feature of many webpages and employing a similar

navigational style in new hypermedia would ensure that many users would be familiar with these navigational elements.

Designers should always consider why they are using particular organizational structures and visual cues in their digital publications. Novel ways of linking content may produce only confusion or, at times, it may produce new learning for the user. Biella states that "...a moderate contribution of labour on the part of the *designer* can create a broad range of alternate intellectual pathways that users may follow in pursuit of their unique interests" (Biella 1994, emphasis added). Although my own experiences suggest that the labour may be more than "moderate", the authors of hypermedia documents must be accomplished designers to produce publications that live up to the potentials of this medium. In a final and rather bellicose response to naysayers, Biella states that, "existing resources in hypermedia do provide reasonably good alternatives to omniscience and omnipotence" (1994). While I would generally agree that there are sufficient resources and conventions available in current hypermedia authoring technologies to keep the viewer/reader from becoming lost, this does indicate a new role for academics wishing to publish in this format. People who wish to publish their research results in hypermedia must have some degree of expertise in design or employ someone with design skills. Just as many ethnographers have had to learn new skills to produce ethnographic films, authors of hypermedia publications will need to learn design skills that are not required for academic text publications.

An element of navigational design that is common in heavily linked electronic publications is circuitous and repetitious pathways. The planned circularity and recursiveness of hypermedia seems to fly in the face of norms in academic discourse.

Biella suggests these controversial structures make hypermedia publications more sensitive to users' needs:

Systems are said to be recursive when the nodes they contain are accessible through more than one path. Since each recursive path originates from a different source, each serves to emphasize a different facet of the destination-node. Recursiveness, therefore, is not simple redundancy or repetition, since new information is carried by each different emphasis. (Biella 1994)

Biella proceeds to illustrate the number of "unique intellectual journeys" with Fig. 5 (animated when viewed on the web) which has eight nodes of information with three paths connected to each node.

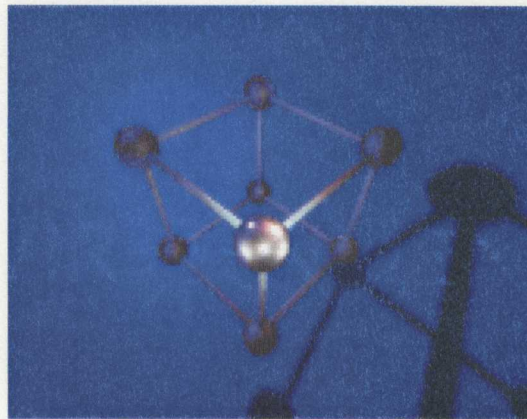


Fig. 5. Interactive Cube⁴⁵

The multiplicity of paths in the model renders it highly recursive. Thus a journey, beginning at any node, can follow four, six, or eight paths and return to the original node without travelling twice along the same path. Remarkably, the recursion in this cube makes possible 370 unique journeys! (Biella 1994)

Although the repetition of the same piece in a hypermedia document seems to contrast with the linear structure of academic texts, Mark Bernstein suggests that, "measured and planned repetition can reinforce the writer's message: end-of-chapter

⁴⁵ Source: Biella (1994) - <http://www.usc.edu/dept/elab/welcome/codifications.html>

summaries and ballad refrains, for example, are common features of the pedagogical literature of print and oral culture” (2003). Recursive structures in hypermedia documents can both transmit new understandings to users and also work to restate key features of an argument or presentation.

5.3 Nonlinearity and Hyperreality: fragments to wholes

As the preceding image of the interactive cube (Fig. 5) illustrates, the structure of hypermedia can be very different from the linearity of a typical academic text. That being the case, perhaps the second most widely recognized benefit to hypermedia is the ability to produce nonlinear texts and thus free the user from viewing information in the linear format imposed by print publications (Anderson 1999; Biella 1994; Ball 1997; Goldman-Segall 1996). Hypermedia’s nonlinearity is derived from both the ability to create links between any two points of a publication and this is the case for text as well as “...analog sound recordings and film, since their binary encoding enables them to be accessed at any point” (Lange 2001: 132). Matthew Ball, a proponent of the nonlinear potential for ethnography says that “...with ethnographic hypermedia applications, each individual can extract what they want to know according to their existing knowledge” (Ball 1997). Banks, however, views these multiple pathways as a weakness:

If we agree that any path through a mass of audio, visual and textual data is as good as any other path, then the main intellectual purpose of our discipline is cast away. Most - probably all - intellectual analysis proceeds along a linear path, where pieces of data need to be assessed alongside each other in the right arrangement in order for the analysis to work. Abandoning linearity signals a return to Radcliffe-Brownian butterfly collecting: the arbitrary and decontextualised pursuit of comparison and connection for its own sake, or worse, the sheer observation of data for little more than immediate entertainment. (Banks 1994)

Biella responds with his belief that “hypermedia is particularly valuable because the rearrangement of data and the assessment of pertinent new data improves analysis, often in ways that are unanticipated and nonlinear” (1994). Of course at times having a simple hypermedia publication with few links and simple format can be advisable. Biella explains that for certain purposes even very simply designed CD-ROMs can be effective: “Interactive simplicity is sometimes appropriate. The instructional goal of an application should always be the ultimate determinant of its form (Biella 1994)”. For example, linguist Strang Burton (2002) has completed a CD-ROM that teaches users the International Phonetic Alphabet. It is quite simple in format and still very effective in illustrating the pronunciation of each of the characters of this alphabet. Electronic publications with more complex goals will be more complex in structure and make use of more of the features currently available to designers. I would expect any hypermedia project that purports to re-present an overview of a field experience to be of more complex structure.

5.4 Explicit Author-ity

The concerns raised, in the second part of Chapter 3, about the creation of ethnographic authority in classic ethnographies through the removal of the author and their research methods from the text can be addressed in new ways in hypermedia publications. Kevin Anderson (1999) points out that nonlinearity can be employed to counter the way in which the “usual hallmarks of ethnographic authority” often remain implicit. There are two layers of authority that can be reduced in nonlinear hypermedia. The first is a more conscious and physical separation between actual recordings from the

field and the author's analysis and interpretations about those recordings. The methods used to get ethnographic information, the way in which "data" is constructed and the positioning of the ethnographer can all be presented in hypermedia without having to necessarily interrupt the narrative flow. This can be done in a way similar to using footnotes but providing extra information in a more complete form while still linking between a single point in the narrative, and for example, the relevant part in an explanation of methods. A second way in which authorial power is maintained is through the ordering of voices within a text or film. When there is a linear order to the presentation of voices, some voices gain authority over others simply by the order in which they are placed. Or as the saying goes, having the "last word" gives that final voice power over those that preceded it. Hypermedia can turn over this level of authority to the viewers. Thus in Goldman-Segall's terms, the viewers are better able to make their own interpretations and become "distance-participants" (1996).

A departure from linear narration "may enhance the user's ability to sift through the material by their own directives, and to formulate their own analysis of the material without being constantly exposed to various indicators of authorial control and bias" (Anderson 1999). Mason and Dicks (1999) concur that, "authoring becomes a matter of identifying a number of interpretative paths which may always be supplemented and subverted by the reader, who will (attempt to) make sense of the material in their own ways". Roderick Coover compares this process to doing ethnography

...the reader-viewer must choose a point of view by which to connect a piece of information to an idea or a narrative event. In this way, the position of the reader-viewer is analogous to that of the ethnographer looking for ways to connect a particular experience to broader questions about the culture. (Coover 2004:188)

Although all authors seem to recognize that hypermedia documents can contain multiple pathways, Mason and Dicks (1999) disagree with others' use of the term "nonlinearity". They state that,

...hypertexts will always include some degree of linearity. Whether this takes the form of reading paths taken through the hypertext by readers, or of written paths mapped out in advance by the author, there will always be a linear movement traced through the hypertext itself. It is more appropriate to think of hypertext as multi-linear and multi-directional rather than non-linear or non-sequential. (Mason & Dicks 1999)

Both Biella (1994) and Mason and Dicks (1999) move beyond the previous conceptions of hypermedia as being arranged in a number of paths or a branching diagram. Biella's conception is of a number of nodes connected by links allowing movement in all directions. Mason and Dicks (1999) adopt an interesting metaphor for this structure as being "rhizomatic" rather than web-like:

...the rhizome conjoins any one point to any other point through an underground and shifting connectivity that resembles the strawberry or potato plant's off-shoots. It thereby offers an acentred, nonhierarchical structure that is in constant flux and circulation. As one point changes, the whole shifts and re-grows in unexpected and unmapped directions. (Mason & Dicks 1999)

In the years since Mason and Dicks published, there has been a phenomenal increase in the use of the Internet and this idea of a rhizomatic structure is perhaps easy for many of us to visualize today. David Bell (2000) uses the term "rhizomatic" to describe cyberspace in his introduction to the rather authoritative tome of theories about new technologies and society, *The Cybercultures Reader*. He suggests that we use this term "to describe its infinite, uncentered, root-like structure" (Bell 2000:2). The rhizome is especially illustrative of the design that any hypermedia document that intends to

decentre author-ity could take. Each voice within the document might be viewed as one rhizome that connects to many others through its hyperlink runners or stolons. Academic researchers, indigenous elders, community members, and research assistants might each produce their own rhizome that becomes part of a research publication. The inclusion of all of these voices in the publication would create a truly polyvocal decentred representation of a research project. If this type of polyvocal hypermedia publication is designed well, it can provide for multiple voices in a similar way to the polyvocal printed texts described, in the first part of Chapter 4, but without less confusion of over changes in voice and without the limitations of an essentially linear publication format.

5.5 Interactivity

Even if we accept that hypermedia can provide for a great freedom of expression on the part of the creators, there is argument over how free the reader/viewer of hypermedia is. A common perception of hypermedia, as we saw in Pink's definition, equates the many options and pathways provided to the viewer with interactivity. As already mentioned, Bowker and Star (1999) warn about the power implicit in the reader/viewer having to follow along in categories created by the author. Banks (1994) takes issue with the idea of interactivity at the outset of his article and claims that despite what others are saying, hypermedia is not truly interactive. The "computer is not interacting with the user at all..." in fact the user is interacting with the creator(s) but this interaction is extremely limited (Banks 1994). This interaction is "second-hand and through an incredibly narrow communicative medium" (Banks 1994). Lange sides with Banks and suggests that the term interactivity "...falsely connotes exchange since the

digitally-realized texts and options for routes through them are predetermined by the designer” (2001: 135). As technologies change, I would expect that the actual amount of user control and true interactivity will increase. Certainly, we can already see that video games allow far more user input and control than your average webpage⁴⁶. The option of including a search feature into a database driven hypermedia publication also allows for the user to be in charge of information retrieval in a way that clearly counters Lange’s point about the designers control over the “options for routes” through the material⁴⁷.

In the final counter point to the authors who question the appropriateness of the term “interactivity”, there are recent examples of ways in which webpages have become truly interactive documents where readers interact with producers. One is through the provision of producers’ email addresses on webpages which at times produces frequent exchanges. This is especially true of webpages with “web logs” (or “blogs”) where the producer posts information on their webpage almost daily⁴⁸. Web based publications can also have message boards at the end of the author’s text where the readers can comment on the points made in the text and other viewers can read these comments as well⁴⁹. In fact, this ability to change the content of webpages with speed and ease is one of their

⁴⁶ It is interesting to note that while working with the Nuu-chah-nulth on the CD-ROM projects, a couple of the younger Nuu-chah-nulth project participants and myself at separate times, independently came up with the idea of extending our work into a video game that would resemble the popular game “Civilizations” (a game where the player is in control of “developing” a “civilization” and conquering others).

⁴⁷ One can argue that the search terms available clearly limit the searchable options in a publication and although this is true, the ability to search does put the rearrangement of data in the user’s control.

⁴⁸ The development of RSS (Rich Site Summary) feeds, a family of XML file formats that provide the creators of “blogs” and other regularly updated websites the ability to offer subscribers notice of all new updates to the website. This has the potential for inexpensive websites such as the Upper St’át’imc Language Culture and Education Society’s website (<http://uslces.org/home.html>) to broadcast to subscribers free of charge. This presents the Upper St’át’imc and other small Quu?as groups with the opportunity to run their own inexpensive news broadcasting services.

⁴⁹ A good example of the audience response to articles is presented by *the Tyee* (www.thetyee.ca), an online alternative news source based in British Columbia. Every news article in *the Tyee* has a lengthy back and forth between readers with diverse views that appears in a message board directly below the article.

major advantages over printed documents and allows authors to continually rework their ideas and texts in relation to feedback from reader/viewers.

A second phenomenon which we may see grow in the future is exhibited by a popular website called "Homestar Runner" (<http://www.homestarrunner.com>). This website from a small group of Flash animators has an animated character that responds to emails that viewers send him. Real emails form the basis for short cartoon animations where the character "Strong Bad" responds and an animated short story ensues. While I don't expect many academics to employ cartoon characters in their dialogue, having this sort of interactivity between authors and reader/viewers will facilitate the development and refinement of ideas.

This idea of making one's publications interactive, linked to others' online publications, and continually reformulated as dialogue occurs is very similar to the "open source" and "wiki" movements that have been going on for some time. A wiki "is a web application that allows users to add content, as on an Internet forum, but also allows anyone to edit the content" (Wikipedia). The free online encyclopaedia, Wikipedia (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Main_Page), has been created by a community of volunteers who add content, critique others' additions, and edit existing materials. Anyone can join and as of 2005, there is a very substantial breadth of topics covered that are being updated on a very regular basis. A similar, public exchange of ideas can be seen in the open source software movement. This movement consists of a community of software developers who post their code online allowing anyone to copy it and modify it to produce new programs. The sharing of source code and continual redevelopment of code for new applications which can be sold but is also often reposted to the internet for

others to copy has resulted in the rapid development of software that is often more robust and problem-free than that produced by large corporations. The creation of a virtual information commons where academics post, comment, and build on each other's ideas is one of the greatest and as of yet not fully realized possibilities of online hypermedia publication.

While I have limited this discussion on interactivity to fairly concrete examples of the way in which users interact with particular types of hypermedia publications, this discussion could be continued into a growing academic discourse on "post-humanism" and "cyborgization" (see many of the over fifty authors included in *The Cybercultures Reader* (2000) for numerous perspectives on this discourse). These conceptions of the human-machine interface go beyond simply assessing the degree to which interactivity is possible to considering the social implications of peoples' dependence on machines and changing concepts of self and epistemologies as a result of human-machine relationships. Rather than launching into a discussion of this fascinating broad area of inquiry, I will return to more specifics of design features for hypermedia and particularly their significance for ethnographic publication.

Chapter 6: Academic Hypermedia Publication Formats

The current potentials for creating different forms of hypermedia publication can be roughly grouped into three categories. The first category includes a broad spectrum of academic hypermedia publications that are of a type more or less similar to what would currently be considered a common website. The two hypermedia projects that I worked on with Quu?as groups fit into this category and will be described

as examples of this format in their own subsections. The two other types of hypermedia publications that deserve consideration as separate categories are far more labour intensive and include either extensive usage of video or a high level of user directed interactivity. I will first outline the more typical hypermedia documents with examples and then move on to describe the two categories of video hypermedia and virtual reality programs.

6.1 Simple Hypermedia to Database Driven Complexity

Most academic hypermedia publications are still organized much in the way that a printed research publication would be, but each chapter or section can be viewed on its own without necessarily being a linear succession where each section comes in a particular order. Rather than following a set linear sequence, these documents tend to be organized more according to divisions in the types of material to be presented. Where there is a linear connection that runs between objects, screens, or pages, the connections are usually circular, referring back to the main page (which often contains a table of contents and introduction). Structures tend to be trees with links from all branch tips back to the base, or consist of “multiple rhizomes” if they have a large amount of content.

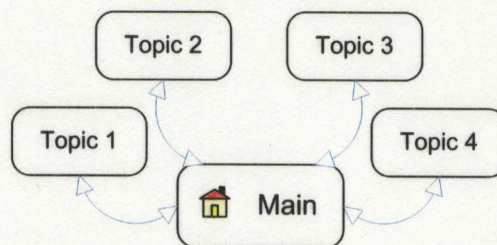


Fig. 6. Simple Hypermedia Document Structure

These general structures describe most current academic webpages and many CD-ROMs and DVDs. There can be of course a great difference in the amount of extra content in these standard rhizomatic publications. Some have pretty rollovers, sound effects, sound clips, video clips, and Flash animation but where these are included they tend to be merely stylistic, providing punctuation in an otherwise flat document or at best visually pleasing footnotes to a text document.

Although these trees, rhizomes, or small clusters of rhizomes lack some of the potentials of the other formats yet to be discussed, they are less labour intensive and provide some remarkable characteristics that are difficult if not impossible to achieve in printed text. A rather simple but extremely useful feature of digitized texts, as well as other labelled nontext elements, is that they can be searched for an infinite number of user defined terms⁵⁰. The nonhierarchical rhizomatic design feature of this medium allows multiple narratives to be presented. The ability to empower 'subjects' of studies to become coauthors on equal terms is made easier through nonlinear hypermedia. Empowering indigenous people to tell their stories or to critique academic research through hypermedia is in keeping with a new politics in research as represented by Smith's "Decolonizing Methodologies" (1999) and much of the literature on action research (for example: Hoare 1993, McTaggart 1997, Tandon 1998). Additionally, the competing narratives of indigenous oral histories with each other and with western official written histories can be presented in new ways. Qualitative social science researchers, especially ethnographers and oral historians, have a new tool available for the presentation of competing narratives. In Biella's words, "paradigmatically-disparate

⁵⁰ Most CD-ROMs and DVDs are not easy to search but all websites are searchable and most database driven sites have their own search features built in.

interpretations of the same field events will begin to be developed with increasing plausibility” (1994). A whole new publication will then be available which includes oral histories in oral format interspersed with conflicting or complementary textual documents and augmented with comments on the social embedding of these accounts.

In addition to the way in which multiple narratives can be set side by side in ethnographic hypermedia, the Internet also allows for direct linking of a nearly infinite number of hypermedia narratives. Banks and Biella do a fantastic job of illustrating the potentials for a new dialogic of online scholarship where academics respond directly to one another in their arguments and actually provide cross links between their contradictory points of view (see Banks:

<http://www.rsl.ox.ac.uk/isca/marcus.banks.01.html> and Biella:

<http://www.usc.edu/dept/elab/welcome/codifications.html>). When narratives, arguments, and interpretations of multiple authors are linked, the publications present a new scholarly field of rhizomes that produce a unique learning experience for viewers.

Although this can be compared to pulling multiple sources on a subject from the stacks in a library, it is much more immediate, and links can connect from one single statement to another. The ease at which comparisons can be made is greatly increased as is the overall accessibility (especially for those who do not have access to well stocked libraries).

Another advantage that hypermedia has over books is its immense storage capacity for raw data. While books are often limited to what can be presented in a few hundred pages, text storage capabilities in digital formats are already far beyond what a single researcher could write in a lifetime and we are only years away from having similar storage capacities for audio and video. “Hypermedia applications seem ideal for

making “raw” field materials – unedited recordings, text transcriptions, or field notes – available to users (with the understanding that even “raw” material can be highly edited)” (Lange 2001: 137). Hypermedia enables the creation of multiple links between the data assembled and interpretive texts that are derived from this data. “Authoring becomes a matter of identifying a number of interpretative paths which may always be supplemented and subverted by the reader, who will (attempt to) make sense of the material in their own ways” (Mason & Dicks 1999). Additionally, scholars will have greater access to materials that would allow them to refine the fieldworker’s perceptions.

The call to publish raw data and field notes will raise a number of ethical issues and personal concerns for academics. Consent forms for research participants will become increasingly complex with multiple forms of publication available for a single project. Current websites also offer the potential for the creation of password protected areas. This allows hypermedia publishers to offer multiple levels of access and control of research data. Although providing the general public, community members, relatives, researchers, and participants with different levels of access and control over research data will make consent and dialogue over ethics increasingly complex, it will also present new opportunities for addressing issues of local control, ownership and intellectual property rights. Despite the added complexity that publishing raw data may add to ethical agreements and the need to protect sacred and personal information, this new potential could provide for a revolutionary degree of transparency to research projects.

6.2 An Example of Simple Hypermedia: the Nuu-chah-nulth CD-ROM project

An ethnographic hypermedia project was initiated in the summer of 2002 under the direction of a group of representatives from the Nuu-chah-nulth Central Region First Nations. Help for establishment of this group, the Nuu-chah-nulth Central Region Language Group, was provided by the CLARET⁵¹ who also provided funding and support for the initiation of ethnographic hypermedia projects. I worked as a co-producer with members of this group from all of the First Nations in the Nuu-chah-nulth Central Region (the Ahousaht, Hesquiaht, Tla-o-qui-aht, Toquaht and Ucluelet First Nations). I provided technical assistance and training for the creation of an ethnographic hypermedia CD-ROM to document language and knowledge of the local environment.

The co-production of the CD-ROM, *Hooves, Fins & Roots*, worked to destabilize the researcher/subject dichotomy in a way similar to the objectives of PAR because the Nuu-chah-nulth participants were in control of the project and had the final say in all aspects of its production. All indigenous knowledge and culture was selected by the Nuu-chah-nulth participants and I made recordings when the elders spoke about each plant and animal that had been selected. In our first meetings, the group chose to have this material presented as a CD-ROM because they considered it an innovative way to record elements of their traditional language and culture while also making it accessible to their youth. The following quote from an animated poster about the Language Group has Ucluelet elder Barbara Touchie explaining in text and audio why she wanted to have the CD-ROM made:

⁵¹The CLARET (Clayoquot Alliance for Research, Education and Training) is an organization with the goals of forging creative links between the University of Victoria and the communities of Clayoquot Sound, providing a forum in which community interests and needs become academic concerns, and making the education and training resources of the University of Victoria more accessible in the Clayoquot Sound region.

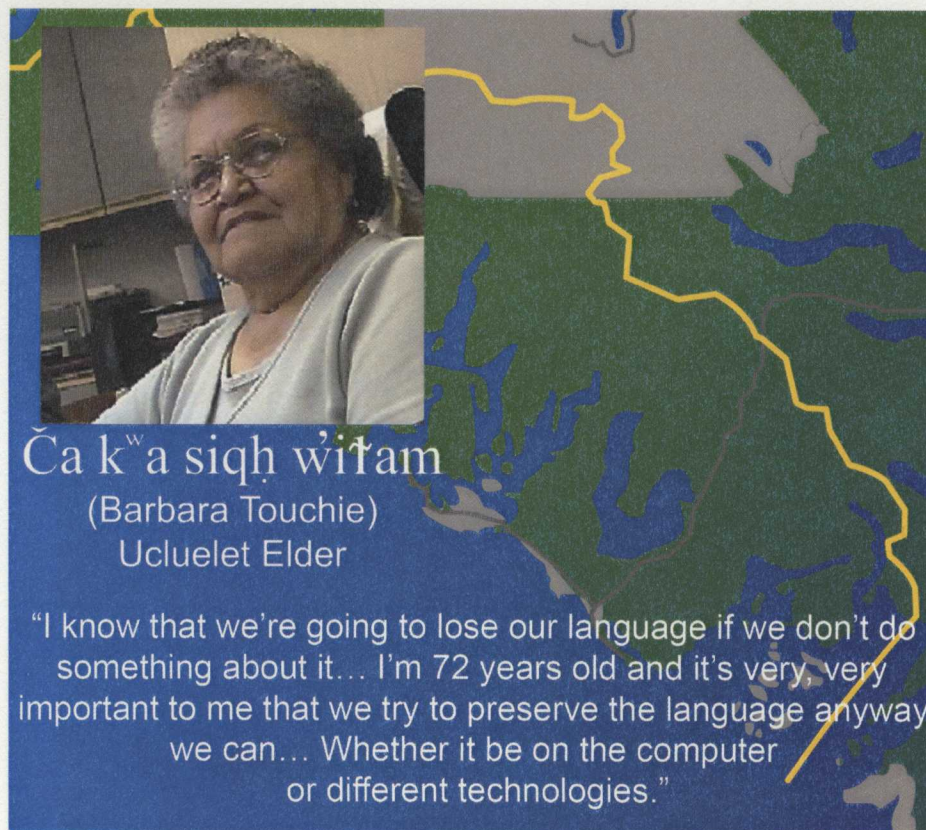


Fig. 7. A Reason for Making the CD-ROM⁵²

Nuu-chah-nulth youth in their communities and in urban centres often do not have access to the elders and few are learning their language. The CD-ROM was conceived as a way to bring the knowledge of the elders to the youth and put it in a format that would be easy and fun to use. The CD-ROM publication format was chosen instead of a webpage partly because some of the Nuuchah-nulth communities did not have reliable or high speed Internet access. The other reason for this choice was that there were concerns within the group about intellectual property rights and what may happen if they made their cultural and linguistic knowledge available for anyone to access and copy online. Having some control over distribution and access to this research publication was likely

⁵² Image source: Clayoquot Alliance for Research Education & Training, <http://www.clayoquotalliance.uvic.ca/Language/index.html>.

of extra concern for group members in light of the scandal of blood samples that was presented in the second section of Chapter 4.

Although the Language Group chose the content for the CD-ROM and directed my work, much of the layout of pages and navigational architecture was of my design and influenced by my understanding of the capabilities of Macromedia's animation software "Flash". The CD-ROM opens with the title page pictured below and the viewer hears Nuuchahnulth narrator Tom Curley introduce the CD-ROM:



The user can click on the central button on the screen (the Thunderbird with mountains logo). When they click on this button, a drumming audio clip plays and the logo transforms into a spinning globe that grows to become the map of the central navigational page for the CD-ROM as displayed in the following figure (Fig.9).

Fig. 8. CD-ROM Title Page

The viewer has nineteen animated buttons of plants and animals to choose from. When they move the cursor over a button, the name of the plant or animal appears on the screen in English text. When they click on one of these buttons, a sound effect plays and they jump to a linked page that has photos, cultural and linguistic information about one or a few plants and animals.

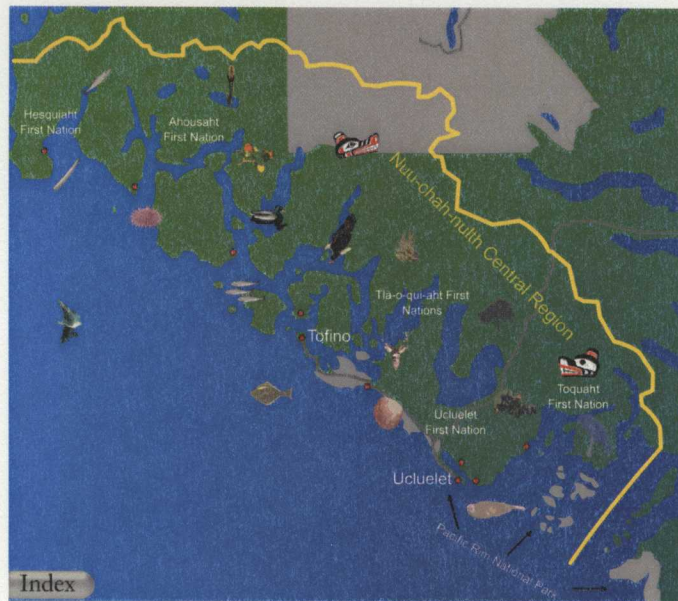


Fig. 9. CD-ROM Interface Page

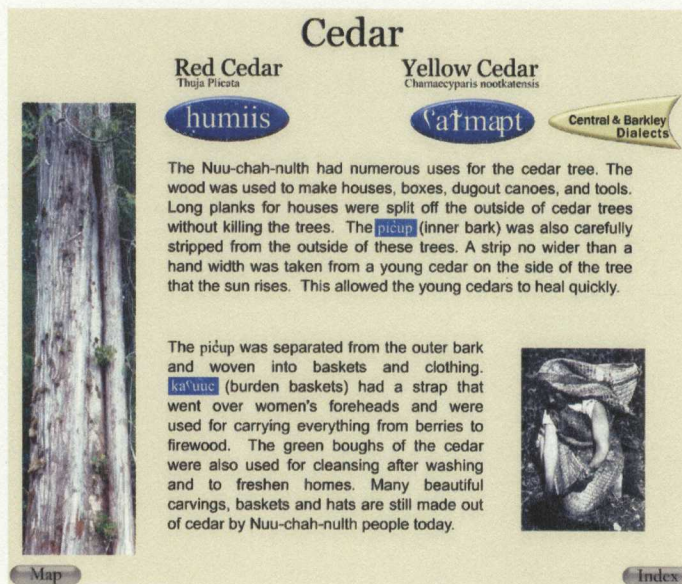


Fig. 10. CD-ROM Cedar Page

The cedar tree button on the interface page links to this cedar page. This page is typical of the nineteen pages that viewers can choose to see. The Nuu-chah-nulth names for the red and yellow cedar trees are presented in text on buttons. Clicking on either of these buttons will start an audio clip of an elder pronouncing the Nuu-chah-nulth word. The small blue text boxes within the ethnographic information are extra Nuu-chah-nulth vocabulary words.

The ethnographic information and linguistic data presented on the plant and animal pages was gathered by recording a series of elder advisory council group meetings where the Nuu-chah-nulth elders spoke about each of the plants and animals to be presented. These recordings were transcribed and then edited down. The edited versions

were circulated among Language Group members and changes were made. After discussion, all members of the group approved the text. An interesting feature on the cedar page (Fig. 10) is the historic photo in the bottom right. This is a photo of a Hesquiaht woman, Virginia Tom, the grandmother of Larry Paul, an elder member of the Language Group (Turner & Efrat 1982:16). Although this photo was selected by Language Group members for this page, this is not an old family photo, it is one of Edward Curtis's photos shot in 1915. Curtis had Virginia Tom dress up in cedar bark clothing that she would not have normally worn. This provided the Language Group with one of the few visual records of a past that is passed down in their oral histories but they would otherwise have included few visual records. This presents a positive side to the in-other-ways problematic photographs of Edward Curtis as presented in the third section of Chapter 2.

In this way, there is a certain irony to the records produced by those who worked in the salvage paradigm. Curtis is personally responsible for constructing some of the most widely circulated photos of Quu'as peoples that portray them as exotic, traditional, and doomed to extinction. At the same time, his photos are, for Larry Paul and others in the Language Group, an invaluable record of their ancestors and traditions. In her article on documentary photography, Martha Rosler, first ridicules Curtis' "sentimental pictorialism" and his propagation of problematic stereotypes and then tempers this with her admission that "...many present-day descendants of [Curtis's] photographed people... [thank him for] ...creating a historical record (the only visual one)" (1999:311). While this photograph in the context of Curtis' work of "salvage", positions Virginia Paul as a traditional and romanticized "other", I would argue that this usage in the Nuu-chal-

nulth CD-ROM re-positions the photograph as a historic record of a living culture. While it does little to deconstruct the artifice of Curtis' romantic and exoticizing view (e.g. his soft focus and removal of a colonial presence) it does counter the notion that this is evidence of a disappearing and premodern culture.

The other photo on this cedar page, the one of the tree, also represents elements of a fascinatingly complex history. This is a "culturally modified tree", one of the large cedar trees that Nuu-chah-nulth people many decades or even centuries ago removed a piece of bark from – probably to weave, the inner part into a basket or one of the many other things that they are skilled at making from the inner bark. Culturally modified trees can be dated and have recently played a part in land claims cases as material evidence. The Canadian court system has decreed that the Nuu-chah-nulth and other Quu?as peoples must prove their continued use of the land since the time of the Royal Proclamation of 1763. This tree then represents not only the cultural practices of Nuu-chah-nulth ancestors but also serves as evidence of their use of the land which can aid them in their ongoing struggle with colonial powers.

While this CD-ROM contains ethnographic information and linguistic information intended for teaching Nuu-chah-nulth children and as such is on the surface a simple, fun, and easy to use publication, there are many deeper stories just below the surface. Although the exegesis that I have added to just one of the screens in this CD-ROM has not been included in the hypermedia publication, it would be relatively easy to add unobtrusive links to such content. The result would be a hybrid educational tool and

academically interesting publication⁵³. The Nuu-chah-nulth Language Group has published 500 copies of this CD-ROM and by all reports the members seem relatively happy with it as it is. I do not expect to see any extension of the project in the way suggested above but my commentary does provide an example of one potential way in which research could be conducted that would be of benefit to a Quuʔas community and also of great interest in academia. Overall, this CD-ROM project was a successful use of hypermedia for publishing on a collaborative community-based project. It met the needs of the community but in my mind, it would have been of additional interest to academic researchers if there had also been a hybrid form with additional explanation and discussion of ethnographic content provided.

6.3 An Example of Database Driven Hypermedia: the Upper St'át'imc Photo History website

As presented in the preceding discussion of Curtis' photos, photos can have multiple meanings for the viewer and in this way can represent the stories of people, places, and ways of life. The collaborative website project, *Glimpses into Upper St'át'imc History through Photos* (<http://www.maltwood.uvic.ca/statimc>), that I assisted the Upper St'át'imc Language, Heritage and Education Society (USLCES) in creating is a site for Upper St'át'imc people to self-publish their interpretations of a series of historic photos. The majority of photos in the website were taken from the Royal British Columbia Museum and the British Columbia Archives. None of the photos from these collections were shot by St'át'imc people and many of them are not even intentionally

⁵³ If this were to be attempted, it would also be very easy to publish two versions of the project. There could be a children's edition without the links to deeper content, and an adult one with more depth.

ethnographic but all of the photos were shot on Upper St'át'imc traditional territory. These are mostly historical photos taken by colonial officials for their own reasons. The idea behind the website was to have Upper St'át'imc people reinterpret these artefacts of the colonial state and tell their own stories through a reinterpreted visual narrative. In order to do this, two St'át'imc students were hired to take a photo album around to interview St'át'imc people who are considered knowledgeable about their history and record what they had to say about the photos⁵⁴. The challenge that I was given was to construct a website that could organize the photos without imposing my own Eurocentric categories on the photos.

I had lengthy meetings with members of USCLES where we discussed different ways of organizing the collection of photos in the website. In the end, it was decided that they would be organized according to the locations where they were shot. With the photos divided by St'át'imc community, I asked for some additional grouping of these communities so that the menus on the webpage would not become too long. The members of USLCES then decided that their territory could be divided into quadrants according to what is apparently best translated as the four compass directions. They then had to discuss where the centre point would be and came to a consensus that it would fall on an axis just north-east of their tribal administration building.

⁵⁴ This technique is referred to in literature as photo elicitation (see Collier & Collier 1986).

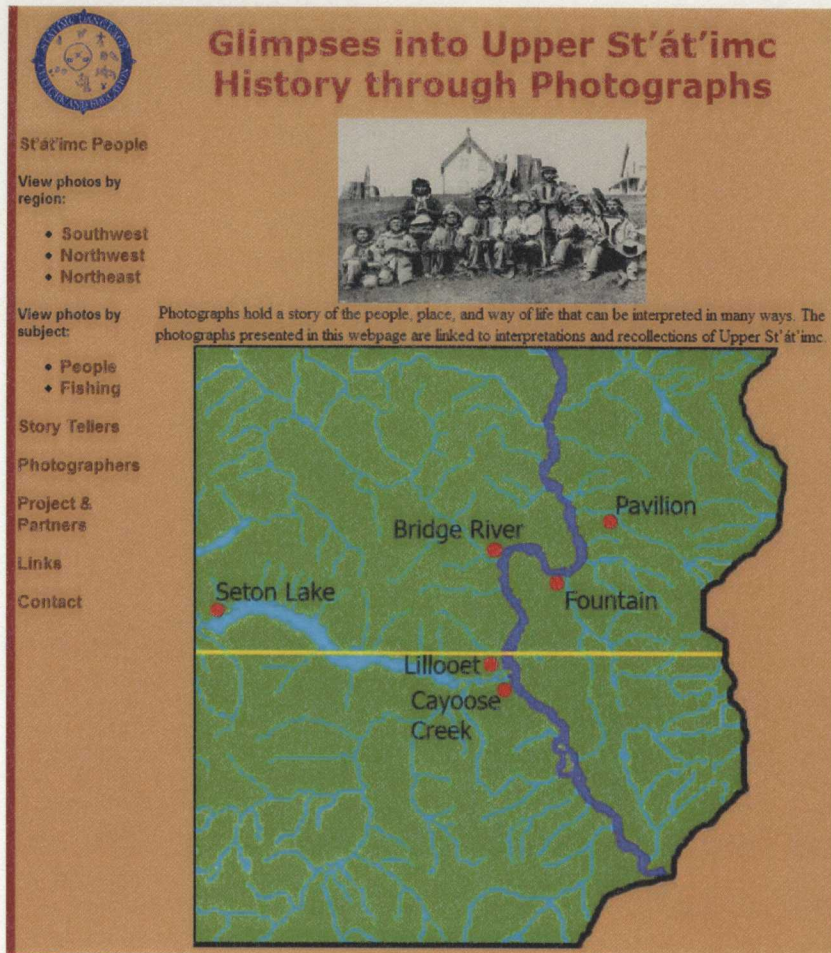


Fig. 11. St'át'imc Website Home Page

The map is split into quadrants along the river on the east/west axis and along the yellow line on the north/south axis. The webpage viewer can click a quadrant to choose to view photographs from a community located in one of these quadrants.

Throughout these discussions of classification of the photos, there was an obvious disregard for the system of classification that the Archives and Museum had inscribed on these photos. As we digitized the photos, the catalogue numbers of the colonial archive were not reproduced and the photos went through a strangely ultramodern and yet decolonizing moment as the images became digital code, the colonial imprints were erased and the digital representations of history became inscribed with “Tsal’álh”, “Sékw’elw’as”, and “Cáclep” – the St’át’imc names of their communities.

There remained two major technical issues that I was faced with in constructing this website. First, members of USCLES wanted to include over 500 photos that they had gathered from the Archives and Museum and I had neither the time or patience to write the html code for 500 separate photo pages. The second challenge was related to the loss of some of the interview transcripts and dissatisfaction by some members of the group with the quality of some interview information. The solution to both of these problems was to make the webpage a dynamic database driven website. In this way, I could construct forms that would allow anyone who had a password to upload both text and images to the website without having to write any computer code.

Fig. 12. Image Upload Form

This is a fairly simple form used to upload photos to the website. Once a file is selected from the user's local hard drive, then information such as the date the photo was taken and the name of the community to associate it with can be added from dropdown menus or by typing it into the blank fields.

There are also similar forms for adding text about a photograph as well as forms for uploading the names of St'át'imc people who have added their own stories to the website. The result is pages such as the one following (Fig. 13):

A *St'át'imc* project participant was able to upload a photo with the form pictured in Fig. 12 and this photograph page was then automatically created from the database. The project participant then used a second form to add a story about the photo as told by *St'át'imc* community member Sharon Edwards. The form for uploading text will allow USCLES members to add new stories as they desire and each new story will appear under the preceding one.

The screenshot shows a web page titled "Lillooet Town Photograph". On the left is a sidebar menu with the following items: Home, St'át'imc People, View photos by location: Southwest (Lillooet Reserve, Lillooet Town, Cayoose Creek), Northwest, Northeast, View photos by subject: People, Fishing, Story Tellers, Photographers, Project & Partners, Links, and Contact. The main content area features a photograph of a suspension bridge over a river. Above the photo are fields for "Location: Lillooet Town", "Photo Title:", and "Date: 1911". To the right of the photo are fields for "Photographer: Frank Cyril Swannell", "Collection: British Columbia Archives", and "Catalogue #: I-33340". Below the photo is a caption: "Lillooet Bridge - May 1911". Underneath the photo is a section titled "Read what the St'át'imc story tellers had to say about this photograph:" followed by "Sharon Edwards:" and a text box containing the following text: "SE: 'This is the old Lillooet bridge, and my great grandfather worked on it, and along with Pete Diablo of Fountain, and they had their names carved at one end of the bridge.' GE: 'Your grandfather?' SE: 'Chief Thomas Adolph.'"

Fig. 13. Typical Photograph Page

This online project is an example of polyvocal, Quu?as controlled, self-published hypermedia. In my role as a technical assistant, I helped facilitate acts of self representation where *St'át'imc* people are able to have their voices heard online and speak back to the colonial institutions of knowledge that have sought to know and have power over them for the past century and a half. The Internet is a space where this Upper *St'át'imc* website sits in a state far closer to equality with the websites erected by the government Archives and Museum than would likely be possible if the Upper *St'át'imc* were to erect a physical structure that challenges these colonial institutions. Although USCLES has the ability to challenge colonial narratives about them on the Internet, the

power of the state is felt in laws that constrain expression of this on the net. Even though there was an original removal of the British Columbia Archives' inscriptions from these photographs in the process of digitization, we had to re-insert the archival catalogue number and provide written recognition that the Archives and Museum claim legal ownership of these images that were taken of St'át'imc people and places by long since deceased photographers.

The *Glimpses into Upper St'át'imc History through Photos* website is a project that although small in scale, presents an example of ethnographic hypermedia that is in keeping with new ethics in research and postmodern concerns for subjectivity, and one that empowers indigenous voices in talking back to a colonial history of domination and subjugation. When viewing the website, I am struck by the way in which multiple St'át'imc voices come across. In reading the unedited transcripts of St'át'imc commentators that community members have uploaded to the website, I am struck by the sense that I am really hearing the voices of these people. This website presents a clear example of multivocal hypermedia that addresses the issues of voice that were raised in the first section of Chapter 4.

6.4 Hypervideo

Moving images have undergone a technological revolution with the development of digital video formats and computers that are able to handle them. It was not until 1995 that a representative of a leading microprocessor manufacturer, Intel Corporation, said "our computers finally have enough power to deal with images as naturally as we do type fonts today" (Stephens 1998:164) and it was a few more years

before Apple or Intel's chips did a good job handling the twenty-five to thirty images per second that is standard in digital video. By 2002, both Apple and PC computers made nonlinear editing of digital video available at costs that were a small fraction of what the media industry had been paying for similar technology a few years earlier. The very recent development and affordability of digital video production and postproduction equipment has made video available to virtually any researcher who wishes to publish in this format. With the tools for creating hypermedia already incorporated in computer operating systems and software suites, the arrival of video editing capabilities resulted in an immediate convergence of these technologies. The inclusion of video clips in webpages and DVDs with menus are but the first primitive examples of a quickly changing publication format⁵⁵.

There are a few ways in which Hypervideo⁵⁶ has the potential to greatly alter ethnographic filmmaking. First, ethnographic film and video can now have annotations embedded in them to match the standards for text in the intellectual paradigm. "With the transience of linear film and video now held at bay, time-based media will come to acquire the vulnerability and credibility of scholarly text" (Biella 1994). Biella's own CD-ROM, *Maasai Interactive*, "...includes three thousand annotations that interpret the fifteen hours of translated materials" (Biella 1995: 242). Sara Pink (2004) explains the common differences between ethnographic films and written ethnography as being that films are concerned with particular cases and informed by anthropological theory, while

⁵⁵ These publications are currently limited by both Internet bandwidth and DVD players. We are on the verge of seeing these technologies and television broadcasting merge into a single integrated medium which will result in the ability to create new forms of hypervideo.

⁵⁶ This is term that was very hesitantly put forth by Mitchell Stephens when in a discussion about hypertext links to video he wrote "(hypervideo?)" (1988:172).

ethnographic texts are concerned with general theories about culture and society but refer to specific cases in talking about the theories. The films then lack the explicit explanations of theory but provide a greater depth of representation of the actual field experience. "The potential of hypermedia is in fact... to use the visual to enlarge the scope and impact of the theoretical on the ethnographic and vice versa" (Pink 2004:181).

A second change to ethnographic film will be especially important in the struggle against racialization and stereotyping. Studies have shown that, "viewers are inclined to impose their preexistent, stereotypic interpretations onto ethnographic film images, and that they often ignore evidence of alternative interpretations that filmmakers intend to convey" (Biella 1994). With hypermedia, creators can add annotations and critiques to films that could interrupt and challenge viewers' interpretations of images. This is of critical interest to those who are troubled by the inherent polyvocal nature of communicating with images. Many of the image makers who helped construct the "Imaginary Indian", as discussed in chapter two, may not have intended to do so. Images can easily be interpreted in ways which photographers and filmmaker do not intend and there are even cases where filmmakers who intended to overturn stereotypes end up reinforcing them instead (Hall 1997).

Hypermedia and hypervideo present an opportunity for well intentioned image makers to respond to a history of representation that has been shown to create the "double subjugation" of the Quu'as as was described in the first part of the fourth chapter (Coffey et al. 1996: section 4.2). Here is a project for filmmakers who want to reduce the ambiguity of images and attempt to overturn ideas of the imaginary "Indian", noble savage, or even more negative stereotypes that abound in Mama'n'i society. Hypervideo

is an excellent tool for making a filmmaker's intentions clear to their audience. This medium could be useful both for activists wishing to construct anti-oppression training tools and for pedagogical uses of ethnographic films. Similar to the way that the hypermedia documents discussed earlier free text from the linearity of print, hypervideo also allows for new nonlinear forms of video. Video can be,

...juxtaposed and layered by placing video pieces laterally instead of linearly and allowing viewers to choose what to see... What emerges through the layering of different digital video cuts is a thickening of description, and this enables viewers to add their interpretations to what they are seeing and to become distance-participants.

(Goldman-Segall 1996)

While this could take a form that is similar to simply choosing between multiple video narratives, there are also new and as far as I know unexplored options available. One possibility may be to label short video segments in a way in which a search of all the segments in a database would assemble all of the clips on a particular topic⁵⁷. If this was done with some software to soften the transitions between these clips, the user would have created their own narrative structure to a unique if roughly cut documentary. A final and in some ways similar idea would be publishing all raw footage from a film along with the final cut. For those familiar with nonlinear editing software, this would mean publishing all captured footage along with the "project" file and final cut. In more detail, this would be a publication that would make use of new and far larger storage capacities (either offline or online) that are just now becoming available. The final edited version of the movie could be viewed as the video editor has constructed it but when the movie

⁵⁷ While I do not know of a commercially available software application that will do this, one of the major hurdles in creating such an application has recently been overcome by Google Corporation. They have released a beta edition of a video search engine that uses the closed captioning and text descriptions of videos for the search. See http://video.google.com/video_about.html.

plays, each individual clip would be drawn from a database that contains all the raw footage. By making this database available to the viewer, the viewer could at any point stop the movie and review the unedited footage that the current clip was taken from. All postproduction decisions would be laid bare as well as many of the profilmic aspects to the shoot which are often seen in the footage that in linear editing covered the cutting room floor. Many of the tricks and facades of filmmaking would be stripped away in the honest publication of raw footage. Just as with the publication of other raw materials from research projects, this would also raise a series of ethical questions around what should be published. On another positive note, if the software were developed for this form of publication, it would not require any additional effort of preparation than already goes into video editing.

6.5 Hyperworlds and Virtual Reality

There is a third type of publication available to academics which is prohibitively difficult to produce but bears vast potential. Complex and three-dimensional representations of reality that provide for user control over choices made and paths taken when faced with questions have been occasionally used for academic purposes. Currently, the amount of time that is required to generate computer simulations of 3D experiences or of complex natural processes is extremely prohibitive. Despite this, there has been some promising work done in this area. For example, the Georgia Basin Futures project, an interdisciplinary research project whose aim was "...to increase the level of understanding of how complex ecological, social and economic systems interact and to discover new ways of achieving a sustainable future for the [Georgia Basin] region" has

produced a computer application that, through user inputs, projects the long term consequences of public policy decisions

(http://www.basinfutures.net/about_gbfp/index.cfm). The result is not as inspiring as some commercially produced games, such as SimCity,⁵⁸ that although less grounded in academic research do produce similar options and results in a far more engaging format.

The popularity and level of viewer engagement with commercially produced video games suggests that despite current barriers to using this format for conducting and publishing research, further experimentation should be encouraged⁵⁹.

⁵⁸ This game produced by Electronic Arts (www.ea.com) allows the player to construct, zone, and build a virtual city where the virtual inhabitants and quality of the environment create a score based on the positive and negative impacts of the player's design choices.

⁵⁹ The use of interactive online games can also be used to gather information from users. The public's attitude and opinions can be measured in very specific scenarios when they are presented with choices in games. This presents a very rich area for academic research.

IV. Conclusions

I do not expect Hypermedia publications to replace printed text but there are a number of advantages available to researchers publishing in this medium that are not available in text alone. The most obvious of these is the ability to include data in whichever visual, textual, or audio formats is deemed best. This can be especially useful for including visual and audio recordings of research projects. Even in writing this thesis I felt hindered by my inability to provide audio clips for the Nuu-chah-nulth words “Quuʔas” and “Mamaʔnʔi”. I also would have liked to be able to embed pieces of the Flash animation or link to the St’át’imc website.

A second advantage to working in hypermedia is the way in which it can allow for the inclusion of voices, such as indigenous elders, who might otherwise be excluded from the production of scholarly text. The ability to include multiple voices in various formats can work to decentre authority and empower the voices of those previously considered to be only the subjects of research. I feel that the Upper St’át’imc webpage allowed for the publication of storytellers’ voices in a way that is far less mediated than is traditionally done in printed publications. Unedited excerpts of conversations with storytellers were uploaded without anyone from outside the community having any influence on their form or content. It is also possible in hypermedia to include voices, such as the St’át’imc storytellers, in nonhierarchical formats and thus create publications that address many of the critiques levied against the classic works of salvage anthropology. There is a hierarchy on each page of storytellers’ comments in the St’át’imc webpage because they are included according to the order they were uploaded. Despite the hierarchy, the ordering is somewhat random and not framed by the voice of

an outside researcher. While this webpage is a step in this direction, due to time and budgetary constraints, it does not make full use of the technology currently available. I feel that this webpage would be improved with more navigational features, such as being able to search the site by storytellers' names and other search terms. With more attention to providing equality of voice to research participants and the careful use of navigational and search features, hypermedia can be used to produce innovative polyvocal research reports. In this way, the medium is an excellent means to represent the collaborative research projects that are increasingly common in ethnographic research today.

Another noteworthy feature of hypermedia is the way in which the links that connect the text, audio, still and moving images, work to create meaning that can add to the view/reader's understanding of the research presented. For example, the main interface page on the Nuu-chah-nulth CD-ROM was a map of the traditional territory (Fig. 9) with buttons that linked to pages with cultural knowledge about plants and animals. These buttons draw a connection between these plants and animals and the traditional territory without any text to explicitly state the link. I would also argue that this type of connection between these resources and the land may be better understood in by the viewer than if the link were made in a single sentence. By recursively linking between these resources and the map of the land a stronger connection may be created. On the other hand, the potential benefit of drawing implicit connections also indicates the power of the hypermedia designer and their implicit power to classify information which must receive the same critical attention as is paid to ethics in the research process. Hypermedia designers should think carefully about how they choose the categories and navigational elements in their hypermedia products. They should consider whether they

have imposed Eurocentric categories just as was done in classic ethnographies. They must also strike a balance between organizing materials in a way that is most representative of the culture the culture being represented and the imposition of common navigational features that will assist viewers from other cultures in finding their way through the data presented. In addition to research skills and attention to ethics, hypermedia producers must employ design skills to allow users to easily navigate the publication. With good organization and navigational design, users are freed from the authorial control common to printed texts and are able to pursue their own interests and construct their own order to data presented.

The vast storage potentials available in this medium allow for the publication of raw data along with final research reports. The ability to publish these materials, the increased ease of accessibility, and low cost of replicating digital materials necessitates an increased attention to a need for ethics agreements and acknowledgement of intellectual property rights (IPR). I would suggest that researchers take new approaches to IPR agreements that recognize that there are many, somewhat separate, elements in a hypermedia publication. For example, indigenous groups should maintain rights to their cultural knowledge but this does not extend to the innovative uses of technology by hypermedia authors. Interface designers should have rights to their work that is recognized as being separate from the cultural data imbedded in the document. As well, in a polyvocal hypermedia publication, there may be people from different communities and multiple academic researchers, it would be best to recognize that there may be many separate parts to a hypermedia publication and each may be the IPR of a separate individual or group. While this developing an IPR agreement to cover the many facets of

a polyvocal document may be time consuming, in my experience it could save time in the end. For example, if each party were to concur that, as long as general agreed upon guidelines are followed by all participants, they only need to review and sign-off on a portion of the hypermedia document, then much time and energy may be saved when final approval is required for publication.

Despite the IPR challenges presented by hypermedia, the ability to reach a large audience with minimal costs and the ease of accessibility provided by the World Wide Web presently works to level the playing field between large institutions and small indigenous organizations and even individuals. The ability for interlinked networks of research publications and dialogue between reader/viewers and producers opens up the potential for the sharing of ideas in a vibrant information commons.

Hypermedia should be of interest to educators because of the pedagogical potential to use visual and moving images in new ways that can disrupt stereotypical and problematic images and conceptions of Quu?as and other visible minority peoples. While I do not feel that either of the projects that I worked on dealt directly with overturning stereotypes, the St'át'imc project has some potential in this regard. The publication of many images of colonialism (e.g. Quu?as marching bands and Quu?as community churches) and storytellers' commentary about them presents some visions of Quu?as people that are counter to images of "salvage" anthropology. While I do not think that these will overturn ideas of the "Imaginary Indian", the creation of this site by Statimc people living today does challenge the denial of coevalness (Fabian 1983) and put forward alternate images and interpretations of their history.

Although I have presented a largely positive depiction of the potentials of a number of forms of hypermedia, there are a number of issues to consider in producing hypermedia publications. Marcus Banks believes that the more “slick” the hypermedia, the more “it bolsters its claims to completeness and wholeness. It calls on the twin rhetorics of ‘freedom’ and ‘choice’ to disguise its control and command of authority” (Banks 1994). I agree that caution must be taken in analysing hypermedia publications and that publications with high production value can obscure poor methods or shoddy research much in the way that third person narratives in classic ethnographies obscured a lack of explicit research methods.

Another concern with hypermedia is related more generally to the interaction of humans and technology. Banks (1994) suggests that anthropologists read a number of sources on the social relations of new technologies. Despite his suggestion, he does not explain whether his concern is aligned with Marxist ideas of alienation, a corporate profit oriented takeover of ethnography, or a Foucauldian concern of the medium having power to shape discourse. Banks provides a vague warning that “there is no socially ‘neutral’ technology” and that we need to be aware of the “social embedding” of hypermedia (1994). Banks may have been referring to the social aspects of the creation of hypermedia projects and their consumption by audiences, or possibly the socio-economic implications of building the physical hardware for hypermedia. These are certainly areas that should be considered as well as the social embedding of technology.

Georgina Born’s study of a music software research centre in France elucidates the very socially constructed nature of computer software. Of the many academic studies of technologies “none interrogates the textuality or materiality of computer media, or the

discursive qualities of their informing sciences” (Born 1997: 141). She effectively shows that the forms of verbal and visual communication used between software developers do in fact inform the software that is produced. Thus we have another layer of social embedding of hypermedia technology, but this layer is of particular interest for the way in which social processes inform the software and then the software shapes hypermedia. Certainly my own design work has been shaped by the software that I used, which was probably shaped by the social world at Macromedia Corporation. For example, my use of the software *Flash* instead of using an html generator (a program that would create webpages) meant that all of my work appeared on a timeline. Flash is an animation program and having each element of the CD-ROM appear on a timeline made me think about the project in a different manner. For example, the transition from the title page to the main map interface is animated with the title page “enter” button transforming into a globe that becomes the earth with a zoom into the Nuu-chah-nulth traditional territory. I would have never thought to include this type of animation if I had been working with an html generator.

Parallel to this concern are those raised by Coffey et al. (1996) that research results can be easily shaped by software. They claim that this is a large issue when it comes to software used in the analysis of research data. “On the one hand, a diversity of representational modes and devices is currently celebrated, in response to various critiques of conventional ethnographic representation. On the other hand, the widespread influence of computer- assisted qualitative data analysis is promoting convergence on a uniform mode of data analysis and representation” (Coffey et al. 1996).

All potential hypermedia creators need to remain critical of the technology they employ or as Neil Postman says in his technophobic diatribe, “we need students who will understand the relationships between our technics and our social and psychic worlds, so that they may begin informed conversations about where technology is taking us and how” (1992: 198). From one Quu’as perspective, educator Vivian Delgado worries about the impact of technology use on Native spiritual wellbeing. She says that, “if the sacred is generated by the mind, then technology has the potential to deplete parts of this treasured resource if we are not careful to evaluate its use” (Delgado 2003:95). Many of the Quu’as that I have worked with do not agree with Delgado but it should be noted that some peoples have beliefs and understandings that make hypermedia a poor choice for use with their cultures. This is yet one more issue that should be discussed with community members before committing to the use of hypermedia in ethnographic representation.

A final note of concern about hypermedia documents is the problem of obsolescence. The speed with which communications technologies are changing raises the spectre that many works constructed today will be unviewable in a short number of years. While I believe that this is a major challenge with the medium, it is one which major research institutions must tackle. We will not find adequate solutions for obsolescence until the full potentials of hypermedia are widely recognized and more researchers are given the support and opportunities that they need to publish in hypermedia. Only with the allocation of sufficient resources to the further development of hypermedia as a form of academic publication and its increased acceptance as a legitimate scholarly publication will the benefits of this medium be realized for academic researchers and their community partners.

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