Circle of Voices, a techno-anthropological venture among Quebec First Nations

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Abstract

Circle of Voices is a three year research project involving Abenaki, Nehirowisiw/Atikamekw and Wolastoqiyik/Maliseet peoples in Quebec, Canada. It addresses the contemporary realities of First Nations' cultures and identities through the voices of young women and knowledge holders. The project centers on two objectives: undermining stereotypical perceptions or harmful representations of Indigenous people, and enhancing the continuing rise of pride, hope and resilience among Indigenous groups through cultural revitalisation. Cultural revitalisation relates to re-claiming a heritage that is fragmented through time and space, to restoring that which centuries of imperialism tried to annihilate, in the form of regenerating relationships with the land, with ancestral practices, with belief systems and with others. The initial fieldwork from 2016 entailed biographical narratives, multimedia recordings of traditional practices and creative collaborative activities such as participatory photography, sharing circles and intergenerational dance workshops. All these ethnographic materials were arranged on a website with a non-linear navigation (circleofvoices.com) which was launched in December 2017. The last step of the research journey involved a return to Quebec in Autumn 2018 to present the website to the participants, conduct follow-up interviews and gain new insights.

This thesis examines how the project Circle of Voices elicits and mediates anthropological knowledge about cultural revitalisation. Through the lenses of feminist science and technology studies, actor-network theory, post-phenomenology and visual/media anthropology, I investigate how the use of non-human elements - such as photography, web design, or social media - acted as influential mediators to the production of knowledge and shaping of relationships with Indigenous participants. The dynamic information that emerges from these socio-technical encounters is then transposed and classified on the website. I explore how transformations through digital technologies raise concerns around the protection of Indigenous cultural heritage and the reification of the diverse expressions of contemporary Indigeneity. Aside from this, conducting the project as a white, French, female anthropologist with activist engagement, I acknowledge the intricate webs of privilege and oppression where myself and my work are situated. In this light, the thesis reflects on the learnings and challenges of collaboration in contemporary Indigenous contexts. With this writing, I hope to raise awareness of the current realities of First Nations women and youth, unravelling my experiments with technological tools and scientific practices towards socio-political change.

Resumé

Circle of Voices er et treårigt forskningsprojekt, som involverer Abenaki-, Nehirowisiw/Atikamekw- og Wolastoq/Maliseetfolk i Quebec, Canada. Gennem unge kvinders og vidensbæreres stemmer adresseres First Nations' kulturelle og identitetsmæssige samtidsforhold. Projektet fokuserer på to målsætninger: at underminere stereotype forestillinger om eller skadelige repræsentationer af oprindelige folk og at styrke den fortsatte opbygning af stolthed, håb og ukuelighed blandt oprindelige grupper gennem kulturel revitalisering. Kulturel revitalisering handler om at genvinde en arv, som er blevet fragmenteret gennem tid og rum, om at genoprette, hvad århundreder af imperialisme søgte at udrydde, ved at gendanne relationer til landet, til traditionelle praksisser, til trossystemer og til andre. Det indledende feltarbejde fra 2016 indeholdt biografiske narrativer, multimedieoptagelser af traditionelle praksisser og kreative samarbejdsaktiviteter såsom brugerinddragende fotografi, "sharing circles" og inter-generationelle danseworkshops. Alt dette etnografiske materiale blev tilrettelagt på en webside med ikke-lineær navigation (circleofvoices.com), som blev lanceret i december 2017. Forskningsrejsens sidste skridt indebar en tur tilbage til Quebec i efteråret 2018 for at præsentere websiden for deltagerne, lave opfølgende interviews og opnå nye indsigter.

Dette speciale undersøger, hvordan projektet Circle of Voices frembringer og medierer antropologisk viden om kulturel revitalisering. Ved hjælp af feministisk videnskab og teknologistudier, aktør-netværksteori, post-fænomenologi og visuel antropologi undersøger jeg, hvordan brugen af ikke-menneskelige elementer – såsom fotografi, webdesign eller sociale medier – agerede som indflydelsesrige mediatorer i vidensproduktionen og relationsdannelsen til de deltagende oprindelige folk. Den dynamiske information, der opstår ved disse socio-tekniske møder, bliver derefter overført og klassificeret på websiden. Jeg undersøger, hvordan transformationen gennem digitale teknologier skaber bekymring om beskyttelsen af oprindelig kulturel arv og tingsliggørelsen af kontemporær oprindeligheds forskelligartede udtryk. Ud over dette anerkender jeg det intrikate væv af privilegier og undertrykkelse, mit arbejde og jeg selv – som hvid, fransk, kvindelig antropolog med aktivistiske engagementer – er situeret i. Således reflekterer specialet over indsigter og udfordringer ved samarbejde i kontemporære oprindelighedskontekster. Med dette skrivearbejde håber jeg at kunne øge opmærksomheden på kvinder og unge af First Nations' aktuelle virkeligheder, idet jeg, med henblik på socio-politisk forandring, gør rede for mine eksperimenter med teknologiske redskaber og videnskabelige praksisser.

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Last but not least, thank you to my family who nurtured me into this world, to my partner for his supportive signs of care. I would like to dedicate this writing to my grandmother, who always admired my passion for writing and believes that I will write a book one day. Although it is written in a language she does not understand, writing this thesis felt the closest I have ever been to seeing her dream fulfilled, and her love brought me that far.

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Introduction

This dissertation finds itself on a long trajectory of wanderings, both in the outer world and in my personal life. It interweaves delicate knowledge movements, hopeful beliefs in technological innovation, and the personal path of an engaged anthropologist. This thesis is the final academic outcome of a three-year long research project I first initiated in Quebec in 2016: Circle of Voices. It is an exploratory, anthropological journey among First Nations groups, delving into cultural revitalisation through biographical narratives, multimedia recordings of traditional practices, and creative collaborative activities such as participatory photography, sharing circles and intergenerational dance workshops. Within the framework of the research project, outcomes beyond this thesis include a multimedia website, active accounts on Facebook and Instagram, and scholarly contribution to a report addressed to the Nordic Council of Ministers on Arctic Youth and Sustainable Futures (forthcoming). I will often refer to contents on *circleofvoices.com* for this present thesis, and I will draw on some quotes from my BA thesis.

The vision I cultivate for Circle of Voices is to counteract the demeaning representations of Indigenous cultures and identities, and to contribute to the digitisation and dissemination of Indigenous knowledge. Throughout this journey, I have become aware of the intersectionality of my privileges, as a white, French, middle-class, educated woman. I have explored ways to combine elements of my identity with my political convictions and pursued learning to become an ally of Indigenous groups through different forms of activist engagement. I have grown an understanding of conducting engaged anthropology, as: "a valuable form of inquiry that problematizes internal tensions and contradictions and redefines relationships of power within the study community and between community members and the larger world" (Cervone, 2007:101). By self-identifying as an engaged researcher and working collaboratively with First Nations youth, I have committed to taking a critical stance on the power relations unfolding in the research project and beyond. My scholarly practice strongly resonates with the feminist project of Donna Haraway that science can offer "a more adequate, richer, better account of the world, (…) and in critical, reflexive relation to our own as well as others' practices of domination and the unequal parts of privilege and oppression that make up all positions" (Haraway, 1988:79). Through my first project as a researcher - Circle of Voices - I wanted to investigate and harness the potential of techno-scientific practices while being politically and ethically situated.

This research journey started when I was an undergraduate student in socio-cultural anthropology at the Freie Universität in Berlin. Both the digital outcome of my graduation project (circleofvoices.com), and the location for my fieldwork, were part of a long reflection process. The first catalyst took place in 2014, attending a class in visual and media anthropology. I was enthralled by the methods of that discipline, as they bridged my personal interests in photography and film, and raised interesting epistemological challenges around representation and power dynamics. As part of a semester project, I discovered the Center for Oral History and Digital Storytelling (COHDS) based at Concordia University, Montreal - an interdisciplinary research center exploring connections between oral history, new media, artistic practices, digital tools, archives and scholarship[1]. I was also inspired by my former lecturer in visual and media anthropology, Dr. Florian Walter, who had been carrying out ethnographic collaborative and transcultural filmmaking projects with Indigenous people in Mexico (2001, 2008, 2012). The second motivation began a year later while I was studying abroad on Reunion island. I had invited two female friends for dinner, who were also on a student exchange from Université du Québec à Montréal. Curious about their perceptions of Aboriginal populations in their country, I asked

[1] See: http://postindustrialmontreal.ca/centre-oral-history-and-digital-storytelling

them if they considered the status of First Nations to be the same as theirs as white Quebecers; one said yes, the other one no. The dissonance in their answers sparked my curiosity for the complexity of the contemporary realities for Indigenous peoples in Canada and for the ongoing legacy of colonialism.

A third element which became paramount in the design of this project's digital outcome was the medicine wheel: a pan-Amerindian symbol and tool representing the interconnectedness of all natural beings (Bopp:1984, Sunbear and Wind:1980). I became familiar with it during a facilitation training in sharing circles at the European Council Network Gathering in the Czech Republic. The training, called 'Seasons in the Field', was designed to guide the participants through our "inner seasons" using rituals, games, reflections and exercises, using the medicine wheel as a map for our journey. I remember asking myself how these teachings were practised in Indigenous communities in North America and how colonisation had impacted it. This particular multiplicity of encounters, the succession of places and relationships at different stages, crafted a nest for me to start my voyage towards Quebec. The seed of curious inquiry was sown.

Since the Age of Enlightenment, Western travelers were convinced of a racial superiority that granted Indigenous populations an inferior status, barely considering them as human. "The Western eye has fundamentally been a wandering eye, a traveling lens. These peregrinations have often been violent and insistent on having mirrors for a conquering self – but not always" (Haraway, 1988:586). This lust for adventure led to a bitter heritage of pillage and abuse of misconstrued cultures, where anthropologists held a particular responsibility as the outpost of the colonial power. This reality is historically engrained in my discipline, my citizenship and my skin colour. Yet, these features brought me to a privileged position in society which I have enjoyed and used in many circumstances (deliberately or not). It is from this conflicted position of discomfort and appreciation that I wanted to move towards action. The project Circle of Voices is my offering after this period of exploration, hoping to contribute to mutual understanding between peoples, while carving out a way to gain recognition, acceptance and give meaning to my life.

After handing in my bachelor thesis in the summer 2016, I was looking for a learning opportunity to widen my understanding of how technological and scientific processes intertwine with the formation of societal phenomena. I chose to study Techno-Anthropology because I believed in the discipline's potential to challenge my conceptions about the current state of the world, and to foster innovative, critical and responsible ways to engage with it. As formulated by some of my professors on the program: "One of the defining strengths of Techno-Anthropology is that it offers many different methodological approaches to studying contemporary human-technology relations and their effects" (Birkbak, Petersen, Elgaard Jensen, 2015:267). By producing this thesis in Techno-Anthropology, I hope to generate robust knowledge on how an experimental web design, creative collaborative methods and engaged ethnographic fieldwork collectively raise awareness on contemporary Indigenous conditions and issues in Canada. In this light, the question guiding the present writing is: How did the project Circle of Voices mediate and elicit anthropological knowledge about cultural revitalisation among First Nations in Quebec?

I will start by introducing the participants who contributed to the research project in 2016 and 2018: the young women, the knowledge holders, and the youth organisation NIONA. I am presenting them first because the relationships built with these people are central to the research project. Out of respect and gratitude for them, I want to acknowledge their contributions and roles, without which Circle of Voices would not exist. This will be followed by a contextualisation of the research, where I will briefly describe the historical and contemporary socio-political situation in Canada and Quebec,

stressing the ongoing colonialism against Indigenous peoples. In the fourth chapter, I will explain the thematic choices of the research and give an account of the methodologies implemented, which I qualify as creative fieldwork methods. I will dive into the different activities practiced with the participants, and my personal work as an ethnographer and a programmer. Next, I will unfold the theoretical frameworks informing the thesis, merging different knowledge movements. I will first situate myself ethically and politically at the intersection of feminist science and technology studies, decolonisation, and engaged anthropology. I will also describe some of the concepts at the backbone of my writing, such as mediation, translation and elicitation, using different theoretical perspectives such as actor-network theory and post-phenomenology. The final chapters will be dedicated to the analysis. First, analyses of the processes of translating anthropological knowledge about cultural revitalisation through a multiplicity of technological mediators, such as the website, Google Earth Pro, or photography. Second, situating circleofvoices.com among other projects digitising Indigenous cultural heritage, and describing the interplay between design aspects of the website and issues of Indigenous identity. Third, on the tensions and challenges around collaboration in contemporary Indigenous contexts, and the use of Facebook to circumvent discontinuities.

Introducing the participants of Circle of Voices

a) Voices in the circle: young women, knowledge holders and NIONA

"Acknowledgement of those who (…) contribute significantly to anthropological understanding should be more central to ethnographic practice and extend beyond grateful acknowledgment in preface and footnotes" (Silitoe, 2018:32). The relationships forged with participants are at the forefront of Circle of Voices. As it was from these encounters that we generated knowledge around cultural revitalisation, it seems essential to me to present these people first and to dedicate a chapter to them. The website aims to bring visibility to their life paths and this chapter shares a similar aspiration. For that reason, I have used hyperlinks to invite readers to learn more about them by accessing their profiles published on circleofvoices.com.

The initial impulse behind working with Indigenous women was my understanding that a powerful lever for change takes place at the intersection of Indigenous rights, women's empowerment and environmental/climate justice[2] (Laboucan-Massimo:2017, Powys White:2014, WECAN:2016). As my study field began as socio-cultural anthropology, the research focuses on socio-cultural issues related to Indigenous identity and cultural resurgence. Aside from this, I decided to take a commitment to climate issues by raising awareness about the struggles of Indigenous land defenders through my engagement in activism in Canada and Germany. Another reason motivating my choice to collaborate with Indigenous women is tied to the historical and ongoing oppression from colonialism. Beverly Jacobs, a Kanien'kehaka (Mohawk) law professor, lawyer and advocate of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls, writes that:

> "Colonization has had an impact on both Indigenous women's and men's roles in all relationships but (…) Indigenous women have become the direct targets of colonial violence. This has saturated into our communities, and Indigenous women are now dealing with the violence against them by Indigenous men and by non-Indigenous men" (Jacobs, 2017:48-49).

Other Indigenous scholars have emphasized the intricacy of settler colonialism and heteropatriarchy (Tuck et al., 2013), and the structural attempts to suppress Indigenous women as decision-makers, diplomates and leaders. A relationship of abuse has long characterised the attitude of the Canadian government towards Indigenous peoples (as it still does today) exemplified by the impunity around the cases of the missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls (Hamidi and Kanapé Fontaine, 2018:14-16). Due to their responsibility to bring life into the physical world, targeting women constitutes a direct attack on future generations. Indigenous women were also particularly impacted by colonial laws and genocidal policies, such as with forced sterilisation (Palmater, 2017), and gender discrimination was inscribed in the Indian Act until 1985 when the bill C-31 was passed. Before that, Indigenous women were losing their Indian status (and so were their children) as soon as they married a non-Indian man, meaning that they had to leave the reserve, could not inherit land and were excluded from the band's affairs (Barker, 2006:130). Inversely, Indigenous men marrying a non-Indian (white) woman would still be able to keep their status and their rights. But even up to today, legal inequalities remain and First Nations rights advocates are still fighting to end the Indian Act's discrimination. "First Nations women and their descendants still do not have the same right to Indian status and to transmission of status as their male counterparts" said the Nlaka'pamux activist Sharon

[2] These terms refer to distinct and interconnected movements, which both challenge institutions and systems jeopardising our natural environments, with disproportionate impacts on poor, Indigenous and marginalised communities (Schlosberg, 2014, Cox, 2013).

McIvor, who successfully filed a petition with the UN Human Rights Committee (QNW, 2019). Yet Indigenous women are also resilient warriors and survivors, as Pamela Palmater (a Mi'kmaq lawyer, social justice advocate, writer and professor in Indigenous politics and governance) wrote: "The fact that we have survived Canada's lethal policies which targeted our grandmothers, mothers, aunties, sisters and children is a symbol of our strength, resilience and refusal to give up our lands, cultures or identities" (Palmater, 2017). As an example, the founders of Idle No More, the largest Indigenous social movement in Canada's contemporary history, were three First Nations women and one non-Indigenous ally, and was predominantly led and organised by women (Caven, 2013). Thus, I was also deeply intrigued and inspired by that power of resistance.

Finally, I wanted to work specifically with young women because I also identify as one. I thought it would be easier to connect with participants with the same sex and age because we might share interests and questions around finding one's path and navigating womanhood. But under an intersectional lens, such as theorised and popularised by Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, there is a "need to account for multiple grounds of identity when considering how the social world is constructed" (Crenshaw, 1991:2). Therefore, other identity dimensions need to be taken into consideration, since their convergence creates greater inequalities and obstacles for some, such as race, gender and class. In my case, the fact that I shared a different race and ethnicity with the participants created the difference I wanted to learn more about, through Circle of Voices.

I wished to work with a group of young women, but with an intergenerational dimension where older women could pass on their knowledge of traditional practices. I met some older Abenaki women from the singing group Noji Pakholishkwak in Odanak, but the cooperation never grew. What I will further describe as 'the women' or 'the young women' refers to the six First Nations women (below) who joined the project and differently hosted or took part in the collaborative activities. They share different sets of relationships between them, some belonging to the same Nation, or the same community, being part of the same close or extended family, having lived together, or studying at college or university level. They never really formed a group, which was my wish originally, and I never managed to meet with them collectively in the three years of the project. Hence, the personal relationships I built with each of them was also determining for the research process and outcome.

THE YOUNG WOMEN

I met the young women in two different instances. I first met **Ivanie Aubin-Malo** at the end of March 2016, while she was performing traditional dances at an informative event about Indigenous cultures, in one of Montreal's cultural houses. At the end of the event, I approached her and inquired if she was interested in participating in the project. Ivanie works as a contemporary and traditional dancer. She inherited her Wolastoq origins through her mother, and she had been increasingly reconnecting with that part of her identity through fancy shawl dance. She travels all around Canada to perform at pow-wows (gatherings celebrating Indigenous culture) and, in 2016, she was on the cover of the poster for the Montreal First Peoples Festival. In December 2018, she performed her first solo performance 'Mula'. Aside from this, she is working at the botanical garden in Montreal. Over the years, our relationship evolved into a friendship, sharing a passion for dancing, and she took time to discuss the closing of the project in 2018.

I met the five other young women a few weeks later, at a symposium organised by CIERA (Centre Interuniversitaire d'Études et de Recherche Autochtones) and the First Nations Circle at Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM). The topic of the conference was 'Being an Indigenous student: experiences and trajectories at the post-secondary level' and, at the time, they were all studying at the Kiuna Institution in Odanak: the only college designed by and for First Nations students in the province of Quebec. After talking with one of their teachers, I presented my research idea to them, and asked them if they were interested in participating. We spent some time together at the closing night of the symposium (an evening with Indigenous artists performing, such as the Innu poet Joséphine Bacon). I was then invited to visit the students at their college in Odanak (one of the two remaining Abenaki communities), which became the central location of my fieldwork.

Marie Kristine Petiquay is an Atikamekw from Manawan. When I met her, she was studying in the First Nations Social Sciences program at Kiuna. Besides her growing dedication and passion for her studies, Marie Kristine is also a multidisciplinary artist with a profound interest for visual arts, such as photography and movie making. She is now living in Montreal, studying for a Bachelor in political sciences at UQAM, and has been elected as the head of the First Nations Circle. She has been one of the most involved participants in the project, and she is the one that I have been the most in contact with online. We met in France in summer 2018 while she was hosting a movie screening with Wapikoni Mobile. She also helped me with my application at UQAM as a foreign student in autumn 2018, and we spent time together as friends, sharing various interests beyond the research.

Raphaelle Obomsawin comes from the Abenaki community of Odanak. Growing up in a non-traditional environment, her curiosity for her Indigenous origins started just a few years ago. She has been working for many years as a tour guide in the Abenaki Museum. She graduated from the same program as Marie Kristine in 2016, and has since moved to the neighbouring town of Sorel with her cousin, to train as a special educator. I invited Raphaelle to join the project at a later instance, after meeting her at Kiuna and hearing that she worked at the museum. She gladly partook in the research, and she participated in a follow-up interview about the project in 2018.

Jessica Ann Watso is also Abenaki, although she grew up with her Quebecois mother in Notre Dame, a neighbouring town. She has been in and out of Kiuna since 2014, also working as a freelance hairdresser and nail artist (two big passions of hers). She is also very connected to the land, and goes fishing and hunting with friends or family. In 2016, she planted a traditional and a community garden for the students, also taking care of the harvest. I never managed to conduct a formal interview with her, so the knowledge gathered on her page is fused from various informal conversations and photographs from different sources. Jessica also rents her own house in Odanak and she hosted me generously for extended periods in 2017 and 2018.

Lisa-Maude Aubin Bérubé has mixed heritage, with her father coming from the Saguenay region and her mother being a Wolastoq/Maliseet from Viger. Her grandfather, Jean-Marie Aubin, played a vital role in the reconstitution of her Nation, together with her grandmother and her aunts. Ivanie and her are cousins. In 2016, she was enrolled in the same study program at Kiuna, and she is now studying for a Bachelor degree in linguistics at Concordia University, Montreal. We met once again in 2018, but never managed to find time for a follow up interview.

Catherine Boivin grew up in the Atikamekw community of Wemotaci. After a fruitless attempt to study in Montreal at 18, she finds Kiuna College and successfully graduated from the Social Sciences program in 2016. She then followed her artistic drive and started to study visual and mediatic arts at UQAM. Since she moved to Montreal, she has been increasingly invited to participate in exhibitions, collective performances and artistic projects, as artist and curator. Besides her manifold practice, she is a pow-wow dancer and a runner. She decided to exit the project in February 2019 and her page has been deactivated.

THE KNOWLEDGE HOLDERS

Already from the outset, I wanted the research to encompass an intergenerational perspective. Knowledge holders are usually older people in the community who possess ancestral or traditional knowledge, and who are invested in passing on their skills and wisdom to younger generations. Once I had divided the research into four thematic areas (lands, languages, artistic and spiritual practices)[3] centered around cultural revitalisation, I started to inquire about who could have insightful perspectives to share. The four knowledge holders were chosen due to my fieldwork location, the Abenaki community of Odanak, and the Kiuna college. Therefore, most of the information presented in these sections of the circle navigation (represented by the icon) is quite specific to the Abenaki Nation, with the exception of Guy Sioui Durand's interview. He was also the only one I had met personally, whereas I got into contact with the three other ones via words of mouth. I had planned to organize transmission workshops with some of the knowledge holders, but this never happened due to the difficulty of scheduling an event between the knowledge holders' and the young women's different schedules.

Monique Nolett Ille is the only fluent Abenaki speaker I met during my fieldwork, a saddening reality of the threatened status of this language. Monique left Odanak at 17 to work in Montreal and came back to her home community when she retired. Only at this point did she start to take Abenaki lessons. After years of committed practice, she was asked to take over the lessons, and taught Abenaki language for 12 years in Odanak. After the interview conducted in her house in August 2016, I had the opportunity to gather more empirical material when I met her again in March 2017. We met

[3] See next chapter for a detailed explanation of the emergence of these categories

a few more times during my last fieldwork in 2018, where we had a thorough review of her profile page, both in French and English.

Luc Gauthier Nolett was the youngest of the knowledge holders I interviewed. He co-founded the Environmental Office of Odanak with Michel Durand Nolett in 2007. Luc works on projects related to endangered species and to the environmental management of the community. He is particularly involved in the transmission of values, land-based and cultural practices through annual events, such as the pow-wow and a summer camp he organizes with Abenaki youth. He is often called to participate in events and workshops across the province, and to demonstrate ash pounding, a traditional Abenaki practice. Towards the end of my fieldwork in 2016, he helped me to find a place to stay in the village, and I was hosted at his mother's home for a few days. I visited him again when I came back to Odanak in 2017 and 2018. Luc and Michel are presented on the same profile page.

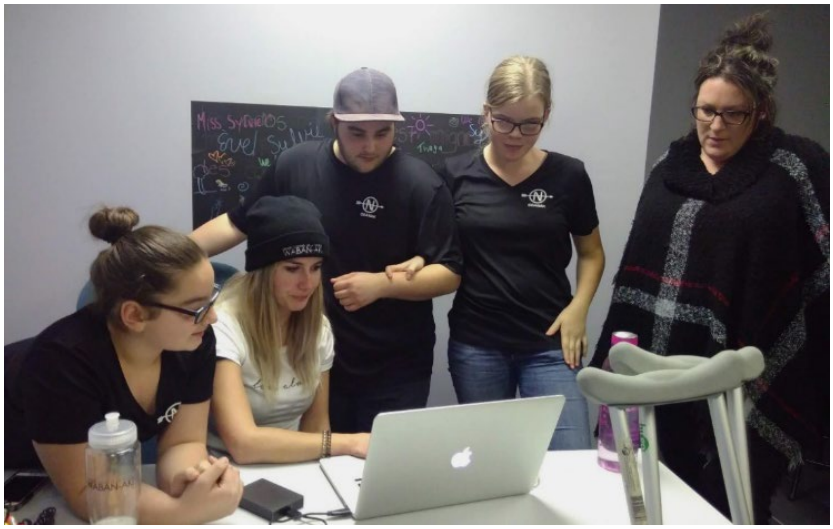
Michel Durand Nolett wears multiple hats as an Wabanaki elder. He works as the land manager for the Abenaki Band Council, assisting projects of the Environmental Office, conducting environmental assessments and merging these with his previous experience as a forester. He is engaged in the transmission of cultural, medicinal and spiritual practices, and his knowledge stretches across various interconnected areas. The interview I conducted with him in 2016 was the longest and the most in-depth. In 2018, we met again once to consult on his profile page in French and English.

Guy Sioui Durand is a Wendat, member of the wolf clan and the longhouse in *Kwenwinrak*. Guy is an independent curator, art critic, sociologist, and performer, specialised in contemporary Native art and contemporary art. I met him at the Kiuna Institution, where he teaches on contemporary and modern Indigenous art in the winter semesters. He also teaches at universities across Quebec and is called to contribute to publications and events around the world. Over time, and especially in 2018, our relationship evolved into a form of mentorship, where I have asked for his feedback and support throughout the project. We took time to review his profile page during my last visit in 2018.

NIONA

I first heard about NIONA through a fellow anthropologist/researcher, Paul Wattez. I contacted one of the coordinators Valérie Laforce and, after a conversation on the phone, we agreed for a date where I would come to Wôlinak and meet some of the youth. The youth's organisation is based in both of the Abenaki communities, and their mission is to disseminate the culture and the positive actions of their communities through technological means (such as radio, video, photo, web, social media). The youths are supported by workers from the Child and Family Services for First Nations, and the Grand

Council of the Waban-Aki Nation. They work jointly with the Ndakinna Office, which represents and deals with affirmation and consultation processes, territorial claims, and conducts activities related to the environment and climate change mitigation[4]. The Abenaki youth are deeply involved in knowledge production, translation and dissemination, and hopeful about the impacts they can make. I led two group interviews with youth from both communities. Some questions were similar to the interviews in 2016 with the young women: asking about their childhood, how they envisioned their futures and the future of their Nation, and what the challenges were that are specifically faced by First Nations youth. Other themes explored their engagement for NIONA, how technologies can help them reconnect with their cultures and defend their rights, what they lacked to revive their customs and why it was important for them to practice their traditions (see chapter 6).

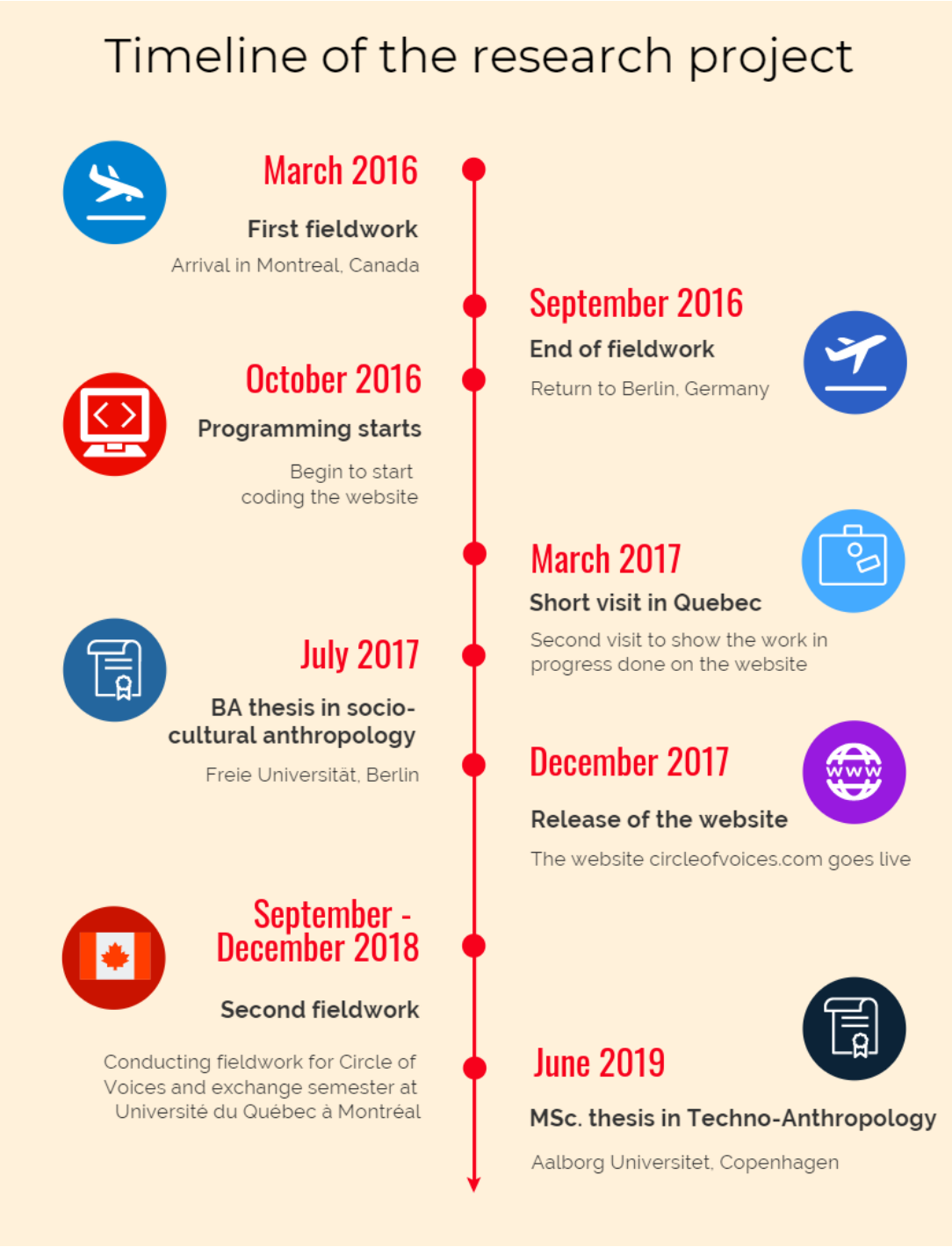


The first interview took place in Odanak with Megan Msadoques, Pierre-Alexandre Thompson, and Audrey-Ann Deschenaux (from left to right, here reviewing pictures of the powwow with Valérie LaForce and Sylvie Morin the coordinators). The second interview was with Julie and Catherine Msadoques, sisters living in Wôlinak.

[4] See: https://gcnwa.com/bureau-du-ndakinna/

b) Drawing the timeline of the project

The graphic below is an illustration of the marking moments of Circle of Voices. It aims to give a quick overview of the important steps, and situate the activities which took place on the ground and online.



Contextualising the research

In this chapter, I give a short account of the contexts in which my research project takes place. I understand context as that "which is beyond – in the sense that context is that which we cannot see or study directly, but which we nevertheless invoke in order to explain events and people's actions" (Asdal and Moser, 2012:292). Although the contexts I introduce below have been directly studied before, I wanted to feature them here to frame the topics, stories and relationships I further develop in this thesis. The importance of cultural revitalisation only makes sense with the awareness of the ongoing abuses perpetrated by the Canadian settler state and the resistance of Indigenous peoples.

a) Canada and First Nations peoples today

As a foundation for colonialism and colonisation, the Indian Act has regulated the lives and identity of Indigenous peoples in Canada since its adoption in 1876. Russell Diabo, former policy advisor at the Assembly of First Nations and member of the Mohawk Nation, describes the Indian Act as "the original termination plan adopted by the Canadian Parliament (…) to break up Indigenous Nations into bands, setting Indian reserves apart, keeping a registry of Indians until assimilation is complete" (Diabo, 2017:23). The persistence of this legislation, even though it has been amended many times, is a direct undermining of Indigenous self-determination and ancestral traditions of governance. The political and legal status of Indigenous peoples in Canada also differs from the status of Canadians and Quebecois because of their collective rights, enshrined in the Constitution of Canada, and specifically in the Canadian Charter of Freedom and Rights since 1982 (Lepage, 2019:52). A particularity of the Quebec province is the lack of territorial treaties with either French or English settlers, meaning that all territories are unceded, with exceptions for the Cree and Naskapi Nations due to the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement signed in 1975, and the Northeastern Quebec Agreement in 1978 (Lepage, 2019:66). Quebec hosts eleven Aboriginal Nations, who are part of three main linguistic and cultural families: the Inuit, the Iroquese (Kanien'kehá:ka and Wendat Nations), and the Algonquian peoples. They each have different historical relationships with the colonial state, yet the politics of assimilation into the Canadian culture were the same. There is a great variety among the Nations' cultural customs, languages, lands, knowledge systems, laws, and belief systems and the extent of their territories.

I conducted fieldwork with participants from the Nehirowisiw* (Atikamekw), Waban-Aki* (Abenaki) and Wolastoqiyik* (Maliseet) Nations in Quebec. While these Nations have distinctive features, they also share some similarities. They all belong to the Algic language family, where Atikamekw is part of Central Algonquian and the two others of Eastern Algonquian languages (Rice, 2008). In both Atikamewk and Abenaki culture, the ash tree is used for handicrafts, and Wolastoqiyik and Abenaki are part of the Wabanaki Confederacy with three other Nations, formed in 1680 (Roache, 2014). I will prioritise the names used by the participants themselves (which are usually the ones written here in parenthesis) as a way to show solidarity towards the self-designation of these Nations. It is interesting to notice that the term Indian was commonly used by the knowledge holders, who belong to older generations, while use of the term among the youth was mostly in the context of explaining stereotypes. I will also use Indian here to refer to stereotypical and caricatural representations, when it used to describe to the legal identity (since First Nations are still regulated under the Indian Act). The terms 'Indigenous' and 'First Nations' will be used equally when referring to a general situation,

* These names are in the Nations respective languages, which are increasingly recognized.

not applying to a particular Nation, and their French equivalents 'autochtone' and 'Premières Nations' were employed by the participants.

My desire for advocacy becomes meaningful within the broader political and socio-historical context in which my fieldwork is situated. In Canada, colonialism is not a story of the past: its presence is still active in people's everyday lives, on the lands and natural resources, and in societal structures. Maile Arvin, Eve Tuck and Angie Morrill, Indigenous feminist scholars, insist that "settler colonialism must be understood as a multi-fronted project of making the First Peoples of a place extinct; it is a relentless structure, not contained in a period of time" (Arvin et al.,2013:9). Through time, violence keeps unfolding through new forms of oppression. Colonial impacts upon Indigenous identity and belonging can be seen through a diversity of areas. This leads to contemporary realities where younger generations have to cope with the impacts of intergenerational trauma a discriminatory legal system, educational discrepancies and frequent racism. Five centuries of ongoing assimilation policies and extinction strategies have left their marks. First, on the lands, the establishment of reserves (starting from 1637), tied to the forceful spread of Catholicism, has confined Indigenous peoples and prevented them from practicing their means of physical, emotional and spiritual subsistence (Mccue, 2011). In more recent decades, various extractive industries have endorsed the role of former abusive settlers, where territories are violated at the profit of fossil fuels companies.

The colonial experiment of residential schools has also left a sharp impact in communities and across generations. Ranging from 1831 to 1996, when the last school closed in Saskatchewan, Indigenous children were taken away from their families at a very young age to be put in government-sponsored religious schools aimed at assimilating them in Euro-Canadian culture. Their everyday experience was strictly regimented between chores, classes, labour, and religious services, and the schools were segregated by gender. Aside from the isolation from their homes and relatives, and the ban to practice their languages, most students were subject to malnutrition, epidemic diseases such as tuberculosis or influenza, as well as various forms of violence, including physical, psychological, emotional and sexual abuse (Miller, 2012). The first formal apology for residential schools was expressed in 2008 by former Prime Minister Stephen Harper, who acknowledged that the assimilation policy of the schools caused great harm (Lepage, 2019:39). Monetary compensations were offered to the survivors. In a continuation of assimilation and paternalistic policies, what is called the 'sixties scoop' perpetuated the removal of children from their communities. Between 1951 and 1980, the children were taken away from their families, without the consent of the parents, in order to 'save' them from the social issues in their environments – from poverty, high death rates or substance abuse. They were adopted by non-Indigenous families, or sent abroad, where their heritage was often suppressed or denied, and where physical or sexual abuse was not a rare occurrence. Growing up, these children would easily face psychological and emotional distress, dealing with an identity in limbo (Niigaanwewidam and Dainard, 2016). This form of systemic abuse continues today within the foster care system, where Indigenous children are overrepresented. Palmater argues that there are strong ties between the childcare system and lower education outcomes, higher prison rates and sex trafficking (Palmater, 2018). Despite of all of these genocidal policies and tactics, Indigenous people have survived and resisted, and continue to stand for their Nations, communities, and the future generations.

b) Representations of Indigenous women

The more I was learning about the historical context and the contemporary realities of Indigenous peoples, the more the central theme of the research shifted. Before my arrival, I wanted to investigate spiritual and artistic practices, with a particular interest on the Medicine Wheel, the practical application of its teachings and its current relevance among First Nations. The initial title of the project

was 'Voices and Visions of Indigenous Women of Quebec', and its stated goal was to "bring a wider visibility to the contemporary situations of First Nations, and to share positive narratives about young Indigenous women, by bringing forward their traditions and knowledge" [LR fieldnotes, 30.04.2016]. Two months after my arrival, I was struck by the contrast between the usual representations of Indigenous women and youth, compared to what I was observing by attending artistic and cultural events.

The Indian/Native woman usually fits in a dichotomous identity paradigm, where she is defined relative to her relationships with male figures, especially white men (Green, 1975:703-714). Raina Green, writer, museum curator, and documentarian of Cherokee and German/Jewish descent, describes it as the Pocahontas perplex. The Indian woman is portrayed as an object of desire; an exotic and rare beauty; the Princess archetype epitomised by the Disney character of Pocahontas; or as promiscuous, submissive, lascivious, the Squaw archetype (Green, 1975). This dualistic pattern of romanticisation and dehumanisation was applied to all Indigenous people, but its emphasis is stronger with Indigenous women, being at the intersection of racism and sexism. "Like that of her male counterpart, her image is freighted with such ambivalence that she has little room to move. He, however, has many more modes to participate, although he is still severely handicapped by the prevailing stereotypes" (Green, 1975:713). This restrictive binary classification has been reproduced widely in literature (Acoose Miskwonigeesikokwe:2016) and in mass media (Merskin:2010). In the last few decades, the objectification has evolved into victimisation where "Aboriginal women are largely portrayed as abject victims of poverty, their lives marked by alcohol and drug addictions, homelessness, high infant mortality and morbidity rates. In effect, they were represented as one of the most hopeless segments of society" (Jiwani, 2019:6). These two stereotypical archetypes have concealed the diversity of identities, reducing and disempowering Indigenous people. However, counter movements are challenging these representations of Indigenous women. Two examples, among many, include: the Rematriate collective, an online arts and decolonisation movement, which honors Indigenous identity and empowers womxn through positive self-representations[5]; and Positive+, a program in Ontario training urban Indigenous women to disrupt negative narratives that exist in the traditional and social media and to tell their own positive narratives[6]. Both projects generate role models for young Indigenous girls, being very active through social media, and portray the diversity of contemporary Indigeneity.

Regarding Indigenous youth, a dimension sadly too often relayed in news media is high rates of suicide ravaging the country. According to the Center for Suicide Prevention, "suicide and self-inflicted injuries is the leading cause of death for First Nations youth and adults up 44 years of age" (Center for Suicide Prevention, 2013:3) and "suicide occurs roughly 5 to 6 times more often among Aboriginal than non-Aboriginal youth" (ibid:9). This epidemic of suicides must be situated within the policies of forced assimilation and ongoing colonialism, which contribute to intergenerational trauma among families and communities. At the same time, younger generations have become more and more fierce in reclaiming their cultures and their identities, whether through fashion, crafts, politics, or music. This celebration of resilience and resurgence can be seen in urban centers, in reserves, as well as on Instagram, Facebook, and other places on the internet. For my project, I considered the virtual space and online media as a rich research context, spending hours visiting interactive websites and social media pages. There are so many examples on this matter, but to cite a few: WeMatter is an organisation providing hope and tools for resiliency to Indigenous youth in Canada[7]; the 4Rs Youth

[5] https://www.instagram.com/rematriate/
[6] http://nokeekwe.ca/positive-voice/#about
[7] https://wemattercampaign.org/

Movement is an Indigenous youth-led, settler supported movement working at reconciliation with non-Indigenous youth[8]; Our Voices is a collective of emerging Indigenous leaders working with youth to inspire, engage, and uphold a thriving culture in the North[9]; and Dene Nahjo is a grassroots collective advancing social and environmental justice for northern peoples, and facilitating leadership workshop for youths[10]. Although the extensive use of hyperlinks listed below might not be consistent with the format of academic writing, it seems essential to me to bring visibility and access to these powerful projects and organisations. After attending cultural events in Montreal and engaging with different people, I became more and more intrigued by the gap between the shocking/degrading narratives about Indigenous women and youth, and my personal experience of pride, hope and resilience of young Indigenous leaders and trend-setters. With Circle of Voices, I used my positionality to shape the production of knowledge, situating myself in the legacy of feminist scientific practice that "privileges contestation, deconstruction, passionate construction, webbed connections, and hope for transformation of systems of knowledge and ways of seeing" (Haraway, 1988:585). In this respect, this research project aims to showcase some of the current complexities around Indigenous identity, as a continuous, collective and personal process. It intends to debunk some preconceived ideas and bring forward hopeful narratives about First Nations youth and women, aspiring to uphold Indigenous rights.

[8] https://www.facebook.com/groups/nysonaoyouthreps/
[9] http://tidescanada.org/projects/our-voices/
[10] https://www.denenahjo.com/indigenous-leadership-workshops

Designing methodological pathways

This chapter details my methodological trajectory from the beginning of the research. I explain the choice of themes, their connection to technological tools and devices used in the project, and I unfold the methodologies implemented in the first fieldwork: the biographical interviews, the collaborative activities, and my own creative, ethnographic practice. Through this combination, I generated the ethnographic material on which both the thesis and the website rely. At the end, I describe how the multimedia elements and anthropological data was combined, organised and arranged on the website circleofvoices.com.

a) Choice of themes

From early on, Facebook became part of my ethnographic toolkit, influencing the development of my fieldwork, the relationships I developed and my connection to the Indigenous community in Montreal. It was an essential space to inhabit, both to gather information on the contemporary realities of First Nations and to potentially get in touch with young, Indigenous women. I combined offline attendance to events with a methodological approach similar to snowball sampling on Facebook. This technique is useful to identify research subjects in qualitative, exploratory and descriptive research (Atkinson and Flint, 2001:1). On the Facebook website, I was using the Events and Pages features simultaneously. I would look at events related to artistic, socio-cultural, political and spiritual activities, and find more events by streaming through the column 'Related events'. The next step was to attend the events, connect with people and talk about my project. I would also visit interesting pages of organisations (governmental, non-profit, educational), public figures and community projects, then 'like' the page and browse through the suggested pages, which opened just below. These methods enabled me to have a more informed understanding of the current themes and concerns at stake for Indigenous people in Quebec. I also realised that it was relatively difficult to meet young, Indigenous women in Montreal, but eventually this approach led me to the two instances wherein I met the women who would participate in this project (the cultural event and the CIERA symposium).

Meeting the participants in this way echoes the practice of using virtual snowball sampling to facilitate access to a 'hard to reach' population (Baltar and Brunet, 2011:62). This technology also impacted my research trajectory, as I questioned which central theme to use for Circle of Voices. I wanted to position the research within a positive framing, highlighting the practices of resurgence (Simpson, 2016) and supporting the recovery of Indigenous knowledge (Waziyatawin, 2004). When I arrived in Canada, I was using the wording "re-appropriation" but, at the different events I was attending, I would most often hear about "revitalisation". A few months after my arrival, I decided to use the Google search engine to look at affiliated results around the two terms. I wrote:

> "When I type 're-appropriation' I don't get many entries, and in most of them the term 'appropriation' shows up… which is the opposite process than the one I seek to advocate for. Cultural revitalisation shows much more results, and includes direct connections with Indigenous peoples and their endeavours" [LR fieldnotes, 07.08.2016].

What I mean here is that appropriating Indigenous cultures and identities through the misuse of their customs and knowledge is what I did not want the project to be associated with (I expand on the topic of cultural appropriation in chapter 7). My intention was to positively serve the people I was working with, and more largely their communities. Drawing on the work of Indigenous scholars such as Taiaiake Alfred (2005), Jeff Corntassel (2012) and Cheryl Bryce, I understand being in relationship as sitting at the core of cultural revitalisation. It concerns regenerating and restoring relationships with the land, with ancestral practices, with languages, with belief systems and with each other. It is the practice of re-claiming a heritage that is fragmented through time and space, and reviving what centuries of colonialism and ongoing assaults try to annihilate (see Alfred and Corntassel, 2005). I also chose to

focus on cultural revitalisation because of its strong link with self-determination. As expressed by Katsi'twakas Ellen Gabriel, a fierce Kanien'kehá:ka activist, spokesperson, artist and the former president of Quebec Native Women Inc.: "One of the key elements of realising a right to self-determination of Indigenous peoples is the revitalisation of Indigenous languages and cultures" (Gabriel, 2015:38-40)[11].

On this project's website, the circle of navigation invites the user to explore cultural revitalisation through four topics: lands, languages, artistic and spiritual practices. The choice of these themes combines my personal interest and influences from my fieldwork. Previous to my arrival, I wanted to investigate belief systems, such as the medicine wheel, and creative customs, in particular dancing, drumming and storytelling. After attending events and learning more about Indigenous people, I understood the importance of the land for Indigenous identity and culture (Corntassel and Bryce, 2012). Although I was familiar with the term of language revitalisation, Lisa emphasised its importance in our first sharing circle, a methodology developed in the project. She expressed that it was an essential element that she missed from her identity. Wolastoq, just like Abenaki language, is spoken by a handful of people in Quebec, whereas it is much stronger in the neighbouring provinces and states. With close to half of the 7000 languages spoken worldwide considered endangered, the United Nations declared 2019 to be the International Year of Indigenous Languages, encouraging urgent action to preserve and promote them (IWGIA, 2019). But, as my fieldnotes reflected: "the moment of crystallization of these four themes happened as the youths and I discussed the participatory photography workshops" (Romain Watson, 2016:10). I had selected different themes related to identity and cultural revitalisation, and they each chose one that interested them most.

b) Developing my ethnographic toolkit: interviews, collaborative activities and creative methodologies

As stated on the homepage of the project website[12], Circle of Voices is an anthropological journey exploring cultural revitalisation through biographical narratives, multimedia recordings of traditional practices and creative, collaborative activities, such as participatory photography workshops, sharing circles and intergenerational dance workshops. These methodologies reflect both my educational background and my personal interests, as well as the skills gained in and outside of academia. I was curious to explore the merger of tools from visual and digital anthropology, specifically video, photography and hypermedia, with traditional oral practices such as storytelling. I wanted to experiment with these means through a participatory action research approach, bridging social research and social practice (Bacal, 2018:52). How can the combination of visual technologies and orality bring cultural insights that would foster our potential engagement "to redefine social reality in order to change it" (ibid:57)? From March to September 2016, as a visiting researcher at the Center for Oral History and Digital Storytelling (COHDS) of Concordia University[13], I was inspired by various projects bridging research and advocacy work. There, I also had the opportunity to learn more about digital storytelling, which started in the 1990s in California. Operating as "a means for expression and recognition, as well as a method and position of research" (Truchon, 2016:126), digital storytelling refers to "the conception, production, diffusion and reception of stories narrated with 'I', on topics selected and developed by the narrators" (ibid:129). The outcomes are short videos merging music, still and moving images, and texts as personal testimonies from the narrators' lives. Although, in my case, the biographical narratives produced with the participants differ completely, I was inspired by

[11] Translated from French in: Revue Libertés des Droits n.2, vol. 34, automne 2015
[12] http://www.circleofvoices.com/home
[13] See my profile at: http://storytelling.concordia.ca/content/watson-louise

this practice while crafting my interviews, driven by the question: How can these interviews become personal narratives, conveyed as tools for education, youth mobilization, and advocacy for rights?

Aside from this, the creation of an interactive platform to present the research was a driving force behind the emergence of the methodologies implemented in Circle of Voices. It manifested itself after Florian Walter had shown me the web project of Anna Lisa Ramella - a graduate student from the Masters program in visual and media anthropology that Walter was running. Her interactive platform 'laviedurail.net' takes the user on a journey through a railway line in Mali, merging text and sound recordings with still and moving images. As my supervisor, Walter gave me the green light to produce a multimedia project, in addition to the required bachelor thesis. This flexibility, counterbalanced by a scarce supervision, enabled me to engage in a creative and experimental approach throughout my first fieldwork.

BIOGRAPHICAL INTERVIEWS

As an anthropology student, conducting interviews seemed like an inevitable method to implement; interviewing is part of the ABC's of anthropological fieldwork. I had previously gathered experience from a personal photography project for OFAJ (French-German Youth Office), interviewing LGBTQ people in Berlin at the Christopher Street Day. But the interviews which took place in this research context were of a complete different nature and posed new challenges to me. At the beginning of my fieldwork in April 2016, I attended a workshop aimed at sensitising research students to interact with Indigenous communities (see Bousquet (2012) and Jérôme (2008) specifically for the Quebec context). We were introduced to issues usually at stake in the field, such as decolonisation and ethical relationality, and to different research protocols and tool-boxes. I took note of a few central principles to adopt: "Listening, being receptive and observing; Being present as an individual, instead of a researcher; Being ready to explore other modes of communication; Being transparent and honest with/in my work; Being patient and taking time to develop relationships" [LR fieldnotes, 08.04.2016]. This set of advice became foundational throughout the fieldwork, and this modus operandi took on more and more meaning with time.

Particularly in the context of interviewing young First Nations (whose biographies can be vulnerable to share), I realised the importance of building trust and being clear in communicating my intentions, before even starting to do the 'research work', i.e. data collection. Therefore, the interview is "a method that goes beyond the mere collection of biographical data: it is based on meeting, exchanging, and «co-producing» a discourse, from which the community will benefit" (Proulx & Dionne, 2010:2). In hindsight, I question the potential of that method to benefit the community when the interview guide has just been designed by the researcher, which was my case. I would also add that the co-production unfolds through the socio-technical instruments mediating and recording the interview. The answers of the interviewee will ineluctably be influenced by different elements, such as which recording device is used (audio or video), the position of the device, etc.. The interviewee's level of self confidence will differ depending on how much pressure s/he feels around these technologies, therefore impacting the knowledge shared. These elements form the socio-technical ensemble, since it also includes my interactions with the recording device and my technical skills with it. It will influence the outcome of the interview, depending on how present I can be with the interviewee: if I am taking notes, if I have to regularly check the camera, or if I am wearing headphones to make sure the recording is good enough. In my case, I already knew that I wanted to use the audio-visual materials to be displayed on a website later, so ensuring the high quality of the recordings was important. At the same time, I always prioritised the creation of a safe and comfortable setting (as much as possible), over making sure that the content was properly recorded. This choice turned out to be

disadvantageous several times, due to technical failures I could have avoided while recording the interview. Twice, I had to conduct the interview again with Marie Kristine and Guy. Another challenge was having to play all roles at once: interviewing, taking notes, and filming/recording.

All interviews were conducted in French, since all participants felt confident speaking it[14] and it is my mother tongue. I would always start by introducing myself, contextualising the subject of my research, and referring to the goal of the interview. Then, I asked if they felt comfortable with the interview being filmed, and if not, being audio recorded. With the exception of Ivanie's interview, which was conducted in a hotel room in Rimouski, all the interviews were conducted in a familiar setting for the participants, whether at home, in their office, or in a green part of Odanak. Most the interviews were following a semi-structured format, and a few turned out to be more in-depth. Both formats provide an open frame to analyse complex phenomena, but with different levels of flexibility. In semi-structured interviews, the researcher poses stronger limitations through his/her selective questioning, whereas in-depth interviews allow more room for the interviewee to share his/her perspective and understanding of the phenomena, thus making it more complex and thicker to analyse (Poupart, 1997:183,184). The first format was more adapted to the interviews with the young women, also because of the possibility of comparing their answers, and the latter naturally unfolded while questioning some of the knowledge holders. I would always start the interview by asking the participants to present themselves in their mother tongue, name, Nation/community of origin, and age for the younger participants.

For the Kiuna students, I drafted a list of themes, without directly forming questions. The first part dealt with biographical data, asking about their childhood/family, their educational path, their arrival at Kiuna college, the key learnings from it, and their passions. The second part targeted particular topics: how their current job was connected to cultural re-appropriation, how they envisioned their future and those of other First Nations youth, what the specific challenges were that they encountered as youths, their personal experiences with stereotypes and prejudices, and their perspective on the construction of identity as young, woman, and Indigenous. I encountered some limitations with the last question, when some of them did not understand the categorisation as such, but rather viewed their identity as a complex whole. I had also planned to conduct group interviews, inviting the women to film, record and/or interview each other. But, due to time constraints and a certain lack of interest from them, this only happened once (for Catherine's interview). As I wrote in my BA thesis:

> "They chose the location and Marie-Kristine installed the cameras, mine and hers. I felt relieved not to be in charge of the recording and to be able to fully dive into the interviewing. But I also felt nervous being observed by two cameras. Catherine also expressed her discomfort and anxiety a few times. She had received the questions via our Facebook group, and I could see she had been preparing for it before (…). Later, I asked if MK wanted to edit the video, and she seemed excited because she had never done that kind of editing before" [LR fieldnotes, 03.08.2016] (in Romain Watson, 2016)

My intention was to use the digital tools to diversify the traditional divide between interviewer/interviewee, and to engage deeper with collaborative media production. By having Marie-Kristine filming us, I was under the eye of the camera, sharing a similar feeling of pressure with Catherine. I trusted Marie-Kristine's technical expertise with filming and wanted to enhance the co-production of the interview by her recording and editing it afterwards (but the latter never took place). It is also worth noting that I used Facebook in a different way than previously mentioned, by creating

[14] Some Indigenous peoples in Quebec don't necessarily speak French as their first language (it can be an Indigenous language or English)

a group to share the interview guide (I expand on this in chapter 8). The detailed outcomes of the interviews can be found on the page dedicated to the youths' stories.

The questions with knowledge holders were crafted according to their knowledge fields and adapted to the four topics connected with cultural revitalisation. Similarly to those with the young women, the interviews started with broad biographical questions, asking the knowledge holders about their main occupations or the role they play in the community of Odanak.

With Monique, questions focused on the language classes, the specificities of the language, the barriers to linguistic revitalisation and her perspective on the current and future status of the language. The interview took place in her house in August 2016. It was audio recorded, transcribed, translated into English and published on the website. After the interview, she showed me various books (dictionaries, grammar and vocabulary books), some of which she was the author of. With Luc, we discussed his practice with the ash tree, the challenges of passing on this tradition and prejudices around being Indigenous. The interview was filmed in the garage next to the office, in a relaxed setting, in August 2016. It was then transcribed, translated into English, and published on YouTube with English subtitles. Guy's interview was done twice due to technical failures of recording, so the material on his page merges content from our meeting at the BAnQ (National Library and Archives of Quebec) in Montreal and in a bar in Wendake, his home community. I questioned him on his perspective about cultural revitalisation (how it is expressed in an everyday reality and how it relates to arts), Indigeneity, the future of First Nations youth, the challenges they face and the mediatisation of Indigenous women. After transcribing, I translated the interview into English and released the edited video clips on YouTube. I also asked Guy (over Facebook) to provide a transcript for the sentences he said in Wendat. The last interview I conducted was with Michel, filmed in his office at the end of August. During two hours, he shared many stories and often diverged from the questions, which made it more of an in-depth interview than a semi-structured one. Afterwards, I sequenced the interview and published different parts in multiple pages (interviews and traditional practices) both on the land and spirituality sections. He grew up surrounded by women, especially his grandmother who passed on her knowledge about medicinal herbs and ancestral remedies. The interview first covered his relationship and practice with the land: the foundation of the Environmental Office, his work as land manager for Odanak, local land rights, his efforts to safeguard the practice of ash pounding and diffuse traditional knowledge about medicinal herbs. In a second part, he shared his understanding and practice of spirituality: his belief system, and how he uses the healing drum and the Medicine Wheel. We also discussed his experience with stereotypes and prejudices against First Nations. I followed the same process of translation and dissemination via YouTube with English subtitles.

COLLABORATIVE ACTIVITIES

I had become acquainted with the practice of sharing circles a few years earlier in Greece, where I participated in the co-creation of an alternative education program for international youth. I was astonished by its potential for trust-building, knowledge sharing, and interconnected growth. Michael Anthony Hart, Cree Professor of social work and co-director of the Manitoba First Nations' Centre for Aboriginal Health Research, explains that sharing circles are a traditional format used for communication, governance, decision-making and healing, and that their implementation in research can enhance empowerment and self-determination of First Nations (Hart, 1996). I designed the circles as an invitation for the young women to share their insights on the four dimensions of cultural revitalisation (lands, languages, artistic and spiritual practices). For each theme, we sat in a circle and

a talking piece was passed from one to the other. This materiality reinforces intent while speaking and listening. In this mode of sharing, knowledge is co-produced through personal and collective disclosure where "we connect with our life experiences (…), acknowledging both our personal histories and the present moment" (Linds et al., 2015). I saw this as a concrete way to develop a common ground for trust-building with the women, to honour Indigenous ontologies and to support self-determination. "When First Nations utilize processes that are based upon their views within their communities, then the people determine their own destinies" (Hart 1996:66). It was the only activity to which all the women participated: Lisa and Catherine took part in all the circles, Marie Kristine attended three, Raphaelle two and Jessica one.

I included myself in the circles and shared my perspectives, as a way to be on an equal footing with the women. As Linds et al. explain "We do not start from a position outside the group but rather repositioning ourselves is part of participation. We strive to address issues of power through more equitable interaction structures, such as talking circles" (Linds et al.,2015:4). Yet, I am aware that this intended equality is relative, since I held complete agency over how the questions were formulated (I merged personal reflections and inputs from readings, conversations and events) and in which order they were asked. The sharing circles were a positive and fun experience for the participants; they found it interesting to learn from each other's points of view and hear the similarities and dissimilarities. They expressed that they found the questions difficult and did not know what to answer at times. However, Raphaelle shared that it also made her reach inside herself for knowledge. With this methodology, I aimed to foster the understanding that they are experts of their cultures, and the circles generated a profusion of knowledge about their homelands, their belief systems, their families and communities, the development of their identities, their doubts and hopes, their practices, their tastes, passions and concerns, and so much more. The outcomes of the sharings can be found on the respective sections of the website.

The intergenerational dance circles were the activities with the highest shared authority. While I was arranging logistics, finding a time and place and inviting people to participate, Ivanie was in charge of the workshops themselves. I organised these workshops with different ideas in mind. I wanted to create opportunities to observe and enhance the transmission of knowledge between generations. I also aimed to gather information about the fancy-shawl dance, which is common in pow-wows, and to generate a fun and entertaining activity for the young women and myself. The first workshops took place in May outside the church in Odanak, and was joined by Lisa, and older Abenaki women that I had invited. I knew these women because I had joined their singing circles a few times earlier in the summer, so I knew they were engaged culturally in their community. One of them brought her two young daughters, and another woman picked up her aunt after the end of the church service. This older lady, Thérèse Gaudet Obomsawin, had been an important custodian of the different traditional dances in the Abenaki community. While I switched between dancing and recording, embracing the roles of enthusiast participant and external observer, the transmission seemed to unfold freely between the women, without any intervention from my side. Two of the older women had brought their drums, and they accompanied Ivanie's instructions and our steps on the ground. Soon after, as my fieldnotes attest: "Lise picks up her drum and starts singing. Mira and her daughter sing along too, and Thérèse hums. At the end of the workshop, Mira thanked me and left with the words: the magic happened" (LW fieldnotes, 15.05.2016, Odanak). Aside from gathering ethnographic material for the website, Mira gave me the impression that a beautiful moment of intergenerational transmission had taken place.

The second workshop took place in the Musée des Abénakis a few months later. Nicole Obomsawin, the Abenaki anthropologist of the community, was hosting a dance workshop for young children, so we used that opportunity to arrange the workshop afterwards. The participants included Lisa and Marie-Kristine, my mother who was visiting me at the time, and young Abenaki mothers and their children from the previous workshop. Some of the youngest girls seemed to really enjoy the activity, which ended with a short group choreography. Videos, photographs and fieldnotes about the workshops can be found on that section 👣 of the website.

The photography activities were designed as a way for the young women to share their perspectives on the four topics about cultural revitalisation, and to engage in a creative practice together. In crafting this methodology, I combined my previous experience of facilitating photography workshops for youths, the knowledge I acquired through a personal practice, and I drew inspiration from PhotoVoice, after a fellow researcher at the COHDS told me about this. This action-research methodology was developed by Caroline Wang, a public health scholar.

> "Three signature elements of the Photovoice approach are community-generated photography, eliciting narratives and participant voice, and working with community participants to reach a wider audience for their concerns" (Harper, 2009:10 in Pink, 2011b:14).

This method supports technical skills and capacity-building for the participants to engage in self-representation and community advocacy. It is situated in the methodological realm of action-research, as it aims to raise awareness on the participants' realities through their own eyes, and to bring sustainable and tangible change to the communities involved through empowerment and training.

I adapted their project guidelines to my research, which ranged from project planning to dissemination and evaluation. First, we assessed our common objectives, as I: "investigated the visual cultures of the young women, and we discussed their experiences and curiosity towards photography" (Romain Watson, 2016:12). The women's levels of technical knowledge and their interests in learning photography skills (thus participating in the activity) differed greatly. In that initial meeting, we also talked about which technical equipment to use, and we settled on the themes to explore, which then became the four dimensions of cultural revitalisation. Two photography sessions took place on the land, first in Manawan with Marie-Kristine (where she borrowed my equipment), and then with Raphaelle and Marie Kristine in Odanak, where it was Raphaelle's first time using a proper camera. But the photography activity also expanded through the use of a Facebook group and the extension of the women's interest after the first fieldwork, as I explain in chapter 8. By offering them cameras, my intention was to use this visualising technology to mediate their understandings of revitalisation, what it signifies for them, what it represents, and how they identify with it. As Pink writes:

> "using the camera in self-conscious ways both research participants and researchers explore particular, and often affective, dimensions of experience in ways often not approached using conventional methods" (Pink 2011b:14).

The activity elicited their personal insights on the lands, languages, artistic and spiritual practices, and a particular depth took place in the crossing of the photograph and review process through commentary (see chapter 6). The photographs taken by the young women can be accessed in the sections 📷 of the website.

CREATIVE ETHNOGRAPHIC PRACTICE

Aside these activities, I used different devices to record traditional practices on each theme and document my fieldwork. "By combining different media for ethnographic representation researchers can juxtapose different types of knowledge, subjectivity, epistemology and voice in ways that

compliment one another" (Pink, 2001:144). By recording sounds of the land and songs, filming drummers and storytelling in Atikamekw, photographing dancers and artisans, I wanted to offer a representation rich in nuance, textures and colours to the visitor, just as I had experienced my fieldwork to be. These technological devices generated different types of information, which was then transformed into electronic hypermedia on the website. While engaging in a creative practice, I wanted to delve into the potential of digital media to convey the diversity of celebrations, territories, languages, and artistic customs undergoing resurgence among First Nations. I was also aware that some devices were more discrete than others (the sound recorder vs. the camera, for example), thus producing outcomes ranging from public events to more intimate settings. Finally, at the very bottom of some pages I also published excerpts from my fieldnotes  , as a way to give an insight into my anthropological perspective, and to practice transparency.

c) Programming and launching the website

Finally, I would like to briefly describe my methodological approach in designing the website. As previously mentioned, the creation of a web platform was continuously present before and during the fieldwork in Quebec. A few weeks after my arrival in 2016, I started to compose a design idea for the navigation of the website: a circle divided in segments (inspired from the medicine wheel), where the different activities of the research would be displayed. I began to query different names for the website and get a grasp of the technicalities around acquiring a domain and a server. While the domain name was acquired quite early on, in April 2016, the website only started to materialize when I came back to Germany in Autumn 2016. In Berlin (where I was living at the time) I found a supportive community in which to learn programming via the Open Tech School. With my lack of technical skills and knowledge in programming, along with the assumption that anything was possible to code with sufficient time and dedication, I embarked in the venture of teaching myself, and programmed circleofvoices.com. It is worth noting that the website would have never reached its current form without the generous support of friends as experienced programmers. In this light, the design of the digital outcome was a also a form of collaboration.

I wanted to explore the potential offered by a website to display the richness and complexity of my anthropological experience, and to present my research material and the knowledge gathered through the different media used. Grasseni and Walter describe the challenges and opportunities that arise when the ethnographer acts as:

> "a designer of spaces and platforms, formats and temporalities for multi-vocal representation (…) and uses multi-sensory, multi-linear and multi-format media, in order to be both as true as possible to the complexity of fieldwork experience (including the power imbalances entailed in any act of re-presentation) and to enable transcultural understandings" (Grasseni and Walter, 2014:4).

The idea of designing a non-linear navigation reflects both the circular conception often found in Indigenous cultures, and the fact that the different components of the circle are interconnected. The choice of multimedia practices was indeed situated in the belief that the visitor would get a richer experience on the matter of cultural revitalisation by experiencing it through different formats and senses. I also explored the potential of hyperlink to create connections between different sections of the website, like people and places, clarifying the authorship of photographs (by linking the women's page to their names in the photography sections), and to show the continuity of certain customs. For example, the traditional practice filmed for the Lands is ash pounding, and at the end of the page the user is invited to see what happens with the ash splints by going to the traditional practice in the Arts

section. I crafted the website as a map with hidden routes, where the visitor can find him/herself “in a multiplicity of different but simultaneous narratives” (ibid:166). This was also done with the intent of intensifying interactions between the user and the ethnographic material, hopefully generating a deeper understanding of contemporary Indigenous cultures and identities, as one travels through the website.

My preconception before studying Techno-Anthropology, was that the website would constitute a more impactful way to disseminate the research than a traditional writing format like a thesis would. I imagined that the people I worked with would appropriate the website and that the people could learn about contemporary Indigenous issues through multimedia contents. The first intended aim did not happen, in part because of the discontinuity inherent to the project (which I develop further in the analysis), but most importantly because the Indigenous participants had never asked for a digital portrayal of their trajectories and perspectives. We crafted this object of knowledge together, but its appropriation did not take place because the control, design and ownership of the website was never externalised to someone other than me (I develop on these matters in chapter 8). In regards to the second aim, I understood ‘the public’ as an abstract construct, waiting for me to create a bait (an issue I consider interesting) to ‘hook them up’ on my research website. But as I came to understand through my training as a techno-anthropologist, publics are engaged in the formation of issues. Birkbak et al. explain, drawing on the work of Noortje Marres, that “the issue and the public are problematized simultaneously” (Birkbak et al., 2016:271), which makes public engagement “inherently problematic” (Marres 2012a, 41).

My understanding of free and accessible research dissemination through the web relates to the idea of seeing “the web as a harbinger of new methods for information aggregation and dissemination, associated with the democratization of knowledge” (Birkbak et al., 2016:276). But processes of appropriation of content and involvement of users are entangled in complex socio-technical matters. For example, this can take the form of a discrepancy between the thickness of the content displayed and the user’s attention span, or the gap between the language (visual and written) used on the website and the visitors’ interest in the topics.

Theoretical frameworks

a) Postcolonialism, decolonisation, colonial power and gender relations

The body of literature on postcolonial and decolonial thought is immense and cannot be thoroughly reviewed within the scope of this thesis. My intention here is to briefly summarise these knowledge movements in order to situate where I stand with Circle of Voices. As a white, French, female anthropologist working in an Indigenous context, I recognize the entangled parts of oppression and privilege where I am situated, and how that position propelled me to initiate Circle of Voices.

Postcolonialism and decoloniality emerged in different geographical and epistemological settings, but they converge on the centrality played by modernity. Postcolonial scholars such as Said (1978) contest "the idea that modernity was endogenous to the West, (…) [by] re-inscribing "'other' cultural traditions into narratives of modernity" and re-articulating political possibilities (Bhambra, 2014:116-117). From the science and technology point of view, different types of projects were undertaken in postcolonialism, where they question "the achievements of modern Western sciences and technologies" (Harding, 2009:405). For example, postcolonial theorists enquire into how colonial journeys instrumentalized Indigenous knowledge, and further annihilated and appropriated it for the advancement of scientific research. This theoretical position also evaluates the "residues and resurrections of colonial and imperial science and technology relations since independence" (ibid). Postcolonial STS scholars also develop counter-histories and engage in their own projects. I connect with this theory through concerns around the exploitation and appropriation of Indigenous knowledge, which I develop later. The practice of cultural revitalisation could also be seen as one of the counter-histories to the hegemonic discourses defining Indigenous cultures as static and incapable of renew themselves.

From the decolonial standpoint of Quijano (2007), the idea of modernity through which Europe defines itself is so deeply intertwined with its imperial and colonial power that it forms a whole as modernity/coloniality (Bhambra, 2014:118). European identity, based on these two pillars, is then defined by diffenciating itself from other cultures, and by asserting its military, political, cultural, religious, economical and social domination. For Mignolo (2000), the decolonisation of knowledge then occurs three-fold:

> "by acknowledging the sources and geo-political locations of knowledge, (…) by affirming modes and practices of knowledge that have been denied by the dominance of particular forms, and by enabling histories and thought of other places to be understood as prior to European incursions" (Bhambra, 2014:118-119).

Decoloniality counters the lack of visibility operated by the imperial order in situating local knowledge, reclaiming ways of seeing and being in the world that have been ostracised and (re)placing these epistemologies in their historical context of emergence. I find more resonance between this discourse and Circle of Voices, as I aim to operate on similar terms of critically and reflexively in positioning the knowledge present in the research, documenting the resurgence of Indigenous customs.

Decolonisation has been articulated in a variety of ways: through the repatriation of Indigenous land and lives (Tuck and Wang, 2012), through challenging the politics of the Indigenous-state relationships (Coulthard, 2014), through shifts of curriculum and pedagogies in educational contexts (Donald, 2012) through Indigenous art-making (Martineau, 2015), or through decolonial love explored by two-spirited and queer Indigenous artists (Benaway, 2017). At the same time, Zoe Todd, Métis/otipemisiw anthropology Professor, feminist and 'fish' philosopher, argues that "the colonial moment has not

passed (…) we are firmly still experiencing the colonial" (Todd, 2016:14-16). Whether it is through the frequent violations of Indigenous rights, which I have experienced indirectly through my implication as an activist, the extraction and appropriation of natural resources on Indigenous lands, colonialism is still ongoing. For Todd:

> "the decolonisation of thought cannot happen until the proponents of the discipline themselves are willing to engage in the decolonial project in a substantive and *structural* and *physical* way, and willing to acknowledge that the colonial is an extant, ongoing reality" (ibid: 17).

Todd expresses that if, as academics, we hold the belief that we are past colonial times, we cannot truly engage in the decolonisation of discourses, minds and disciplines. The decolonisation of knowledge is necessarily tied to physical elements, which could imply monetary compensations and restitutions of land, as well as structural ones, meaning changes at the level of institutions such as the legal, penitentiary or health care systems. Acknowledging the current state of colonialism, I wonder how can I, as a non-Indigenous researcher, contribute to the process of decolonisation? The Canadian professors in history and woman's and gender studies, respectively Brownlie and Crowe, have formulated that:

> "We understand decolonization to be a process of undoing colonial ways of thinking and acting, which for us required thinking about whiteness and privileges, as well as the authority attached to universities and academic researchers. (…) It requires practitioners to engage in radical reflexivity, collaboration, and power-sharing, and to pay close attention to the replication of colonial practices" (Brownlie and Crowe, 2014:211-216)

Throughout the thesis, and particularly in the analytical chapters, I strive to reflect on the ways in which my work and my identity are situated within webs of power and privilege. I aspire to a transparent approach towards relationships of authority with the Indigenous participants, and the challenges that emerge from collaborative work between a non-Indigenous researcher and young, First Nations women. I would like to expand on the role of institutions, by bringing a final point around white supremacy in the academy. Todd shares her experience of anthropology as a white public space, both in the confrontations she faces when she refers to Indigenous scholarship in her work, and "in the subtle but pervasive power afforded to white scholarship that distorts or erases or homogenises distinct Indigenous voices" (Todd, 2016:16). The academic institution tends to legitimize some voices and silence others. I have tried to take distance from this, by referring generously to Indigenous thinkers and activists throughout the thesis, as unique contributors to various fields of knowledge. Todd further quotes Sara Ahmed, who qualifies white men as an institution, since "an institution typically refers to a persistent structure or mechanism of social order governing the behaviour of a set of individuals within a given community" (Ahmed, 2014). Even if this is more and more challenged today, white men are still in positions of political and economic power, and heteropatriarchy and whiteness still weigh heavily on the conduct of scientific practice.

Another critic of scientific authority as the preconceived idea that only white Western males are entitled to have and exert their scientific voice is made by Donna Haraway. The prominent feminist STS scholar and US Professor in history of consciousness explores how different feminist traditions have criticised the concept of objectivity as a masculinist scientific practice (1988). On the one hand, the social constructionist approach argues that science is rhetoric, bounded to power moves, and that accounts for reality are always necessarily biased. On the other hand, feminist empiricism, connected to notions of positivism, states that reality can be apprehended objectively through a feminist perspective. Haraway distances herself from this division, arguing for a feminist objectivity, as embodied, located, partial and situated knowledge, not a form of objectivity promising transcendence

of all limits and responsibility, and the splitting of subject and object (Haraway, 1988:582-583). She redefines the dichotomies (objectivity/subjectivity and the two feminist traditions) by insisting on the "embodied nature of all vision" (ibid:581) and describes *positioning* as a key practice in grounding knowledge through critical re-examination, decoding, deconstructing and interpreting one's vision (ibid:584,587). This implies responsibility for how knowledge is perceived and transformed, thereby grounding situated knowledge as a political and ethical, scientific practice. At the source of this debate on objectivity is a limitation imposed on women's voices because of their sexual and gendered bodies: "The imagined 'we' are the embodied others, who are not allowed *not* to have a body, a finite point of view, and so inevitably disqualifying and polluting bias in any discussion of consequence outside our little circles" (ibid:575). I identify both with the sexual and gendered body of a woman, and it is from that position that my interest in engaging other women in the research project emerged. The pressure exerted on our bodies (myself and the self-identifying women participants) creates a form of complicity between us, which I was curious to investigate. At the same time, I am aware of the multiple differences relative to our identity contexts, which were also at the center of my work.

Gender and colonial/imperial social relations co-constitute each other (Harding, 2009:410). Lugones (2007) articulates modernity/coloniality from a consciousness of race, gender and sexuality, where colonisation profoundly "disrupted the social patterns, gender relations and cosmological understandings of the communities and societies it invaded" (Bhambra, 118). Colonisation enforced binary logics, such as heterosexuality, male/female, or coloniser/colonised, and imposed hierarchical classification systems of race.

b) Streams in anthropology around the self and Other

It seemed paramount to insist on acknowledging the roots of my discipline in imperial and colonial ventures and situating the thorny relationship between anthropology and Indigenous peoples, even more so if I aim to make a positive impact, defining myself as an engaged anthropologist.

Historically, anthropology is built on the divide between the West and the non-West and "continues to be primarily the study of the non-Western other by the Western self" (Abu-Lughod, 1991:467). These power relations take root in the racial belief system of the twentieth century, where a binary logic regulated hegemonic reasoning: the antagonistic relationship between humans and nature. Race was made possible by this distinction, constructed "as a modern tool to rank 'Humanity' along a 'Civilization'–'Nature' continuum" (De la Cadena, 2010:344). This hierarchization of humanity resulted in severe impacts, not only for non-Western peoples, but also for their environments and the multi-faceted relationships they had with their surroundings.

> "Together these two antitheses—between humanity and nature, and between allegedly superior and inferior humans—declared the gradual extinction of other-than-human beings and the worlds in which they existed" (ibid:345).

Linda Tuhiwai Smith, however, argues that this logic of objectification, subjugation of Others, and the appropriation and extraction of knowledge started even earlier with the Enlightenment (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999:32,58-60), expanding further and deeper with the spread of European imperialism. The Māori (Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Porou) scholar and thought leader in Indigenous Studies, Education and Kaupapa Māori research, sheds light on the ties between research and imperialism:

> "Research is one of the ways in which the underlying code of imperialism and colonialism is both regulated and realized. It is regulated through the formal rules of individual scholarly disciplines and scientific paradigms, and the institutions that support them (including the

state). It is realized in the myriad of representations and ideological constructions of the Other in scholarly and 'popular' works" (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999:7-8).

The conduct of research formalised relationships between structures of power (such as the bureaucratic state or academic institution) and between the colonising and the colonised, through the establishment of scientific standards and categories of practice. The essentialisation of the Other was also reinforced by its representation through different mediums, some of which I recall in chapter 3, specifically on the representations of Indigenous women.

Yet, as the American anthropologist Lila Abu-Lughod reminds us, it is important not to take these categories for granted, since "the self is always a construction, never a natural or found entity" (Abu-Lughod, 1991:468). Identities are inherently dynamic and relational, and they are inscribed in systems of differences. When the Other is constituted in opposition to the self, it erases and overlooks other forms of difference, such as gender or class. In this content, anthropology deals with the study of culture, as "the essential tool for making the other" (ibid:470). Subsequent to the concept of race, anthropological discourse "elaborates on the meaning of culture in order to account for, explain, and understand cultural difference [while] construct[ing], produc[ing], and maintain[ing] it" (ibid:). A simultaneous process unfolds, where anthropologists examine how different cultures are characterised and evolve, thereby using the cultural difference(s) to reproduce a distance between "cultural others and interpreting selves" (Clifford, 1988b:112).

The construction of that cultural difference has resulted in a process of essentializing, generalising, and often silencing others. Trinh T. Minh-Ha, Vietnamese writer, filmmaker and composer, formulates: "A conversation of 'us' with 'us' about 'them' is a conversation in which 'them' is silenced.(…) Subject of discussion, 'them' is only admitted among 'us', the discussing subjects, when accompanied or introduced by an 'us' member (Minh-ha, 1989:67). She refers here to a dynamic in which Western scientists debate on Indigenous or non-Western issues among each other, and the people under study are only recognised when presented by a scientist. This unilateral conversation - and the us/them divide - imply a distance with the subject of study that only the Western scientist can translate to make the Other comprehensible.

Yet, holding onto these divisive categorisations is limiting. Drawing on Latour (2004b), Birkbak, Petersen and Jensen (2015) write that we should be wary of "operating too simple frameworks of the dominated and the dominating, or of the exploited and the exploiting [since the use of] such frameworks or dichotomies orders the world in forceful strokes" (Birkbak et al. 2015:269-270). As a way to work beyond these imposing divisions, scholars in Techno-Anthropology discuss the notion of critical proximity. This idea suggests that people, fields and objects under study have the capacity to problematise claims (ibid:286). In the early stages of Circle of Voices, I was influenced by actors in the field in my quest for problematising cultural revitalisation, and situating it within the frame of self-determination. Indeed, critical proximity implies the engagement of researchers in the socio-technical formation of issues, and the importance to stay close to the mutual constitution of issues and publics (ibid:284). My personal implication is iterated and developed throughout the thesis, where the website constitutes my attempt of making cultural revitalisation reach criticity (Latour, 2005:8) through design.

I write this thesis with this delicate context in mind, and I draw inspiration from different worldviews. I find it important to delve into the viewpoints of Indigenous scholars and intellectuals criticising scientific practices of where I am from, because it enriches my thought in different ways than those I have been trained in academically in the West, and because their expertise has long been disregarded

or oppressed. Yet, I am also enlivened intellectually by theorisations closer of my origins as a white, female Westerner, such as situated knowledges.

I strive to connect to fruitful forms of inquiry where I feel challenged towards greater accountability in both my practice as a researcher and as a human. Additionally, I am drawn to approaches that addresses problems of our time, which is the case of engaged anthropology as defined by Emma Cervone. In this approach, engagement is at the core of the relationships between the researcher and the Indigenous participants, which is not only an ethical imperative, but also an epistemological one (Cervone, 2007:95). "With its focus on power imbalances, engagement is a form of anthropological inquiry that responds to the epistemological problems related to the production of ethnographic knowledge involving indigenous societies" (ibid:101). Through a critical reflexivity of one's research position, an awareness and questioning of the power structures in the field and a commitment to be in relationship, new knowledge and epistemological processes arise. Louise Lamphere shares a different understanding of engaged anthropology, whose principal challenge is to reach beyond the university and limits of the discipline (Lamphere, 2003:167). For her, this is carried out by: "transforming our image with the public, translating our concepts for broader audiences, continuing to transform our relations with those who study and influencing public policy" (ibid). She concurs with Cervone on the importance to include the concerns of the community under study, and to consider them on equal terms. She also insists on the importance of conducting research projects which address critical social problematics, as a way to extend the influence of anthropology in the political arena. A particular point that drew my interest was the idea of translating anthropological research in a compelling way, such as a museum exhibit or a website, and presenting it in an interactive, hands-on learning format (ibid:159).

These three American female intellectuals, Haraway, Cervone and Lamphere have inspired to bring theoretical understandings into practice within Circle of Voices.

c) Ethical considerations

When I first arrived in Canada, I was not aware of the research protocols and ethical guidelines that Canadian students are asked to be acquainted with if they want to work with Indigenous communities. In her 2012 article, Julie Giabiconi shares the gap of ethical institutionalisation that exists between Canada and Europe. As a French researcher based in Switzerland, she realised that this greater freedom was linked with a greater responsibility, both in the relationships with the partners and the development of the research (Giabiconi, 2012:2-3). In her fieldwork with the Dènè of Buffalo River in Alberta, she did not follow the methodical steps to gain the initial authorisation. Instead, she contacted previous people she knew, and slowly made her way to her research partners, spending time in the community to get to know each other. She participated in everyday life routines, helped out, and took part in different collective celebrations, trying to exceed the status of a guest (ibid:9). Whilst being a French student trained in Germany and Denmark, I had never received formal teachings in research ethics. I followed a similar approach as Giabiconi, where I prioritised my identity as a curious young woman, before being an anthropology student. When I was staying in Odanak, I was hosted in the free room of Marie Kristine and Lisa's apartment in 2016, and at Jessica's house the following years and, most often, we simply hung out, watched movies, ate together, and joined activities organised by their college Kiuna, or by the community in Odanak. Throughout my interactions with other researchers in Montreal, I was strongly advised to look at existing research protocols, even though I had already confirmed the participation of the young women. A comprehensive resource has been published by the First Nations Quebec and Labrador Health and

Social Services Commission, which compiles reflections on ethics and collaboration, evaluation questionnaires, consent forms, and pedagogical activities (FNQLHSSC, 2018[15]).

I mainly draw guidance from the First Nations in Quebec and Labrador's Research Protocol, and the Guidelines for Research with Aboriginal Women. The first of these was developed by the Assembly of First Nations of Quebec and Labrador, bringing together Indigenous academics and government employees from different sectors. It starts by mentioning the importance of situating the ethical guidelines in a context of colonial research, where Indigenous communities were not consulted about what would happen, had little or no control over the research methods or the analysis of the results, and with neither the research process nor the outcomes benefitting them (AFNQL, 2014:1-2). In this light, the thorough research protocol aims to support the sovereignty and appropriation of research projects by Indigenous communities, and foster relationships of trust between participants and researchers, Indigenous or not. The protocol refers to four core principles, first put forward in 1998 by the National Steering Committee of the First Nations Regional Longitudinal Health Survey, the OCAP principles: Ownership, Control, Access and Possession of research data. They extend beyond the practice of scientific research and target any type of investigation conducted with and by First Nations. The notion of ownership refers to the relationships that First Nations maintain with cultural knowledge and information, which can be owned collectively or individually (ibid:8). The second principle implies the rights of First Nations people to demand the control over the research process and outcomes at all stages, and the third one concerns the physical access to information about themselves and to take decisions about it (ibid:9). Finally, possession is understood as a mechanism to affirm and protect the ownership of the data by First Nations (ibid:10). By conceiving and releasing circleofvoices.com, I aimed to make the research outcomes controllable and accessible. However, one major limitation concerned the possession of the research, as the website is not collectively shared (it is hosted by a local server) and none of the participants have the technical skills to access the code. The website was built using different programming languages, which makes it even more difficult to access and understand, and none of the participants ever expressed the interest in reaching that capacity.

The second frame of reference I used was elaborated by the organisation Femmes Autochtones du Québec, Quebec Native Women Inc. First, it underlines that, for a long time, Indigenous women were absent from research which was usually focused on men, to be later generalised to women. It also warns from imposing and projecting Western feminist research models, which can lead to a wrong interpretation of the results (FAQ-QNW, 2012:6). The guidelines detail a series of steps, starting with consulting the community or organisation, and involving the women in the themes of the research, the methodological choices, and all the other steps (ibid:9). Since I worked with individuals from different Nations, I obtained the consent of each of them (the knowledge holders and the young women), and consulted the director of their college at Kiuna. With the youths from NIONA, we had to agreed on a frame of collaboration with Valérie, one of the coordinators. The guidelines also specified that the research must be based on local needs and priorities identified by the women, to give an equal place to Indigenous knowledge as other scientific tools and practices, to follow a research methodology appropriate to the context, to respect fundamental values (such as respect, trust, balance, and equity) and to nurture a holistic vision (ibid:10-11). With Circle of Voices, I have tried to connect the research topics to the women's interests, and I have implemented different research activities which they found insightful and enjoyable. The last steps concern the reciprocity, the return

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of research results, and the continuation of relationships through time after the research. I have analysed and elaborated on these matters in the following analytical chapters.

At the core of this thesis, I have committed to a practice of critical reflection during the whole research journey. Luigina Mortari considers different perspectives on reflexivity, and points at how it can improve the researcher's ethical stance. She writes that "only the disposition to radically reflect on experience, while it flows, allows the researcher to identify unexpected critical situations and to deal with these in a appropriate ethical way" (Mortari, 2015:2). The disciplined practice of writing fieldnotes was an essential component to engage reflexively with the experiences of the fieldwork while it was happening. As I will latter show, I engaged in deep self-questioning when confrontations and tensions arose, trying to take a wider perspective on the situation.

d) Translation, mediation and elicitation

These above terms are central to the analytical chapters that follow because they characterise the processes of transformation that different types of knowledge underwent in Circle of Voices. I use the term 'knowledge' to describe information gained through experience or education, and I refer to principally two types of knowledge generated through the project: Indigenous knowledge and anthropological knowledge, both merging theoretical and practical understandings. The latter implies information produced through my anthropological tools and perspectives. In the case that the knowledge originally stems from Indigenous sources, I frame it as 'anthropological' to reflect my position (and thus influence) on how the knowledge was transformed and treated. Indigenous knowledge refers to worldviews, philosophies, the ways of knowing of Indigenous people, that are traditionally passed on from elders to younger generations through orality (Simpson, 2004:1-374).

Indigenous knowledges have long been threatened by "centuries of colonialism's efforts to methodically eradicate [Indigenous] ways of seeing, being, and interacting with the world" (Waziyatawin, 2004:359). From past control and occupation of Indigenous lands to the present exploitation of natural resources, the pressure on Indigenous knowledge remains. Extractive industries destroy the socionatural world of Indigenous peoples (de la Cadena, 2010:355) because they sever both the source of knowledge (the land or the environment) and the relationships between human and other-than-human beings, which "include animals, plants and the landscape" (ibid:341). These relationships are also constitutive of Indigenous languages, political and spiritual systems (Simpson, 2004:378), making Indigenous knowledge relational, situated, dynamic and active in its nature (Hunt, 2013:4). The Indigenous knowledge discussed within Circle of Voices is situated in this context, and refers to information from Indigenous sources (often the participants in the research) and settings. I am consciously capitalising 'Indigenous' to reflect the choices of Indigenous authors my work draws on, and because I consider it a simple, textual formality to give additional weight and importance, reflecting the capitalisation of proper nouns in both French and English, i.e. the languages of the colonisers in Canada.

One of the visions of the Circle of Voices project is to contribute to the digitisation and dissemination of Indigenous knowledge. I originally conceived of circleofvoices.com with the dream of transporting oral wisdom into a digital space, with as little transformation as possible. Being trained as a techno-anthropologist, I now understand that this transfer involves a multiplicity of entangled socio-technical matters, situated in historical, political and epistemological contexts. Knowledge is produced and altered through each movement (Latour, 1999:39): from the knowledge shared by the Indigenous participants to my anthropological eye, encompassing both my positionality and the technologies used

to process the information (Haraway, 1988:583), and further to its digital form on the website. Even when it seems to have landed at its destination (i.e. a specific location in circleofvoices.com) the transformation continued through adapting, reformatting and editing. In the thesis, I examine these gradual processes of translation from 'Indigenous' to 'anthropological' knowledge, as traveling from one situated body (the interviewee) to another (the researcher), processed through anthropological tools and methods. Haraway writes that "translation is always interpretive, critical and partial" (Haraway, 1988:589) because the transfer of knowledge is inscribed in intricate networks of power, and it is formed through situated positions.

But translation is not limited to human entities and it would be incomplete without considering the role of non-human actors, which is why actor-network theory (ANT) is relevant. This framework follows the ways through which the world emerges and becomes to actors, by studying heterogeneous networks of human and non-human entities. At the core of this approach sits "a concern with how actors and organizations mobilise, juxtapose and hold together the bits and pieces out of which they are composed" (Law, 386). Translation in ANT refers to the constant (re)arranging that transforms the entities and the networks themselves. In this analysis, I unfold how different digital technologies and devices - such as a Facebook group, a camera, or Google Earth Pro - shaped the production of knowledge and the development of relationships between the human participants. I exemplify cases of knowledge translation and how it moves through different stages from things to signs (Latour, 1999:56).

Farquhar also frames the conceptual and bodily violence inherent to the transplantation of knowledge (Farquhar, 2012:155). "Everywhere and always, the transportation or globalisation of powerful languages, objects, facts and systems has required *translation*, which (…) is always a multifaceted *transformation*" (ibid:156). There is no movement which does not involve a complex process of transformation. When moved from its original location to another place - including the virtual - knowledge undergoes transformation. This is an important reminder in the context of Indigenous customs and traditions being exported and appropriated by dominant cultures. I explore some concerns around the protection and misuse of Indigenous cultural heritage in chapter 8.

In ANT, the concept of mediation is linked to translation. In the formation of a network, different things are assembled and "connected in chains of overlapping interest or partial equivalence" (Harvey, 2012:5). Mediation describes these mechanisms of connection, where transformation also occurs simultaneously. In addition to this, the idea of technological mediation constitutes an interesting overlap between the different fields in which my thesis is situated. In their 2016 article, Badouard, Mabi and Sire argue that issues of mediation are central at the intersection of media studies and science and technology studies. For media studies, the focus lies on books, newspapers, radio, television and the internet (Badouard et al.,2016:110). The term mediation "highlights the artefacts and practices used to communicate and allows to study social and organizational arrangements through which mediation is instituted" (ibid:114). This field of study associates communication as the principal function of mediation, and it investigates human relationships through the angle of interactions and exchanges of information. In the case of transmission of Indigenous cultural practices and value systems, various technological means are used (and experimented with) to pass on knowledge and prevent further losses than the ones already caused by genocidal policies and colonialism.

Additionally, STS scholars put the focus on tools, machines, and scientific instruments, and give to these technological artifacts "the status of mediators, i.e. that artefacts can change, alter, enhance or

lower the performativity of social actions" (Badouard et al.,2016:114). Two ontological framings extensively use the term mediation: post-phenomenology and ANT. In both, attention is centered on the co-constitutive process between the technological instruments mediating information (the mediators), the knowledge being mediated, and the human or non-human elements receiving it. Hence, mediation influences both the production of knowledge and the social relationships on various levels between different human and non-human entities. In ANT, "mediators transform, translate, distort, and modify the meaning or the elements they are supposed to carry" (Latour, 2005:39). Mediators both transpose and transmute the entities with which they are entangled. This can lead to a multiplicity of directions where knowledge emerges in relation to the other elements in a network. I experienced this dynamic during the interviews with some of the knowledge holders, where circleofvoices.com or a mapping software acted as a mediator, translating the created information and connecting different places, stories and people.

In the post-phenomenological approach, the idea of mutual constitution is key. Building on Don Ihde's work (1990), Peter Paul Verbeek examines different types of human-technology-world relations and looks at how technologies perform as mediators of world-human relations. This theory of technological mediation expands in two directions: through actions and practices, as technologies shape how human beings interact with the world; and how the world becomes meaningful to human beings through perception and experiences (Verbeek, 2015:29). For example, when recording a story, the story itself will change according to the setting in which it takes place, the attentiveness of the listener, the confidence of the storyteller, as well as the type of recording device. That device will, in turn, transform the story by processing it and shape the perception of future listeners. For Verbeek, the human condition is necessarily constituted by technological mediation, which: "makes the design of technologies a highly responsible activity" (ibid:30). As humanity and technology are so intricate, the activity of design must include and consider the role played by technological mediators. I crafted the research website as a technology aimed at shaping the users' experiences and understandings on Indigenous cultures and identities and, thus, the concept of mediation finds its place in relation to other design concerns, such as interaction, functionality and aesthetics (ibid:31).

Through processes of mediation and translation, new information emerges. This is where knowledge elicitation happens, as a form of collecting information from people and activities related to the fieldwork and the research project at large. Shadbolt and Smart explain that knowledge elicitation originates in the field of knowledge-engineering for expert systems, and that it "consists of a set of techniques and methods that attempt to elicit the knowledge of a domain expert, typically through some form of direct interaction with the expert" (Shadbolt and Smart, 2015:1). Transferred to my research content, the experts are the Indigenous participants, young and old, and the interactions refer to our formal and informal meetings. This concept of elicitation grounds my position in the research as a learner and co-producer of knowledge on Indigenous lands; it suggests a shift from the problematic research dynamic where scientists are considered experts, and the knowledge of local people is concealed, silenced (Smith, 1999:85, 139) or disregarded (Wynne, 1992:287). This jeopardises the social identity of local knowledge keepers, not only because the outsider 'expertise' may threaten their livelihoods, but also because it may denigrate their tacit knowledge acquired through experience and passed on generationally (ibid:295). In my case, I used digital technologies to give space to the various expressions of expertise by the Indigenous participants. Shadbolt and Smart further explain "the goal of knowledge elicitation is simply to generate representations of knowledge that may or may not be exploited in the context of computerized systems" (Shadbolt and Smart, 2015:1). With the expansion of the world wide web, the digital space offers exciting pathways to present and represent knowledge, which is what I explore in this thesis.

Mediating anthropological knowledge through cultural revitalisation

The analytical chapters that follow are based on empirical material gathered during my ethnographic fieldwork in 2018. In this chapter, I will try to take a critical stance on the processes of mediation and translation at stake in the digital transformation of anthropological knowledge about cultural revitalisation. I will start by situating ethical considerations, with a particular focus on the notion of authenticity and the practice of accountability. Then, I will discuss how non-human entities were integrated into the research process, influencing both the production of knowledge and the relationships with Indigenous participants. I will draw examples from the follow-up interviews with two of the knowledge holders, and from the participatory photography activities. This chapter will close with Indigenous-led initiatives of mediation and translation of Indigeneity, processing two group interviews I conducted with Abenaki youth in the organisation NIONA, and one interview with Skawennati, a Mohawk multimedia artist and one of the co-founders of AbTeC, Aboriginal Territories in Cyberspace.

a) Translating knowledge with authenticity and accountability

One of my intentions behind returning to Odanak was to present the website to the knowledge holders who had taken part in 2016. By reviewing the content together, I first wanted to ensure the validity of the information published and, second, I wanted to manifest a practice of accountability and respect for the knowledge and stories they had shared with me. Whereas their expertise and experiences constituted the reason behind our meeting (i.e. the interview), which justified our interactions in the first place, the website had now become the epicenter of our encounters. Therefore, the mediation of anthropological knowledge about cultural revitalisation took shape both through different mediums and successive stages. It was initiated in 2016 through the practice of interviewing, creating a knowledge transfer from the knowledge holders to me, the researcher. This interaction was mediated by the recording devices (camera and recorder), which then acted as points of reference for transcribing the knowledge. This step anchored orality through writing, causing both a loss of certain elements (the tone of the voice, the moments of silence) and an achievement (such as the possibility to be incorporated into the website). As Bruno Latour (French philosopher, sociologist, anthropologist, who contributed greatly to the field of STS as one of the pioneers of actor-network theory) formulated this process: “The transformation at each step of the reference may be pictured as a trade-off between what is gained (amplification) and what is lost (reduction) at each information-producing step” (Latour, 1999:71). This movement is further repeated through my choice of selecting and re-arranging the text, visuals and sounds, reducing the particularity of the information towards greater compatibility.

The next stage was the translation of the content from French to English. This was motivated by two intentions: compliance with academic requirements (as I had to hand-in a project either in English or German for my bachelor thesis), and the idea that publishing the website in English would increase the accessibility and reach of the project. However, this justification should also be questioned, given that many socio-technical elements interplay in contributing to an active circulation of the research (e.g. such as the user-friendliness of the website, time to browse and interest to learn about cultural revitalisation, access to a technological device and an Internet connection). From my point of view, the final step in this chain of transformation of gain and loss (Latour, 1999:70) was validation of the published content by its original producer: the interviewees.

Each encounter with the knowledge holders unfolded in a unique way. As a commonality, none of them had previously seen their profile page, nor consulted the website. Although I had shared the web address before my departure in 2016, I did not expect them to have looked at their pages without an imperative (such as, asking them to review an element). Given that I had been learning how to write and edit the code behind the website, I was able to operate the changes at any given time. With that ability to access the backend directly from my computer, I could show the changes instantly via the local host. This technical capacity also enabled me to display the website without requiring internet access, which proved to be particularly handy.

One afternoon in September, I went to meet Monique at her house, my laptop under the arm. After a short introduction, I opened the section of the website where I had processed the outcomes of her interview. Her profile page begins with the only portrait I took of her, where she stands next to tall flowers in her garden. She expressed her approval, exclaiming that it was a beautiful picture. The rest of her page consists of an introduction, two short sound recordings (in which she presents herself in Abenaki), photographs of learnings materials (dictionaries, grammar and vocabulary books) and a Q&A from the interview. Ten days prior to our appointment, I had been working on finding a simple, technical way to switch languages (French/English) and created a button on the top right corner of the page. I really wanted the page to be available in French, as it was the language in which the interview initially took place. It was important for me to depict an authentic version of her story. Besides, I wasn't sure of how much she understood English and thus how much she would be able to thoroughly review and validate the content.

I would like to pause and reflect on this notion of authenticity. The idea of producing an authentic representation was foundational to how I processed and digitised the anthropological materials in the BA project. In the chain of translation detailed above, I had set the criteria of transparency and honesty as priorities. But, I considered, what does it mean to bring the person's voice to being as 'true' as possible? In a context imbued by historical and ongoing practices of misuses and abuses - even more so between anthropologist and Indigenous people (see Vine, D.Jr, 1988, Biolsi and Zimmermann, 1997, Todd, 2016) - how could I achieve an honest and transparent representation of stories about cultural revitalisation? I thought I had found a solution by staying as close as possible to the oral version, but my meeting with Monique questioned my approach, proving it to be a tortuous and challenging path to travel.

This notion of authenticity is also problematized by Linda Tuhiwai Smith's groundbreaking book 'Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples'. She points out that, in Indigenous contexts, authenticity has generally been used by imperialist powers as a criterion to assess who really counts as Indigenous, thus drawing on essentialism: "At the heart of such a view of authenticity is a belief that indigenous cultures cannot change, cannot recreate themselves, and still claim to be indigenous. Nor can we be complicated, internally diverse or contradictory. Only the West has this privilege" (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999:74). The colonial doctrine claims that, to be authentic, an Indigenous person must conform to a simple, reductive and uniform past identity - that modernity is not legitimate for 'real' Indigenous peoples. Only white Westerners can judge and attest the authentic character of indigenous values, ways of knowing, cultural beliefs, and historical accounts (ibid:72).

Such a conflicted relationship to authority is based on a racial belief system, which is still to be found today. This can be illustrated with an example from my fieldwork in 2018, while interviewing Abenaki youth from the organisation NIONA. I had asked them how they thought that technology could help deconstructing prejudices and changing the way that Indigenous people are represented. Audrey Ann,

one of the youths in the second group interview, acknowledged that the situation had evolved since her father's time, but that preconceived ideas still persist of what a 'real' Indigenous person looks like: "It's hard when I say to others that I'm Abenaki because I have blond hair and blue eyes. For them, being Indigenous is having dark hair, slanted eyes, and dark-coloured skin. It's not because I don't have really dark hair that I'm not Indigenous!" [LR transcript, interview with NIONA Odanak, 27.10.2018]. This notion of authenticity is multifaceted, as Tuhiwai Smith argues, since it is also used by the colonised world to talk about the past in an empowering way, reminiscing times of self-determination:

> "it does appeal to an idealized past when there was no colonizer, to our strengths in surviving thus far, to our language as an uninterrupted link to our histories, to the ownership of or lands, to our abilities to create and control our own life and death, to a sense of balance among ourselves and with the environment, to our authentic selves as a people"
> (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999:72).

Here, the use of authenticity refers to resilience through colonial presence, a certain state of wellness and a holistic understanding of a collective self. A term that best encapsulates this is perhaps 'survivance', merging survival and resistance. It was originally defined by the Anishinaabe scholar Gerald Vizenor as "an active sense of presence, the continuance of native stories, not a mere reaction, or a survivable name. Native survivance stories are renunciations of dominance, tragedy, and victimry" (Vizenor, 1999:vii). Similarly to Tuhiwai Smith's use of authenticity, survivance refers to the celebration of a continuity of Indigenous culture and identity through modern times, and to a sense of pride standing up against (ongoing) colonising forces. This idea is also echoed in social media, with the Twitter chat #WeAreStillHere addressing invisibility as a modern form of racism against Native people (Schilling, 2018). The hashtag was started by Crystal Echo Hawk, Pawnee CEO of IllumiNative & Echo Hawk Consulting, and Rebecca Nagle, a Cherokee writer - both strong advocates engaged in building new narratives where contemporary Native people are seen and heard. Another inspiring example, translating the idea of survivance into a practice in the digital space, is the social impact game Survivance (http://survivance.org/). The Anishinaabe game designer, researcher and artist Elizabeth LaPensée describes survivance as "a way of life that nourishes Indigenous ways of knowing. (…) Survivance in its game form is an intergenerational exchange of knowledge for the purpose of restoring Indigenous wellbeing, which involves balancing mental, emotional, physical, and spiritual health" (LaPensée, 2014:45). This game connects ways of being and knowing, manifesting the interconnectedness of Indigenous ontologies and epistemologies. Both the hashtag chat and the online game elicit collective knowledge, with a double purpose of deconstructing preconceived ideas about Indigenous cultures and of encouraging Indigenous people to reclaim and determine their own narratives. These technologies mediate and co-shape authentic, contemporary Indigenous stories. It is in line with this that Circle of Voices aims to translate knowledge about cultural revitalisation, yet it is paramount to remember the harmful and thorny dimensions of the notion of authenticity.

Back to that afternoon in Monique's house. I remember her going through her page with focus and care:

> "For the first paragraph, she was paying attention to each word, reading sentences again to make sure they were formulated and spelled correctly. Her initial reaction was how disappointed she was reading her language. I explained to her I didn't want to edit her voice, so I tried to stay as close to the transcript as possible. Because of this decision to stay true to what she had told me in our interview, the text wasn't as fluid as she imagined or would have liked it to be" [LR transcript, interview with Monique Nolett Ille, 23.09.2018].

Through the expression of her disappointment, I realised that my understanding and practice of what constituted an authentic representation did not conform with how she wanted to be perceived. The attempted transparency of my translation reflected the orality of our interview, thus lacking a certain fluency that usually pertains to the textual format. By coming back to Odanak to meet her, we were able to discuss editing possibilities so that her page could be adjusted to her needs. First, I edited the part introducing her as she read along. Then:

> "she asked how to get on the website. Following my indications, she took a piece of paper and wrote down: the web address "circle of voices.com" the section on the circle of revitalisation "language", where she was placed "interview", and the word "français" for the button giving access to the French page. She asked if she could edit the page herself, and I showed her the code and that the only possibility was for me to edit this myself. Then, she suggested to print the pages and write down the changes she wanted. We agreed on that option and continued to read her page" [LR fieldnotes, interview with Monique Nolett Ille, 23.09.2018].

I remember feeling content at how committed she seemed, because it meant that she considered the project seriously. I also appreciated her sense of initiative, using other, analogue technologies to cope with the fact that any final change had to pass through me since I was the owner of the code. After she arrived at the end of her page, she took the paper and went to sit at her desk:

> "She went on her computer and typed "circle of voices.com" in[to a] Google search, which displayed different results, including my site as the fourth entry. I explain that she could have a direct access to the site by typing it directly in the address bar. She navigated smoothly to her page. I helped her with printing the French and English versions. The papers came out in a reasonable format, just with way too much margin on the sides but it was still readable" [LR fieldnotes, interview with Monique Nolett Ille, 23.09.2018].

I found that movement through materialities and technologies fascinating.We moved from consulting the page on my device, to a piece of paper with instructions, which acted as point of reference for Monique to access her page on her own device. She possessed enough digital literacy to find the website and navigate to the relevant section. I remember thinking that my grandmother, who was of a similar generation, would not have known how to get there without my help. The second movement was the use of a printer to get editing access to the interview. This was a novel experience for me, because I had never tried to print content from the website before, and I was relieved that it came out in a usable way. The printer became an instrument to retrace and modify the source of knowledge, granting Monique a new mediation of how she wanted to be perceived through her page. Latour writes that: "To know is not simply to explore, but rather is to be able to make your way back over your own footsteps, following the path you have just marked out" (Latour, 1999:74). With the printed interview in her hands, she was now able to edit her own voice again. The next movement in the mediation of her knowledge took place a month later, as I picked up the corrected interview in an envelope she handed me over at her house. To close the loop, I would still have update the code, using the printed pages as an authentic point of reference. With this detailed account, I tried to exemplify the multitude of steps required when mediating anthropological knowledge while conducting responsible and engaged research.

By practicing accountability, I was also led to unexpected knowledge elicitation, with the website acting as an impetus. Before moving on, I would like to specify my understanding of accountability. Drawing on Donna Haraway, Lucy Suchmann formulates the idea of *located accountability*, where she develops that our responsibility is tied to the relativity of our knowing and partiality of our locations: "It is precisely the fact that our vision of the world is a vision from somewhere, that it is inextricably based in an embodied and therefore partial perspective, which makes us personally responsible for

it" (Suchmann, 2002:96). The website, and the ways in which I have organised and classified anthropological knowledge online, necessarily reflect my positioning. My located accountability both limits and enables me in the process of assuring the validity of the content displayed. I consider coming back to Odanak to discuss the personal pages and other sections of the website as a practice of accountability in order to attain validity. This understanding of validity is similar to Latour's description of emic validation, where the participants take the final decision regarding the adequacy of the description (Latour and Woolgar, 1986:38). The control comes back into the hands of the participants to validate the final version of their pages.

Monique and I visited other pages related to Abenaki traditions, such as the sections on ash pounding and basketry. On the latter, I had added a photograph of an Abenaki weaving basket that I had found on a blog publishing digitised postcards about Wabanaki basketry. Monique recognized the woman on the historical picture. She said her name was Dora Obomsawin, and told me that she used to live in the house next door and make her costume for school. She was a costumier and did a lot for the community. Apart from her name, which was written in the legend of the photograph, she provided information that I was not able to find on the Internet, which I could later add to the page. We continued to travel through other pages I thought would be interesting for her to see: the dance workshops, the interviews from the Environmental Office, the photography workshop about language, and the songs. I had a specific request at that point and asked her about the meaning of the Abenaki transcriptions of the songs. She explained that it is unknown, that nobody really knows what they mean but that they probably used to mean something "back in the days". As the language teacher of the community, if *she* was not able to deliver this information it was hard to imagine who else could. This reminded me of the loss experienced by Indigenous communities, as Luc had expressed in his interview:

> "What remains of my culture today in 2016? It's sad. No one really talks Abenaki anymore, almost no one practices the traditional rites, like the sweat lodge, weddings, baptisms, all the ceremonies like the celebration of corn, of autumn. The only exception is the equinox, the summer solstice, because we celebrate it with a camping activity."[16]

Finally, here is a last example illustrating how content that she could relate to on the website acted as a catalyst for the production of new knowledge and the development of our relationship: "I showed her Odanak's page, which displays a picture I took in her kitchen (see below). Above her stove, a huge painting shows animals and human beings, walking towards the sun. The word 'Alsig8ntegok' is written between hills where the sun sets. I asked her about the meaning of the word, and she explained me that it was a way to designate the St Francis river. She then opened her language books for accuracy, in Aubery's version it says 'the river where there is no one', and in Masta's version, it translates as 'the river with many shells'[17]. She did copies of the pages where the word was mentioned, which I expressed gratefulness for." [LR fieldnotes, interview with Monique Nolett Ille, 23.09.2018]. In this instance, the printer is used to transfer information from her book to me, as she noticed my interest for her language. I received it as a gift, enabling me to deepen my knowledge and complement the webpage. After a careful review of various digital locations, we both left each other with printed copies in our hands, as tangible outcomes of our collaboration.

[16] Luc's interview can be found: http://circleofvoices.com/land/interview

[17] See Monique's profile for a contextualisation of the works of Masta and Aubéry for the Abenaki language: http://circleofvoices.com/language/interview

b) Integrating the non-human

As we have seen with Monique, technological devices and instruments other than the website itself played an essential role in mediation. In the following section, I would like to delve deeper into how non-human entities served to produce and validate knowledge around Circle of Voices and co-shaped the social relations. In fact, the social and the material worlds are far from being two coherent and homogeneous ensembles, as argued by Latour (2007:75-76). They are interwoven in *heterogeneous networks*, one of the core principles of actor-network theory. Thereby, social life does not merely consist of human beings and human interactions, but it is a patterned network also composed of non-human entities, such as "machines, animals, texts, money, architectures – any material that you care to mention" (Law, 1992:381). In my case, I am curious to explore how technological devices crafted my social interactions with the participants, drawing specifically on my meeting with Michel Durand Nolett - the land manager of Odanak and a medicinal and spiritual knowledge holder. I will specifically look at how our interaction was mediated through different non-human entities, in particular the software Google Earth Pro.

After a few calls to find a date, I went to visit Michel at the Environmental Office. Before formerly starting to review the website, an hour passed where he shared stories about the environment and places of belonging. The first snowfall had greeted us on that morning, and he explained to me that there was a micro-climate in the village where he lives, la Visitation de Yamaska, 20km east of Odanak.

> "I didn't really know where it was, so he opened Google Earth Pro on his desktop computer to show me the area, and his property. It was the only place which seemed to have trees I noticed, that's why he calls it 'the oasis in the agricultural desert', he said. As he zoomed closer to Odanak, my attention got drawn to the location 'Abenakis springs' on the map. I asked him to tell me more about this. He used to go there when he was young with his friends to drink fresh water. He told me the story about? the local Abenaki water business, and how his grandmother used to have a shop with a huge banner for the brand. He then went to Google search, and looked for pictures of the old design he knew as a child. Images of the recent marketing also appeared in Google images, and we had a quick look at the company's website and their Facebook page. I noted that they own the website www.abenakis.ca, which made me wonder about the reclaiming of digital territories to assert Indigenous history and culture… Finally, he added that this is a part of Wabanaki history that many young people don't know about, because most of them never knew the building which took fire a couple decades ago." [LR fieldnotes, interview Michel Durand Nolett, 24.10.2018]

I found this extract from my fieldnotes particularly rich because of the continuous chain of non-human entities entwined in the production of new information. It first starts with the snow, leading onto the

micro-climate specific to the area. As a man dedicated to the land in various fashions (gardener of medicinal herbs, forester, land manager), this sign of season change means a lot to him. From talking about the weather, Michel goes on to use Google Earth Pro to mediate a visualisation of his home, thanks to photographs taken by satellites. The discussion takes another turn as my attention gets drawn to the inscription of the Abenaki springs. It first designates a natural source of fresh water, then an infrastructure: the company bottling water from the source. Even if the springs are not visited as much as before, the inscription remains despite the destruction of the infrastructure, which acted as material landmark. For Michel, it also brings back memories of his grandmother and her shop, and it is this nostalgia which drives him to look for pictures of the old design. There is a superimposition of meanings attached to the same inscription, which co-exist in Michel's story of that local water. The transformation from 'thing' to 'sign' unfolds through a plethora of instruments (computer, digital cartography, satellite images), translating the fresh source of water into an inscription in Google Earth. This transformation ensures continuity and durability to the non-human entity (Latour, 1999:49-51). Another reason that I find this initial interaction interesting is how the agency is distributed. ANT, as a theory intrinsically concerned with the mechanics of power, "says that the effects of power are generated in a relational and distributed manner, and nothing is ever sown up" (Law, 1992:386). In this situation, it keeps shifting between human (Michel and I) and non-human actors, following a trajectory led by the elements of the network created by our interaction.

Much later in our meeting, Michel used Google Earth Pro in an extensive way. With Michel's thick Quebecois accent, I hadn't been able to transcribe the names of specific places from his interview in 2016. I couldn't grasp the names of the towns where his great-grandmother and his grandmother used to sell their baskets in Maine, USA. We watched the video of his interview together on the website, and he repeated the names I was missing:

> "After I thanked him for reviewing this together, he used Google Earth Pro again to locate the towns, but he couldn't find them by looking at the digitised terrain. I typed the names on Google maps, and compared his map and mine. He finally found it on his software, and he showed me York Beach in details. He visited the town a couple years ago with his wife and his mother, after she had told him she wanted to visit her mother who was sick. By using a 3D street views, he showed me the exact place where his grandmother shop was, as well as other places he had visited with his mother. He told me about another store that sells special candies he used to love as a kid. More childhood stories came up, especially from his mother who had been going there every summer until 18 years old to accompany Michel's grandmother to sell baskets." [LR fieldnotes, interview Michel Durand Nolett, 24.10.2018]

Similarly to the previous example, a chain of movements takes place here with agency being redistributed among different devices: first from his computer to mine through my use of Google Maps, then back to Google Earth Pro. Once we reach our destination (York Beach) and a certain form of stability, we access another dimension of the map and engage in a new form of mobility. Sarah Pink explains that: "When viewed digitally on a computer screen, they [Google maps] give the viewer the impression or sensation of being able to smoothly traverse or turn in a street (...) They can, moreover, be consumed through the experience of movement across the screen" (Pink, 2011a:12). We start our digital visit of York Beach, where Michel travels click after click, looking to situate himself. Here, the post-phenomenological lens can be enlightening on how Google Earth Pro performs as a mediator of world-human relationships. The American philosopher of science and technology and postphenomenologist, Don Ihde who developed an approach to technology with different types of human-tech-world relations (1990). Drawing on it Verbeek explains that "in embodiment relations, technologies form a unity with a human being, and this unity is directed at the world. (…) We

look through a microscope rather than at it" (Verbeek, 2015:29). As we start using the 3D street view, technology becomes invisible, integrated into our embodied perception of the world. Our vision is mediated through the photographs taken in the streets of York Beach, transferred and processed on the software. "The knowledge acquired is perceptual-bodily (…) The closer to invisibility, transparency, and the extension of one's own bodily sense this technology allows, the better" (Ihde, 1990:74).

This fusion of human-and-technology is also enhanced by the human's ability to operate the technology. Here it is worth noting that Michel uses this tool on a daily basis in his work, therefore he is confident and skilled in manipulating the software. At first, Michel just seems to wander but he gradually gains more knowledge about the accuracy of his location, thus extending his bodily perception. This enables him to make the best use of the technology by actively looking for places of belonging, places that are linked to his personal story. Even if his grandmother's shop does not exist anymore, the location itself remains, enabling the telling of stories that followed.
A second type of relation at stake mediated by Google Earth Pro is the hermeneutic relations which are described as "relations in which human beings read how technologies represent the world" (Verbeek, 2015:29). Moving through the digital map, we constantly interpret the representations mediated through Google Earth. Even though we have never perceived the world from a bird's eye view, we are familiar with that representation form since the diffusion of cartographies. Thanks to the use of these non-human entities, I gained more knowledge about Michel's family biography,and personal stories about Wabanaki basketry.

Finally, another form of translation evoked in our meeting - of a more literal kind - dealt with finding an Abenaki name for the Environmental office (in French 'Bureau Environment et Terre'). They had put up a new sign in front of the office, which I asked Michel about.

> "We talked about the new sign of the Environmental Office, and the difficulty to translate 'environment' in Abenaki language. People from the Office, from the Band Council, and elders with linguistic knowledge joined forces to find a word that wouldn't be too long. What stands now is 'Mziaow8gan ta aki', the first word meaning 'ce qui nous entoure, what surrounds us' and 'aki' means Earth" [LR fieldnotes, interview Michel Durand Nolett, 24.10.2018].

Michel gathered the resources available to find the most appropriate translation of the office in Abenaki from the French words 'Environment et Terre'. Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg scholar, writer and artist, writes that: "Indigenous languages carry rich meanings, theory and philosophies within their structures. Breaking down words into the 'little words' they are composed of often reveals a deeper conceptual -yet widely held- meaning" (Simpson, 2011:49). It is the case here with the word 'aki', which means Earth, land, territory and region[18].

c) Photography as mediator

Photography takes a major place in this project because it was the first research methodology applied, through the participatory photography activities, and a practice I felt confident with in building on my personal experience as a photographer. It seemed like an essential and easy component to generate and allow later publication on the website. Photography, with its potential for being co-produced and its accessibility of consumption (as the English adage goes 'A picture is worth a thousands words'), constituted an enriching technology to work with. Different types of photographs co-exist on

[18] This translation comes from the copy given by Monique. The word 'aki' was coincidentally on the same page as 'Alsig8ntegok'.

circleofvoices.com: some were generated in the PhotoVoice inspired workshops by Marie Kristine Petiquay and Raphaelle Obomsawin; some were taken by the young women and used at different locations on the website; a few more were harvested from other sites (such as the picture of Dora Obomsawin evoked earlier); and the rest were taken by me. On the website, I always clearly state the author in the picture caption, as a way to specify my involvement and to acknowledge the women's contributions.

In this section, I would like to investigate the use of photographs in mediating anthropological knowledge about cultural revitalisation, and see how their contexts of visual production elicit different types of knowledge. An important discussion to frame this inquiry relates to the sensory turn in visual scholarship, which re-situates the visual through multiple sensory modalities (Pink, 2011a:3). Drawing on the work of Tim Ingold (2000), Pink states that our senses are connected to one other, and that we perceive the environment through the integration of a multisensorial context. She develops an understanding of photographs:

> "as produced and consumed as we move through environments. This involves understanding the sensoriality of images as something that is generated through their interrelatedness with both the persons they move with and the environments they move through and are part of" (ibid).

The idea of movement is central, as constitutive of the images themselves. The photographs become meaningful in relation to their contexts of production and consumption, which are also subject to change. With participatory photography activities, my intention was to apply the technology to mediate the young women's perceptions of their lands, their languages, their artistic and spiritual practices. Mediation is meant here in the sense of post-phenomenological approach where technological mediators shape how humans experience the world and how the world becomes meaningful to humans (Verbeek, 2015). On the website (see the sections with 📷), each photograph (accompanied by a caption) was harvested directly after the workshop, and reviewed again as I met with the women, half a year later. Below are some examples illustrating the conceptualisation of movement and multi-sensoriality developed by Pink.

«The specialities of our home: walleye and moose. Everyone cooks that, it's really the local dishes. It is our earth and sea... or maybe more river! Just looking at the picture makes me hungry!»

Marie Kristine Petiquay - Manawan, November 2016

In this picture, Marie Kristine ties together sight, taste and smell. As her comment indicates, the vision of her relatives cooking local foods directly brings craving. By looking at it, one is readily drawn to imagine the taste and smell of it… and probably even more so once this experience is familiar to our senses. The photograph also implies the continuance practice of fishing and hunting on Atikamekw territory.

«My sister Wapi went on a canoe trip with other youths from the three Atikamekw communities and they were accompanied by elders. They crossed a vast part of the Atikamekw territory. That's their arrival in Manawan. It was a very emotional moment, my family and I were really proud of her.»

Marie Kristine Petiquay - Tapiskwan Sipi, August 2016

For the production of this picture, a specific event converged with Marie Kristine's biography. This image could not have been generated without the intermeshing of internal and external movements, her sister's choice to join the trip, and the inter-community gathering. Another interesting element intersecting was that Marie Kristine was using her own camera at this point. This was one of the gains of the project for her, as she said in her interview "it made me re-discover a passion I had lost, which is photography… I started by using your camera but I ended up buying my own" (Romain Watson, 2016:13). Without this technical equipment at her hand, she would have produced a different picture. The connection of this photograph with cultural revitalisation is more concealed. Marie Kristine told me that one of the reasons behind the organisation of this intergenerational trip was to retrace the routes that their ancestors used to travel through with their canoes. Thus, beyond showing a celebration of togetherness, this image is also an implicit demonstration of the practice of resilience of the Nehirowisiw people.

During the actual photography workshop in Odanak, Raphaelle, Marie Kristine and I walked on the path Tolba, which Raphaelle had chosen for the activity. Since it was the first time that Raphaelle was using a camera, I explained to her some basic technical parameters, and she could choose between my camera and Marie Kristine's (which was easier to manipulate). These elements informed the women's photographic production. As Pink explains: "Cameras, photographers, video makers, subjects, collaborators, any element of the environment that is bound up together in this process – these are all implicated in the constitution of the image and the place" (Pink, 2011a:9). Another constitutive parameter was the time of the workshop. It took place after Raphaelle's work finished, which was an hour before sunset, thus creating a particular light for the pictures.

«We revive from the roots.»
Raphaelle Obomwasin -
Odanak, July 2016

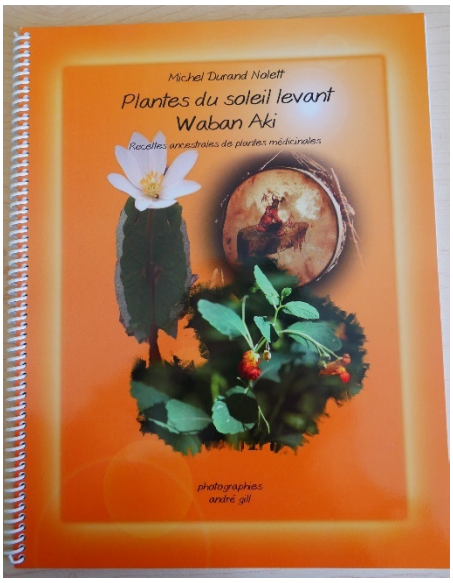
Raphaelle perceives Nature as a metaphor for her people, and Indigenous peoples at large. In her simple sentence resides the idea of regeneration: new life rising from its source in a continuous cycle. The connection with cultural revitalisation takes here a more symbolic and aesthetic turn.

Finally, the role of Facebook as mediator is also worth noting here, drawing on my fieldnotes: “To enable the sharing of further photographs, I created a Facebook group where the women could post, comment and review each other's pictures. The purpose was also to value the contributions of all, despite their different schedules and levels of engagement” (Romain Watson, 2016:13). As evoked in the methodological chapter, it turned out to be difficult to organise workshops in themselves for logistical reasons. Using Facebook was a way to get around that obstacle, and to bring continuity to that activity, even when I had returned to Europe. The private group on social media enabled the travel of the photographs (in Pink’s terms) from one locality to another (Pink, 2011a:6), from their communities or everyday lives to my computer, and eventually to the website. One of the limitations here was the lack of captions: Raphaelle simply posted the pictures she took without any commentary. Practically, this only worked a few times, potentially due to the fact that the women didn’t really have an interest or time to be active on the group and to share their pictures, especially when I was out of the country. Most of the photographs were thus produced in Quebec.

Whereas the knowledge produced through the participatory photography workshops is very intimate and tied to the women’s paths and biographies, another type of information emerges in my interaction with Michel. It contextualises the emergence of an object displayed on the website: Michel’s book about Wabanaki plants and medicinal recipes. While reviewing the website with Michel, I showed him a section which included photographs of ancestral recipes I took at the pow-wow in Wôlinak.

> ”We started talking about the proper writing of the plants’ names. I had noticed that the names on the recipes at the pow-wow were different than those Michel had compiled in his book. He told me how all sorts of knowledge and misinformation about plants had spread around in the community. A couple years ago, the Band Council approached him with a stack of papers including all sorts of information about plants and ancestral recipes. He was asked to go through it, and verify the accuracy of the information. He compared what he read with his own and his family knowledge, and he consulted knowledge holders he knew in the community (mostly women). In the end, most of the information found in the stack of paper were incorrect, so Michel and the Band Council decided to publish a proper book with useful and appropriate ancestral recipes. He worked with Monique Nolett Ille to find the proper names of the plants in Abenaki. What helped was looking at the Latin names, because a former

settler had been recording numerous names of plants in the past, with the Latin (sometimes French and/or English) versions he knew" [LR fieldnotes, interview Michel Durand Nolett, 24.10.2018].



My photographs of the pow-wow elicited background information about the collective efforts behind this book. I grew to understand why this book came to exist as a validated and official source of knowledge. I also learned that it bears the fruits of a collaboration between Michel and Monique. They merged their respective fields of expertise towards the publication of this practical book, which will hopefully serve as a mediator itself for the current and future generations, curious to learn about traditional Wabanaki medicinal plants.

d) Indigenous examples of mediation and translation: the works of NIONA and AbTeC

In this final section, I would like to take a closer look at two initiatives which I only became aware of in 2018, and their approaches to translating Indigenous knowledge related to cultural resurgence and self-determination. Unlike previously, I am using the term Indigenous knowledge here because these are projects entirely led by First Nations people and communities, and the knowledge transposed digitally stem from Indigenous sources and contexts.

The youth organisation NIONA is based in the two Abenaki communities of Wôlinak and Odanak. Their objective is "to help discover, experience, pass on, and renew Indigenous culture via information technologies, and to make sure that the young people of our communities become, in their own ways, ambassadors of our culture"[19]. The youths build capacity in different fields where various technological instruments play a key role. They produce videos, organise conferences, administrate Facebook and Instagram accounts, design and update their website, conduct interviews, and publish their own informational leaflets and magazines. They use all these means and perceive them to promote and sustain their Wabanaki culture, and Indigenous culture at large. I conducted two group interviews, one in each community, so the results below merge the answers of Pierre-Alexandre Thompson, Audrey-Ann Deschenaux, Megan Msadoques (Odanak), and Julie and Catherine

[19] https://niona.org/a-propos/

M'Sadoques (Wôlinak). Their engagement in NIONA creates a double movement, wherein they learn about themselves and their cultures while actively working towards dissemination. Thus, mediation unfolds in both directions, where technological devices are used to revitalise their traditions and customs, inwards and outwards. One of the questions posed in the interview dealt with how technologies can help them to reconnect with their culture. Their answers encompassed a specific understanding and type of technology, namely related to information. Pierre-Alexandre expressed that it helps to transmit and share cultural moments, and Audrey-Ann and Julie shared how they use the Internet to gain new information, especially through watching videos and pictures. Both these functions of communication and knowledge elicitation imply a practice of mediation and translation (Latour, 1999), where Indigenous related content is transformed and adapted into another form. The technological mediator will also impact and co-shape the transmutation of the information, meaning that a different process unfolds when the data is treated through video, photography or web design.

The topic of representation was also addressed as I asked them how they thought that technology could affect how Indigenous peoples are represented and could deconstruct stereotypes. Audrey-Ann explained that, with NIONA, they are trying to:

> «break the taboos, and accurately address who we are and what we do. We educate the population through our eyes, and those of our elders or other community members. That way, we pool the findings, and people can learn more about us» [LR transcript, interview Odanak 2018].

They commingle collective knowledge and materialise them in an instructive way through audiovisual technologies. Haraway writes that:

> "It is in the intricacies of these visualization technologies in which we are embedded that we will find metaphors and means for understanding and intervening in the patterns of objectification in the world – that is, the patterns of reality for which we must be accountable"(Haraway, 1988:589).

In this case, the youths hope to bring a contemporary account of their cultures and identities via different visualisation practices (such as their videos, magazines, website, social media). They aim to become a point of reference for the preservation, production and diffusion of Indigenous heritage. Therefore, the responsibility lies with them to create new patterns of what it means to be Indigenous today. While representing the world as they perceive it to unfold, they also envision to affect its transformation. In Indigenous contexts, patterns of objectification have been, and still are, detrimental and harmful. But NIONA reclaims and redefines the patterns of reality through their eyes, and those of their communities. The affirmation of pride in being Indigenous seems to grow stronger with the young generations, contrasting with a dynamic of shame and concealment from older ones. Audrey-Ann shared that:

> «we should not deprive ourselves, not talk about it [our Indigenous identity], because people are more and more willing to learn, and that's fun. (…) We have a beautiful cultural background, so it's worth showing it. We were born with that and we are lucky to be!» [LR transcript].

A similar idea was expressed by Julie when she said that NIONA: «represents our community, especially the fact that we are young, that we get closer to who we are, that we want to show it to others, and that we are not afraid» [LR transcript, interview Wôlinak, 2018]. Julie points here at the fact that young people represent a big part of Indigenous demographics (in 2016 a third of First Nations population were aged 14 years old and under, [Statistique Canada, 2017:3]). She also draws a direct link between learning about her own heritage and showcasing it, without the fear of affirming who she is. But there is another form of concern which appeared later on, also related to prejudices.

The first interview with Audrey-Ann, Pierre-Alexandre and Megan took place during the autumnal pow-wow of Odanak, an open Indigenous gathering celebrating Indigenous dances, arts, crafts, foods, and spiritual practices. I noticed that this timing influenced the content of the interview, especially because it came back a lot when evoking hypothetical cases. For all the youths, the time of pow-wow is a special one because it is a joyful, fun and colourful celebration, which strengthens their sense of belonging and the social ties between the communities (as well as the non-Indigenous ones in the area). The young people seemed loquacious about the possibilities offered by visualisation technologies, but I was curious to hear their thoughts about the limitations of these instruments to mediate Indigenous knowledge. Here is an example from my conversation with Julie and Catherine:

> - Julie: «with a computer or electronic devices for example, it's more difficult to transmit emotions that you are trying to share with your audience.»
> - Catherine: «The recordings of the pow-wow… it's virtual. When you're there, it's completely different. For example, someone could watch the video and say 'ah it's weird, it's not like us'.»
> - Julie: «With a video, you can always forget to show something, and the person will never see it, that's what is different.»

Julie first talks about the complexity of using audiovisual technologies to mediate emotions. Her sister exemplifies this with the idea that a person watching videos of the cultural event could feel alienated by Indigenous culture because it is too different than what they know. The technological mediator necessarily creates a distance between the recorded object and the audience, which is what enables the content to be transportable and transferable digitally. As Latour describes (1999:47, 74), the object (in this case the pow-wow performance) is removed from its original context and transformed through different stages (filming, editing, publishing) where technological tools are used (camera, editing software, computer). A similar conversation took place with the interviewees from Odanak, where Megan shared: «When you're behind your computer, you will see what the event is, but in your head you might think that it's foolish. But when you're there, it's really fun». For the youths, the best way to experience their culture is by attending events directly, and to engage in the present moment. Enhancing that capacity of interaction is still very limited with the technological tools currently accessible to NIONA. Aside from this, they express that it is hard to handle how people will interpret their culture when they consume online content. They cannot exert control over how their videos will be perceived. We also discussed how the technological mediation transforms the level of engagement for the producer of the content. «I thought it was a shame earlier, because when I took a picture, I had the feeling that I wasn't directly in the moment, that I had an external view» says Audrey Ann. She feels a distance with reality because of the recording device mediating her experience and also because she is taking pictures for a future (imagined) audience. Another important limitation was highlighted by Pierre-Alexandre:

> «There are some things that have to stay secrete, discrete. Earlier at the pow-wow, the hosts said not to take pictures in the sacred ceremonies. It's very important because we don't want it to spread everywhere, it's intimate, it belongs to us, it is our prayer» [LR transcript, interview Niona Odanak, 2018].

Some knowledge has a particular status which require special protection. Appreciating the notion of 'sacred' in Pierre-Alexandre's comments here means taking account of the practices of oppression and the dynamics of misuse and appropriation of Indigenous ceremonies, rituals, believes, and spiritual customs."which still persist today. In this case, the mediation of that knowledge is restrained or limited, with the exception of the team of NIONA: «We had a special authorisation and were invited to take pictures to showcase the event to people, so that there is less judgement. (…) But at the same time, I wasn't comfortable doing it, because I thought that if we show these things, people will have

an easy judgement» explained Audrey-Ann. As the knowledge belongs to the youth's cultural heritage, they were granted permission to record the ceremonies, trusted with the understanding of what can be diffused and what cannot (and why). There is an interesting paradox here between wanting to undermine people's views about Indigenous spiritual practices, while fearing them to be misinterpreted anyway. A part of Audrey-Ann appears to want to diffuse the event to help undermine preconceived ideas about Indigenous traditions, reclaiming ownership over the content produced that concerns Indigenous culture. Another part of her feels uncomfortable and worried at the idea that it could reinforce stereotypes, where the dissemination could reinforce the essentialisation and simplification of her culture. It is important to understand that Indigenous people are usually misrepresented in stereotypical fashions, or invisibilised, as Adrienne Keene describes (2015). As Cherokee Professor of American studies, she explains the impact of these representations on Indigenous and non-Indigenous students in the US, drawing on another study by Fryberg et al. (2008):

> "when shown stereotypical imagery of Native Americans, Native students' measures in self-esteem, community worth, and possible selves went markedly down. More disturbingly, the same process resulted in raised self-esteem for white students. (…) These images are not only negatively affecting Native youth, they are also promoting and serving to reinforce systems of white supremacy" (Keene, 2015:101)

In the next chapter, I expand on the heaviness of stereotypes in contemporary experiences of Indigeneity, drawing parallels between the youth's narratives of 2016 and 2018.

During my last visit, I had the chance to learn about the activities of AbTeC – Aboriginal Territories in Cyberspace. "Aboriginal Territories in Cyberspace is an Aboriginally determined research-creation network whose goal is to ensure Indigenous presence in the web pages, online environments, video games, and virtual worlds that comprise cyberspace"[20]. The activities of this research network are not related to cultural revitalisation per se, but rather ensure the self-representation and assertion of Indigenous identities and cultures in cyberspace. Through their different platforms and projects, this web of artists, academics and technologists translate Indigenous worldviews into the digital space.

I had the chance to interview Skawennati, new media artist and curator born in Kahnawà:ke Mohawk Territory and one the co-founder and co-director of AbTeC. She experiences and practices new media both as her medium and her location, as she performs online, even entering Second Life dressed as her avatar. She finds new media fascinating and seductive for its potential to explore and enact Indigeneity in cyberspace, but she also questions her involvement in it:

> «I'm wondering if I still want to be here because it's so commercialized. It's not the place that I joined 25 years ago which was going to make the world a better place. It has become a sort of capitalised virtual outpost, so I'm just not sure».

This ambiguous duality between the potential and the limitations offered by digital technologies was evoked in an article written with the co-director of AbTeC Jason Edward Lewis, Cherokee/Samoan/Hawaiian digital media poet, artist, software designer and researcher in computational media. While offering opportunities for Indigenous communities to represent themselves and respond to misrepresentations, these groups understand that the cyberspace is not a neutral, open space, as: "its foundations were designed with a specific logic, built on a specific form of technology, and first used for specific purposes (allowing military units to remain in contact after a nuclear attack)" (Lewis and Fragnito, 2005:30). I find it necessary to hold these ambivalent dimensions

[20] http://abtec.org/#about

in mind when discussing initiatives aiming to reclaim the digital space for the preservation and advancement of marginalised cultures.

In our interview, Skawennati expressed that new media is a place to connect with young people because of their familiarity with its tools and mechanisms. At AbTeC, Skins Workshops are run on Aboriginal Storytelling and Video Game Design. The project began in 2008 with young Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk) students from Survival School in Kahnawà:ke, where they engage with stories from the community and adapt them through experimental digital media, such as video games. The Skins workshops aim to "encourage First Nations youth to be producers of media, not just consumers of it" (Lewis, 2012:20). I asked Skawennati how Indigenous youth, such as the participants of Skins, reconnected with their cultures through new media.

> «That's been a very positive experience, really fun. The best thing we heard, and we've heard in a few ways, a few different times is 'I never thought I could connect my culture with the digital stuff that I love. I'm so happy I found this'. This is not going away, so I do think we need some self-representation, I do think we need the kids to know, to feel that they can make this stuff not just consume it» [LR transcript, interview with Skawennati 2018]

The workshops act as multi-faceted spaces: as technical capacity building, where the young participants are trained in digital tools; as empowering and fostering the youth's creative capacity for self-representation; and as preserving Indigenous stories, languages and cultures through the translation of the youth's cultural heritage into artistic outcomes that connects history and future. However, Skawennati and I also discussed the limits of using new media, some of which she experienced personally:

> «I was met with a lot of resistance when I wanted to start doing that type of thing, because people from my community would say 'we don't want our information on the web for all to see. That's one thing, there is suspicion of the great majority, (…) and some things are meant to be private, and that's what people are afraid of too. If it's digitized they don't have control of how much it gets copied and disseminated» [LR transcript, interview with Skawennati 2018].

Lewis explains that they faced a similar reaction when starting the Skins workshops, taking years of relationship-building before establishing a solid partnership with the school. Questions of ownership and control around the production and dissemination of stories arise even when the project leaders are transparent about their intentions and are Indigenous (with Skawennati even coming from the same). This reaction must be considered in the wider context of extraction and appropriation of Indigenous knowledge, often turned against Indigenous groups. As Lewis writes, this skepticism is informed by:

> "the contentious history of academic engagement with Aboriginal communities, where Aboriginal people were often treated more as research objects than as human beings, and where the research was done primarily to benefit the academics involved rather than the community" (Lewis, 2012:21).

This is why carrying out OCAP principles is paramount in any process with Indigenous communities, and practicing values of accountability, reciprocity and transparency must sit at the core of the project.

Digital translation of Indigenous cultural heritage and Indigeneity

In this chapter, I first intend to situate circleofvoices.com among other anthropological resources on the web. I review different articles dealing with issues around the digitisation of Indigenous cultural heritage from the fields of museology, archeology, and I present projects translating Indigenous culture, identity and language in a digital space. Then, I draw parallels between the interviews of 2016 and 2018 of the youth's contemporary experiences of Indigeneity. I also examine the challenges posed by the digital transformation of the youths' narratives and knowledge about cultural revitalisation, questioning how the website reifies stereotypical conventions attached to Indigenous identity and culture. Finally, I discuss the design of the circle of navigation, and if my implementation of the medicine wheel constitutes a form of cultural appropriation.

a) Situating circleofvoices.com and issues on the digitisation of Indigenous cultural heritage

Since the turn of the new century, there has been an incremental development of anthropological resources published online where Internet has become a "platform of visibility, interactivity and transmission of knowledge, while making its entry as object-subject in the discipline" (Dupré, et al. 2011:160). The relationship between anthropology and the digital world keeps complexifying, with researchers conducting online fieldwork as avatars (Boellstorff, 2015, Nardi, 2010), studying the role of social media in people's lives (Miller et al., 2016), or exploring methodological avenues to experiment with digital tools and types of data (Munk et al., 2015, Kozinets, 2015) among many other examples. The article written by Dupré, Walliser and Lévy (2011) compiles a plethora of web addresses, research projects and organisations in the field of anthropology. They give an overview of the resources available online and establish different categories, that they call universes and galaxies. These classifications distinguish different types of epistemological dynamics, which build avenues of representation and transmission of anthropological knowledge and know-hows via Internet. They discern six universes for: pedagogical resources, tools used by anthropologists, databases and directories in visual anthropology, museological websites, Indigenous websites, and websites dedicated to activist organisations. The two latter draw my attention. They specify that the recent development of Indigenous websites followed the large diffusion of their political demands (Dupré et al., 2011:178) such as sovereignty or land rights. The authors identify three galaxies: portals and directories, offering an access to diversified and multidisciplinary data, often about large geographical areas; ethnographic sites regionally based, built on the initiative of researchers or Indigenous people, sharing specific information with an informative purpose; and Indigenous websites locally based, created and administered by Indigenous Nations and communities fostering self-representation and diffusion of identity claims (ibid:178-181). Circle of Voices does not align with the first galaxy, since it was not design as a directory or index listing information, and the website is quite specific to Quebec, or rather to specific First Nations in the province. Therefore, it is closer to the second galaxy, since it was not designed, built, or owned by Indigenous peoples. Finally, the last universe is dedicated to organisations and institutions with activist anthropologists. The websites in that universe sub-categories "operate a specific definition of anthropological and ethnographic practice, mingled with stakes in epistemological reflexivity and sociopolitical activism" (Dupré et al., 2011:181). First, the websites of activist organisations with anthropological basis, contribute actively to the defense of Indigenous rights through partnerships and publications. The authors explain that these resources provide avenues of reflection on the researchers' activities and on the practical uses of anthropological research for activism, more than they give methodological tools or substantial data

(ibid:183). All the web platforms suggested here constitute examples of engagement and involvement for marginalised people with whom the researchers collaborate. This category echoes both my engagement for the project, and for Indigenous peoples' rights at large, and it reflects the collaborative process I describe in the next chapter. However, the very last category of the article is probably the most fitting: websites for data return. With Circle of Voices, I wish to contribute to the dissemination of anthropological knowledge through a threefold dimension: "a wider diffusion for web users, a specific diffusion of ethnographic material and possibly analytic for students and researchers in anthropology, but most importantly a restitution of the research results more or less definitive to the participants" (ibid). This manifold dissemination was essential in the conception of the website, that is why it is designed as an exploratory journey through personal narratives and practices of cultural revitalisation. My hope was to bring educational awareness to different publics curious in the matter, to inspire fellow anthropologists, and to constitute a tangible outcome for the participants, displaying the fruits of our collaboration.

Now I would like to turn to scholarly articles from other fields which have discussed the digitisation of Indigenous cultural heritage. Although I am not using this terminology to refer to the knowledge presented on the website, I find that it addresses interesting issues. Deirdre Brown, Māori (Ngapuhi, Ngati Kahu) professor in Indigenous art history and design, and George Nicholas, Canadian professor of Archeology and former director of IPinCH (Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage), raise their concerns around the protection of Indigenous culture, values and identity being electronically transformed and disseminated. They discuss how separating the nature of knowledge between natural and cultural, and between tangible and intangible cultural heritage (common distinctions operated by UNESCO) does not reflect Indigenous people's holistic understandings and experiences (Brown and Nicholas, 2012:309). According to UNESCO's definition[21], the material showcased on circleofvoices.com mostly belong to the intangible category, with oral traditions, performing arts, and rituals, and in a few instances, it displays tangible cultural heritage, such as basketry, or Abenaki manuscripts. In Western legal standards and social norms, the protection of intellectual property is based on property rights, ownership is tied to individuals, and its violation generates economic loss (Nicholas, 2014:213). However, the protection of Indigenous intellectual and cultural property "is situated in customary law and culture, and based on social relations and responsibilities; it is concerned largely with people; ownership may be communal; and infringement results in cultural, spiritual and economic loss" (Brown and Nicholas, 2012:309). This reveals a different practice and perspective of collective property, and the intricate web woven between people, relationships, knowledge and cultural belongings. Besides, the harm goes far beyond economic aspects, which is also why Indigenous people can be particularly careful and wary when their heritage is transformed or moved into a new space, such as the digital, by outsiders. There is a long tradition, and continuous practice, of Western societies appropriating, commodifying and consuming Indigenous cultural patrimony (Nicholas, 2014:214). "The stakes are thus higher for indigenous peoples when aspects of their culture are used in inappropriate or unwelcome ways, even when the desire is to honour, learn from, or celebrate their indigeneity" (Brown and Nicholas, 2012:309).

But what constitutes appropriate or inappropriate use? It naturally differs depending on the people involved in the project, their interests, and their concerns, which will be heightened if they have previously been harmed by similar practices. The uses of Indigenous cultural patrimony transferred digitally may vary from advocating for sovereignty, reflecting cultural pride, fostering commercial opportunities or reinforcing national identity (Nicholas, 2014:218). In order to avoid generating more

[21] http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/illicit-trafficking-of-cultural-property/unesco-database-of-national-cultural-heritage-laws/frequently-asked-questions/definition-of-the-cultural-heritage/

harm culturally, spiritually or economically, it is paramount to implement and respect ethical guidelines put in place by Indigenous institutions, communities and organisations. The principle of free, prior and informed consent, as well as iterative processes of consultation, should be recognized as basic steps to help prevent misuses and misrepresentations of Indigenous culture and knowledge. With Circle of Voices, I consulted the participants at different instances, as well as other First Nations young friends, and Indigenous academics in my network, with relevant experiences and insights. However, I am aware that people's perspectives can be subject to change over time, this is why I made my email address easily accessible on the website, in case the participants ever want to change anything, or withdraw from the project.

On the other side of the spectrum are initiatives where Indigenous peoples are in a position of stewardship, control, and ownership. This requires both technical skills, to understand and modify the digital material, and access to the software and hardware required. It also implies that infrastructures are in place to provide access to broadband or electricity, which is not necessarily the case among rural First Nations (McMahon et al.,2011). Besides, maintaining the websites demands time, and especially financial resources that Indigenous communities may lack for these purposes (Hennessy et al., 2013:63, Senier, 2014:401). Hence projects of this sort are often based on co-partnerships, where Indigenous knowledge holders collaborate with technically capacitated researchers, who bring the funds to make the digital projects a reality. This is the case of the Inuvialuit Living History Project, where a group of Inuvialuit elders, youth, seamstresses, and cultural experts traveled to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington DC with researchers in archeology, anthropology, media producers and educators. There resides the MacFarlane Collection, from the eponymous Hudson Bay's trader who assembled 300 ethnographic objects, and 5000 natural history specimens collected 150 years ago in the Canadian Western Arctic (Hennessy et al., 2013:45). Starting with that first visit, the project turned into a multi-year collaboration, developing 'Inuvialuit Pitqusiit Inuuniarutait – Inuvialuit Living History', a community-based digital archive and virtual exhibit featuring the collection. The website aims to connect ongoing cultural practices with contemporary interpretations, and to enable access to the collection to Inuvialuit people. This led to recontextualizing the curatorial descriptions in the museum, thanks to the Inuvialuit elders' and cultural experts' complementary knowledge and perspectives, and to developing resources for educational and cultural programs, where Inuvialuit youth can use online materials to connect to their heritage. The article (2013) addresses issues around digital repatriation, ownership of digital heritage, and collaboration between museal institutions and Indigenous communities. But even in the case of what seems a strong and sustainable partnership built over time, the researchers express that a continuous challenge they face is to get people outside of the project team to contribute, in order to generate further information for the virtual exhibit (Hennessy et al., 2013:56). Nevertheless, this collaboration is situated in the growing trajectory of research projects challenging colonial power structures, such as museums, to restore Indigenous people's control and ownership over their cultural heritage.

What is central here is the building of relationships, both personal and professional, based on reciprocity, trust and respect. It was interesting to realise, that even for projects of this scale, for the researchers: "the creation, negotiation, and maintenance of these relationships [remain] central to our experience of digital return and essential for the continued momentum of our digital projects and community initiatives" (ibid:59). Even though the digital outcome is an important asset for the research, the project relies upon these interrelated crossings of expertise and interest, constitutive of the relationships. They are at once the starting point and the continuous thread on which collaborations and partnerships depends. In this light, I find it necessary to appreciate the people contributing to Circle of Voices, the relationships built, and I view the website as a platform to honour their knowledge and stories.

Another inspiring initiative driven by Warumungu community in Australia is the example of Mukurtu. Mukurtu is a free open source CMS (content management system) tool "that allows communities to set their own electronic protocols for the sharing viewing and curation of their material" (Senier, 2014:399). Here, Aboriginal tribal relations frame how their heritage is digitised, circulated, and presented, rather than it being elaborated by external non-Indigenous researchers, thus making it an anti-colonial archive: "it stands against the colonial archive, insofar it compels users to confront their own histories, social positions, and geopolitical locations; and to trouble longstanding colonial mechanisms of knowledge circulation" (ibid:400). Whereas, Western frameworks have framed protection through copyrights, patents, trademarks, and trade secrecy law (Nicholas, 2014:213), Mukurtu constitutes an interesting alternative, culturally and ethically adapted to the needs and priorities of Indigenous communities, and shifting the power relations. Concerning Circle of Voices, I still have to find a way to protect the cultural content on circleofvoices.com from misappropriation and misuses of the photographs, videos and sounds displayed on the website. A matter I hope to elucidate in the coming months.

With these cross- and multidisciplinary examples in mind, I situate circleofvoices.com in the path of projects using the digital to widen access to Indigenous knowledge in a respectful way, and to support Indigenous people in affirming their cultures and identities.

a) Digital technologies and empowerment of Indigenous communities through revitalisation

There is a growing interest among First Nations, to develop technical skills and technological capacities in order to strengthen their cultures, advocate for their rights, and gain autonomy. In their article (2016) David Perley, Wolastoqi scholar and Director of the Mi'kmaq-Wolastoqey Centre, together with researchers from the University of New Brunswick, provide numerous examples of digital initiatives connected to Indigenous resurgence and language revitalisation. They explain that "in the move towards sovereignty and self-determination, digital technologies are empowering local efforts by Indigenous nations to recover and revitalize their languages through locally controlled education structures" (Perley et al. 2016:24). These digital projects create bridges between generations, communities and Nations, passing on values, stories, belief systems, cultural, and spiritual ancestral knowledge, thus fostering the affirmation of Indigenous identities. At the same time, organisations are actively working to enhance access and use of digital technologies without depending on the provincial or federal states. For example, The First Miles project is a partnership between university-based researchers and First Nations ICT (Information and Communication Technology) regional networks. It celebrates the achievements of rural and remote First Nations communities who locally own and manage broadband systems, and adopt ICT to deliver services (such as health, education, administration)[22]. As joined activities, the First Nation Innovation conducts research and publishes the results, and the First Miles Connectivity Consortium, is involved in developing policy and federal regulations related to broadband infrastructure, digital services and technology adoption in the isolated communities[23]. As another vital link in the chain of digital empowerment, the First Nations Technology Council offers training in digital skills development, a better access to technical services, tools, and financial support, and it promotes opportunities for employment in the technology sector through partnerships (First Nations Technology Council, 2015). They aim to provide sustainable and equitable access to technology for First Nations communities in British Columbia, as a way to advance sovereignty in the digital age.

[22] http://firstmile.ca/about/
[23] http://firstmile.ca/fmcc-2/

In First Nations communities, the transmission of knowledge unfolds through orality, storytelling and personal relationships with knowledge holders and elders (FAQ, 2012:5, Perley et al. 2016:14). There is an ambivalent relation tension between orality towards the incremental rise of digital media. On one side, oral traditions and cultures could potentially decrease, challenged by socio-technical interventions such as phone applications, TV programs, games, and online or virtual interactions. For example with Indigenous languages, Perley writes:

> "English is the overwhelmingly prevalent language used on the internet, while many scarcely used and endangered Indigenous languages are virtually non-existent. As a result, the internet and associated technologies may fuel the disappearance of Indigenous languages even as the communities strive to preserve them" (Perley et al. 2016:14).

But on the other side, digital media can enhance and mediate innovative forms of sharing. In the same field of language revitalisation, the application Wolastoqey Latuwewakon constitutes an interesting example. It was designed by the Mi'kmaq-Wolastoqey Centre at the University of New Brunswick to teach the Wolastoqey language and history to any curious learner and user of that technology (iOS devices). Or the works of Elizabeth LaPensée, Anishinabee game designer, artist and researcher, such as When Rivers Were Trails, a 2D computer game where the user follows an Anishinaabeg displaced due to allotment acts in 1890's in the US. These technological innovations form attractive ways for the younger generations to reconnect with their cultures, thus fostering cultural revitalisation and a certain pride around Indigenous identities.

> "Supplementing traditional language learning methods with digital technologies enables interconnection between Elders teaching the language and the younger language learners more adept with digital technology. Collaboratively they are able to document and protect the integrity and depth of their language while empowering traditional uses of modern tools within an Indigenous paradigm" (Perley et al. 2016:26).

As Perley points out, these technologies also hold a tremendous potential to build connection between generations, reinforcing the community as a whole. This can also be seen as decolonial acts, since it is precisely these intergenerational relationships of transmission that colonial practices aimed to annihilate.

b) Connecting the youth's narratives and the reification of stereotypes

In this section, I will unfold some of the transversal findings about Indigenous identity and culture, by deploying stories from the participants. First, I will investigate my attempt to translate the biographical narratives on the website, and how that digital transformation holds the risk to reify certain aspects of Indigeneity. Then, I also wonder what is the potential of the web space to counteract harmful conceptions and representations of Indigenous people? With Circle of Voices, I strive to give a glimpse of the diversity of choices and complexity of paths faced by Indigenous youth, in order to contrast with the narratives homogenising, simplifying and ostracising Indigenous identities and cultures.

It was important to dedicate a page for each woman, to bring as much visibility and space as possible to unfold their biographies. I followed a similar frame in the interviews, as a way to make their answers comparable and highlight differences and similarities in their experience of being a young Indigenous woman. Yet, I also adapted the questions depending on our interaction during the interview, their personal interests and the concerns discussed. I used different media, such as text, voice clips, photographs and videos (when available) to constitute a rich and dynamic account. But by collecting

their stories and publishing it online, I'm also inscribing the women in a particular time, thus fixing their identities. This is one of the limitations that the webspace brings to the telling of stories: it stiffens, bridles and contains identity, which is continuously changing and expanding. As Sarah Hunt points out, Kwakwaka'wakw professor in Indigenous studies and geography, Indigeneity is fluid and dynamic, and it evolves through experiences, practices and relations (Hunt, 2013:3). The transmission and exercise of Indigenous identity and culture is also tied to a certain level of responsibility, in relation to what has become before and to what is yet to come. Ivanie pointed at it when I questioned her on her views about the future of First Nations:

> «I realise that there was much misery before me, so many challenges. I know that my grandfather was among the people who faced challenges. I knew he acted so that we have a better future and I feel that a lot. (…) Because, there are many lives which turned off before mine. It led to many knowledges getting lost. So yes, the future of Indigenous youths I think it's beautiful but there are great responsibilities with it. I am proud because there is a darker history behind being Indigenous, and we are still here» (interview with Ivanie Aubin-Malo, 2016).

Ivanie's grandfather played an essential role for the Wolastoqiyik, fighting for the recognition of the Wolastoq/Maliseet, which became the eleventh First Nation in Quebec in 1989. After the retrocession of their land ending in 1869, the loss of the reserve of Viger led to a deterioration of the living conditions of Wolastoqey people (Michaux, 2009:39). Numerous families left the province and joined other communities in New Brunswick or Maine. Being the first Great Chief elected, Jean-Marie Aubin brought Wolastoqiyik back together and the Nation experienced a "réveil identitaire", an identity awakening (ibid:42). Ivanie acknowledges the afflictions of the past, and feels thankful for his legacy. Lisa (Ivanie's cousin) also talked about the responsibility connected with the survivance of her culture. «I have to seek out my culture and keep it alive. I have to find my language again, so that it stays alive. And as a young Indigenous woman, I have to get back the rights for Indigenous women» (interview with Lisa-Maude Aubin Bérubé, 2016). In the Quebec province only a few people speak Wolastoq, but New Brunswick holds the Mi'kmaq-Wolastoqey Centre with educational programs dedicated to the languages, culture and worldviews of the Wabanaki Nations (which entail the Mi'kmaq, Wolastoqiyik, Passamaquoddy, Abenaki, and Penobscot). Because of the status of her language, Lisa feels responsible to act for its transmission, even though her family never spoke it. For Lisa, the exercise of her Indigenous identity is also about honouring the resiliency of her ancestors and relatives. «When I came to Kiuna, I realized what my grandfather wanted us to do, in a way… That we don't feel shameful and that we discover who we are».

This journey of discovery about oneself is constitutive of the human experience. And it tends to take a vigorous pace with young people, whose aspirations, interests and choices drive them in different directions and places in shorter times. This is noticeable in the evolution of the young women since I first met them, just like I have changed since I started the project. Guy and I talked about that evolution while reviewing the profiles of some women, since he knew all the students from being an art teacher at Kiuna, and Ivanie from his implication in contemporary Indigenous art, and from more traditional gathering like pow-wows.

> «He commented how much the women had changed since I met them initially, and I agreed with him. He suggested to interview at least two of them. This would help first with inscribing the narratives of the youths into a specific time frame, and second (and most importantly), it would allow me to review and criticize my initial hopes and intentions with the project» [LR fieldnotes, interview with Guy Sioui Durand, 20.10.2018].

The women's biographies are the content that quickly becomes the most dated on the website. Temporality develops differently online and on the ground, and without frequent updates, there will be a great distance between what is represented on the website vs. the women's current realities. Ivanie and I discussed these issues of continuity and the accuracy of her biographical content online in our last interview. I asked Ivanie if she would like to have a private access to her page, to eventually modify and update the content. She replied «Yes I would like that, but it is a double edge sword. It erases the traces of my past, of my reflections. Even if I'm still comfortable with the content presenting me in 2016» [LR fieldnotes, interview with Ivanie Aubin Malo, 04.12.2018]. One of the challenges in maintaining a website that aims to show contemporary portrayals, is its need to be frequently updated to stay alive and meaningful. For example, the answers relative to how the women envision their future become quickly outdated, as they evolve further in their lives. Within the current parameters, i.e. the editing access, technical capacity and thus responsibility laying on me, I wonder how could the pages be designed differently to suggest the dynamism of their trajectories, while accommodating traces of the past? I followed Guy's suggestion and conducted some interviews with the women available (detailed in the next chapter). I thought about writing a short paragraph at the beginning of their page, to describe where the women are in their lives in 2018/2019, and specifying that the rest of the biography is from 2016. I could use a different font and colour for the years to make it stand out on the page. I also thought about writing a sort of disclaimer, which could be a pop-up window, where I would summarise my concerns expressed here. But some of these design ideas would be even more impactful if they were elaborated jointly with the participants, which was not the case in Circle of Voices because of the participant's lack of interest in sustaining the project, and the discontinuity of our relationships. The practice of co-design and the maintenance of digital spaces representing Indigenous culture and identity are delicate processes, as some shown in some of the research projects presented at the beginning of the chapter.

While the digital translation runs the risk of fixing the youth's trajectories, a similar process might unfold in other areas of the website in regards to knowledge about cultural revitalisation. As Hunt writes: "The heterogeneity of Indigenous voices and worldviews can easily become lost in efforts to understand Indigeneity in ways that fix Indigenous knowledge, suppressing its dynamic nature" (Hunt, 2013: 3). In its attempt to depict Indigenous practices about cultural revitalisation, a process inherently progressing and transforming with time, circleofvoices.com collects knowledge and allocates them a fixed life, losing its living form. The contextualisation of these insights and stories on Indigeneity becomes gradually detached from the living conditions and complexities of the everyday. For example, the Abenaki practices of ash pounding and basket weaving are threatened by an invasive insect called the ash borer. I briefly mention the issue on the page regarding that traditional practice[24], but the situation is likely to evolve potentially to a point where Abenaki people will not have adequate ash trees to perpetuate their traditions. These changes will not appear on the website, since it would require that I inform myself on the situation and edit the information in the programming software. This exemplifies the greater distance that could separate knowledge presented on the website from the current realities. Another problematic dimension of translating Indigenous knowledge in the digital space relates to mechanisms of essentialization and generalisation. For example, a visitor reading about the current status of the Abenaki language on the website would understand that it is currently a threatened language, potentially on the edge of extinction. The only other part of the website that presents another perspective on the status of Indigenous languages as strong and widely spoken, is the storytelling in Atikamekw. But if the user does not visit that page, s/he might develop the understanding that most, if not all, Indigenous languages are threatened, whereas it is quite the

[24] http://www.circleofvoices.com/land/trad

opposite happening in Quebec. Also with the development of revitalisation, the situation might change as more and more people decide to learn the language, thus making the information erroneous about the threatened status of Abenaki.

From my outsider position, I navigate in the space between fetishization and reification to present representations of contemporary Indigenous stories. The website intends to show what that interval looks like through the display of narrative richness and complexity. For example, I extensively rely on the use of hyperlinks in the texts to create multiple narrative threads criss-crossing through different sections of the website.

It was essential for me to convey the heterogeneity of Indigenous experiences, as a way to hamper harmful conceptions of Indigenous people, but also because I encountered this variety during my time in Canada. Yet some themes seemed transversal to the contemporary realities around Indigeneity, such as the confrontation with stereotypes and discrimination, but also the growing sense of pride. These were some of similarities I noticed between the youths' interviews of 2016 and 2018. Of course, this is partly due to the fact that some questions were similar in the interview guides, e.g. how they envision their futures and their perspectives on stereotypes. Through a selection of answers transcribed (and translated from French into English), I would like to highlight some of my findings about the current dimensions of Indigenous identity, and explore the potential of the webspace to counter stereotypical representations and show expressions of Indigeneity rooted in pride and strength.

Most of the Indigenous participants in the project had experienced stereotypes, directly or indirectly, and had been confronted with ignorance from non-Indigenous people. For example, Lisa shared about the preconceived ideas that some of her white friends held against Indigenous reserves, specifically Kahnawá:ke, Mohawk (Kanien:keha'ka) Nation.

> «Right away, they will tell you what they saw in the news, and in the news it's always the worst, it's always something serious that happened. And in the history books, it's not the reality of today you know. That's what makes me angry that my own friends, people close to me, will be ignorant in that regard. But you only have to ask if it's true or not. It's easy to ask, you don't have to tell me these things. A while back my friend even told me straight that Kahnawá:ke is in the middle of nowhere, that people were alcoholic and violent there, and that I shouldn't live there otherwise something bad will happen to me. First of all, Kahnawá:ke is not in the middle of nowhere, it's right next to the city [Montreal]. And the people are really welcoming, there is no nastiness. And nothing bad happened to me!»
> (interview with Lisa-Maude Aubin Bérubé)

She felt upset at the fact that people in her entourage did not question their perceptions on current Indigenous realities. Instead of asking her, they rely on outdated history books and on news stories, which as we have seen tend to victimise and ostracise Indigenous people. The idea that they live in isolated places contrasts with the fact that many Indigenous people live in urbanised areas, reserves or not. In 2016, more than half of the national Aboriginal population lived in metropolitan areas, and this number increased close to 60% in the past decade (Statistiques Canada, 2016:9). The stigmatisation about alcoholism came back in other interviews, such as Marie Kristine and Michel's. He expressed that:

> «many people still classify Indigenous people in a category. As an example, when they see an Indigenous person drunk, they say 'they are all alcoholic!'. No, but it's still present in the

> mindsets the tendency to generalise from an person or two, to a whole Nation» (interview with Michel Durand Nolett, 2016).

The classifications characterising Indigenous people lead to generalising from an individual to the collective. This eventually creates harm, because it becomes difficult for people to escape these stigmatisations. In addition, the issues of substance abuses must be replaced in a wider historical context, as Marie Kristine explained: «I don't like the prejudice of the alcoholic Indian. At the same time, it's true that there are a lot of people who drink, but you have to look at what we went through, with the boarding schools and all… it destroys lives» (interview with Marie Kristine Petiquay, 2016).
As previously mentioned, these are some of the impacts of intergenerational traumatism due to the genocidal policies of the Canadian settler state... which many Canadians are still not very familiar with. Luc shared another stigmatisation attached to Indigenous people, as idle, good for nothing:

> «The young people today, they are familiar with the prejudice that 'ah the Indians they don't know how to do anything, they are all bad people, they are all lazy'. I don't pay attention to these prejudices because I know what we are able to do. It's rather the ignorance that I dislike. The prejudices that people have are often not grounded» (interview with Luc Gauthier Nolett, 2016).

Luc's comment implies the persistence of some stereotypes, which are rather founded on hearsay than on interactions with Indigenous people. He does not seem affected by it, because he relies on his own experience and his relationships, but what bothers him most is the lack of knowledge that people have, which informs the prejudices. Finally, on the extreme end of the spectrum, some people hold the belief that Indigenous people have gone extinct or that there are no more authentic and real Indigenous: «They think that there is no more Indigenous people, that it's over. Or they think that we aren't pure anymore, that we are all mixed or things like that. The education will help to stop these things» (interview with Catherine Boivin, 2016).

Generalisation is inherently problematic because it propels to homogenising. As Abu-Lughod describes, the "absence of internal differentiation makes it easier to conceive of a group of people as a discrete, bounded entity" (Abu-Lughod, 1991:475). This movement of grouping erases differences among individuals and homogenises their identity, thereby fixing it. Taking distance from these essentialisations and generalisations, I see the website as a space to mediate individual narratives in order to invalidate these uniform believes. This echoes what Abu-Lughod describes as the *ethnographies of the particular*, a form of writing against culture: "by focusing closely on particular individuals and their changing relationships, one would necessarily subvert the most problematic connotations of culture: homogeneity, coherence, and timelessness." (ibid:476). I dedicated an individual page to each participant in the project, both for the young women and the knowledge holders, as a way to emphasise their particular stories. Through that design choice, I hope to display differences and transcend homogenisation, even though issues around timelessness remain.

As Catherine mentioned, a powerful way to challenge the existence of preconceived ideas is through education. I conceived circleofvoices.com as an educational website, using technological mediators to raise awareness on the multifaceted expressions of Indigeneity. The role played by the educational system is rather controversial, since the teachings often reflect or reproduce of stereotypes, and the current realities of Indigenous people is rarely discussed. Only recently things are slowly starting to change under the pressure of the First Nations Education Council. In September 2018, the history textbooks for the third and fourth level of secondary school in Quebec were edited to include Indigenous biographies and perspectives on historical events, such as the boarding schools, and photographs depicting First Nations in a stereotypical way were modified (Niosi, 2018). But the extent

to which the history and contributions of First Nations are taught still feels unfair to some of the youths. Audrey Ann explained that since her first year of secondary school, she had only ten history courses on the Abenaki. This year, she confronted her teacher, who after two hours on Indigenous people, closed the lecture by declaring that he dealt with everything on the matter. She went to talk to him at the end of the class and asked him:

> «Do you really think that you dealt with everything? He told me 'I talked about what was important to teach you.' I said 'alright, and breaking the stereotypes that's not important for you? His answer, which I found easy was 'We don't have access to the knowledge'. But I know that you can find the information if you really look for it… » (interview with Audrey-Ann Deschenaux, Megan and Pierre-Alexandre, 2018).

Regardless of the educational level being secondary school, college or university, Indigenous students usually hear about their culture and history through stereotypical or dated accounts, or it invisibilised. This context often put the students in a teaching position of educating not only their peers, but teachers as well (Keene, 2015:105). School is also a place where children that are part of a racial or ethnical minority, are more subject to discrimination and intimidation. Marie Kristine shared about the racism and ignorant attitude of her classmates, and how it impacted her:

> «In secondary school, I really experienced racism, which made me withdraw into myself. I remember once in my geography class, after the teacher had called our names, the girl in front of me turned back and asked me : 'Are you Amerindian? Are you Indigenous?' I said yes, and she replied 'Cool! Which country are you from?'. I was really shocked! » (interview with Marie Kristine Petiquay, 2016).

The ignorance from Marie-Kristine's classmate about the Indigenous people of her own country is perpetuated through curricular activities that addresses Indigenous people only in the past tense. The institution reproduces a colonial attitude of erasing the continuity of Indigenous customs, and even more importantly, of disregarding how Indigenous have adapted to modern days. Julie and Catherine, Abenaki sisters from Wôlinak, also shared a story which made me startle. They recalled cases of harassment at their secondary school:

> Catherine: «In history class, we learn about the Iroquois people. Every time the teacher says Amerindian, my friend looks at me like 'that's you!'. But I'm like, I don't live in that epoch!»
> Julie: « Yes especially with the bad aspects, that they were slaves. The other students in the class look at us… I remember once, someone told me I should be a slave»
> (interview with Catherine and Julie M'Sadoques, 2018).

This repeated stigmatisation, especially coming from friends and people of authority, surely affects the sense of worth, self-esteem and self-confidence of these young people. As they later explained, their involvement in NIONA supports them to face these difficult moments, and help them remember that they are more than the jokes or threats others make about them. At Kiuna college, First Nations students evolve in a complete different reality, which honours and cares for their origins instead of stigmatising them with biased representations of their ancestors. For example, Marie-Kristine shared how «Kiuna really reinforced my pride, it seems like I'm asserting myself». But the process of constructing and understanding one's identity is also something that takes time. And it is important to note that Indigenous people themselves can also repress their own origins, ignore them, or decide not to learn about that part of themselves. In Raphaelle's case:

> «When I was going go secondary school, I didn't tell anyone that I was Indigenous. If I was asked questions, I didn't know anything. I knew my community was called Odanak, and that was it. Now, I can really interact with people in my community, whereas before I had never thought I would, because being Indigenous wasn't part of my identity» (interview with Raphaelle Obomsawin, 2016).

These prejudicial and stereotypical conceptions of Indigenous people are increasingly challenged in virtual spaces. "The emergence of social media platforms like tumblr, Facebook, Twitter and blogs, has created amazing possibilities for aboriginal people to combat centuries-old stereotypes and misconceptions" (âpihtawikosisân, 2012). Chelsea Vowel, who writes as âpihtawikosisân, is a Métis writer, and educator, She recalls the united efforts to re-appropriate the hashtags #NativeAmerican and #NDN on Tumblr in January 2012. The tags generated stereotypical imagery of First Nations people, mainly showing non-Indigenous people appropriating customs, clothing and spiritual symbols. She explained that "the tag that ought to belong to us, and that ought to help us find each other, was being used by others, slapped insensitively onto images and ideas we actively dislike" (ibid). Another way to fight these representations is reclaim the digital space through expressions of pride and strength of contemporary Indigeneity, such as depicted by the hashtags #wearestillhere or #strongresilientindigenous. This echoes Michel's comment, custodian of Wabanaki knowledge and ancestral practices: «I am proud to see that young people are getting involved in the culture. To keep it alive. We are here, we were here, and we will still be tomorrow» (interview with Michel Durand Nolett, 2016).

These confrontations to stereotypes, discrimination, and the sense of pride are common elements in my findings. But the young people are also facing a vast array of challenges, reflecting the diversity of their situations. This includes practices of corruption in their local governments (the band council), moving out of your community to go study in a city, dealing with language barrier when English or French are not the first language spoken at home, making the most out of educational opportunities, and opening oneself to others, not get trapped in vicious circles and believing in oneself.
They also cultivate different visions of the future. While Julie has already planned to move to a big city, commute with the bus, her sister rather prefers to stay in her home community, her sister aspires to. Some of them have specific wishes in regards to their culture, e.g. Megan would like to get more involved with the pow-wow, and Lisa aspires to take Wolastoq language classes in New Brunswick with her brother. Their professional aspirations are diverse and rich: Jessica would like to open her own nail and hair salon; Pierre-Alexandre wants to become a chef specialised in Indigenous traditional meals; Ivanie will continue dancing, engaging in creative collaborations, and working at the botanical garden in Montreal; Julie would like to work in the health sector; Raphaelle will graduate as specialised educator and she would like to build her house in Odanak and work for her community; Marie Kristine considers pursuing a master at University of British Columbia in political sciences, engaged in the sovereignty of her Nation; Audrey-Ann wants to be as much engaged in her culture as in her job. Often, they shared the dilemma of wanting to stay close to their families and their cultures, while also being curious to explore and get out there.

With the website, I aim to take distance from these stereotypical ideas, such as the conceptions of Indigenous cultures as rigid, unable to adapt with times, and placed somewhere in the past. By transposing particular biographical stories into the digital space, I wanted to enable them to be heard by a larger audience. But as Skawennati pointed at: «it's no longer the case that if you build a website, people will come to it. You have to promote it and that takes skills and work» (interview with

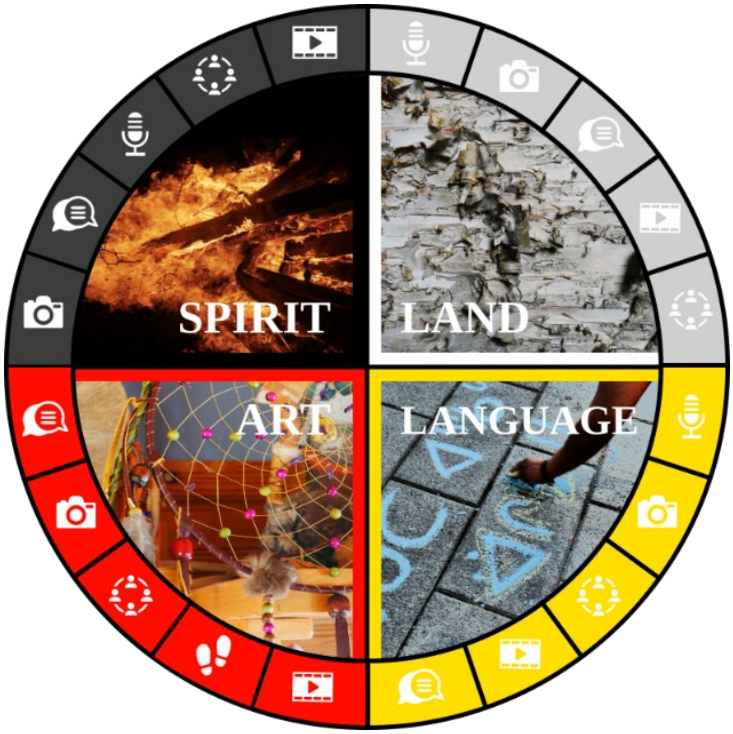
Skawennati Fragnito, 2018). In that logic, and seeing the affirmation of Indigeneity expressed on social media, I created the Facebook and Instagram accounts of Circle of Voices. This way, I hope to potentially attract more visitors to the research website, and to promote positive representations of Indigenous identities and cultures. At the same time, the digital transformation is a delicate process because of its propensity to fix and reify information, thus perpetuating harmful conceptions about Indigeneity. At the same time, I explore how I have depicted diverse biographies and knowledge to counterbalance the mechanism of generalisation and essentialisation.

c) Design of the circle of navigation: cultural appropriation and adaptation of the medicine wheel

To conclude this chapter, I would like to come back to the theme of (mis)appropriation of Indigenous symbols. From early on, I had the idea of creating an alternative form of navigation on the homepage, where the user could access the different multimedia components from my fieldwork. I was seduced by the trans-linear structure of Anna Lisa Ramella's website, laviedurail.net. Drawing on the multiple linearities emerging from her fieldwork and inspired by Tim Ingold's concept of a meshwork (Ingold, 2009:38), she creates "a trans-linear connection of ideas" between different materials of her research on the life around a railway line in Mali (Ramella, 2014:18). While she acknowledges her authorship in the selection and clustering of the materials present on the website, she chose to favour a self-determined and intuitive navigation as a way for the visitor to create its own individual journey (ibid:4) from which emerges a 'subjective path of knowledge' (Ramella, 2014:2). I also drew inspiration from her when designing a simple way for the users to orient themselves and remember their journey (ibid:15), where the box in the circle turns black after the page has been visited.

The medicine wheel was one of the first symbol of Indigeneity I was introduced to through a facilitation training in sharing circles. Originating in the Cree oral tradition and adapted into the Ojibwe culture (Boudreau, 2000:72), the wheel is composed of different symbolic aspects and teachings, but a guiding idea relates to the four cardinal directions. The Four Directions Teachings' website celebrates Indigenous philosophies and oral traditions, where elders and traditional teachers from the Cree, Mohawk, Mi'kmaq, Blackfoot and Ojibwe Nations share their teachings on the richness and value of cultural traditions particular to their Nation. For the elder Lillian Pitawanakwat, Ojibwe/Powawatomi (Anishinabe): "The four directions of the Medicine Wheel remind us of many things, such as the need for balance in the world, and the balance we must strive for everyday within ourselves". This equilibrium between the self and the external world is essential to this Indigenous symbol, because it represents the interconnectedness of all natural beings (Bopp:1984, Sunbear and Wind:1980). Another reading of the wheel is to brought by the teaching elder Mary Lee, Nehiyawak Cree: "It means being balanced in the four parts that are found in the four directions of the Medicine Wheel. These four parts for human beings are the spiritual, physical, emotional and mental aspects of the self. We need to try and balance these four parts that were given to us, to function as people". Again here, the individual identity of the self is directly in connection with the collective, meaning the family, the community, the clan or the Nation. I was deeply intrigued by these teachings, and this way of seeing and being in the world. Therefore, the choice of the medicine wheel as the central element of navigation for the website was "a way to acknowledge indigenous worldviews and create a symbolic connection with the theme of cultural revitalization" (Romain Watson, 2016). Besides implementing it as "a vehicle for breaking the mold of Western linear forms of historical narration" (Rappaport, 2008:5), I found the teachings meaningful in regard to the central theme of the research. However, by centering Indigenous knowledge around the wheel, I projected my own idea of what I perceive as Indigeneity.

For that reason, I deemed important to ask for Raphaelle and Ivanie's opinions on the medicine wheel in the follow-up interviews. The question was in two-fold: I first asked what they thought about the design of the homepage, and if they perceived my use of the medicine wheel as a form of cultural appropriation. Both shared that they found the design beautiful, and that the categories and icons are clear. Raphaelle appreciated the separation of each activity, saying that: «If the person is just interested in arts, but not in the land, the spirituality or the language, it doesn't bother them, s/he can focus on one specific aspect. I think it's really interesting» [LR fieldnotes, interview with Raphaelle Obomsawin, 2018]. An aspect where their opinions slightly differed was the choice of images in the circle. Whereas Raphaelle thought they were clear, Ivanie suggested to change the pictures of the Spirit and Land quadrants, because they were not directly explicit for her.



Before disclosing their points of view on the second part of the question, I need to explicit and contextualise cultural appropriation. Cultural appropriation has increasingly become a heated topic, especially in the fashion and music industries (Croisy, 2017). For Vine Deloria, the practice of 'playing Indians' originates with the construction of American identity. Indigenous people embodied a freedom desired by Americans, wanting to emancipate themselves from their European origins, while being perceived as savages (Deloria, 1998:3). This ambiguous duality is summarised in the term 'noble savagery' dating back from the Enlightenment, which "both juxtaposes and conflates an urge to idealize and desire Indians, and a need to despise and dispossess them" (ibid:4). Deloria argues that the formation of American identities departs from the contradictions around Indianness (ibid). This ambivalent desire of glorification and oppression is what sits at the core of cultural appropriation, through imitations of Native American customs, languages, and clothing. Sophie Croisy, French professor of American Studies, describes it "as a contemporary, neo-colonial practice of representing Native Americans by depriving them of their historical and cultural complexity, (…) a way for a culture group to perform domination upon another" (Croisy, 2017:9-10). The caricatural imitation and representation of the Indigenous Other is intertwined with a homogenisation of the cultural diversity and suppression of history, thus perpetuating colonial pressure. As Red Haircrow, writer, filmmaker and educator of Chiricahua Apache/Cherokee and African American heritage, describes it: "this is continuing colonialism and a more subtle form of racism, attributing and reinforcing white privilege and supremacy" (Haircrow, 2013). The practice of claiming attributes from an oppressed culture, without asking for consent, offering reciprocity and connecting it to its original context, is the continuity of oppression and invisibility. Nowadays, especially with the development of tourism, heritage business and local arts industries, cultural appropriation is also tied to the commodification of Indigenous heritage and its exploitation (Roth, 2018). But again, it's important to highlight counter-movements, such as the campaign "We are a Culture, Not a Costume" started in 2011 by the student

organisation Students Teaching Against Racism in Society at Ohio University to raise awareness around Halloween costumes. Or the blog Native Appropriations, run by Adrienne Keene, Cherokee Professor of American Studies, which aims "to catalog, deconstruct, and critique these representations, with the goal of changing the ways mainstream America views Native peoples" (Keene, 2015:105). In this context, I was questioning my use of the medicine wheel as a symbol of Indigeneity that I (a member of the dominant white society) was using in my research website to display Indigenous knowledge about cultural revitalisation.

When I asked Raphaelle if it made her think of cultural appropriation, she replied:

> «I don't really have an opinion on that to be honest. It's not really something I ask myself except when it's exaggerated. In the exhibition, we see models with headdresses. But what you are doing is not cultural appropriation because it's not degrading, it's not pushed to the extreme, or twisted. It's neutral, that's fine, I don't have a problem with that» [interview with Raphaelle Obomsawin, 2018].

Here, the exhibition refers to the Indian Beyond Hollywood at the Musée des Abénakis in Odanak, where the pictures below were taken too. The exhibition displays images and consumer products of Indigenous people in popular culture, while hoping to raise awareness about the actual realities of First Nations.

Ivanie also did not perceived it as cultural appropriation: «I don't mind, because I know you, I know you are behind that. For example, why is Land in the white? I imagine there has been a reflection behind the fact that Land is in the white quadrant, it's not just a symbol» [LR fieldnotes, interview with

Ivanie Aubin-Malo, 2018]. I had been indeed reflecting on some elements, like which photograph to use in each quadrant and how the position the topics, but her comment made me aware of a certain level of arbitrariness, i.e. the association of topics and colours. When designing the wheel, I realised how difficult it was to adapt its holistic teachings with four defined categories, which are all intertwined, in the sense that language, artistic and spiritual practices are all connected to the land. I also asked her if she thought it represented revitalisation:

> «Maybe you could bring more fluidity in the pointer? For me revitalisation means resurgence, it's something that wants to get out, to break, to open, to arise. It lacks movement. These are not static terms, so when I click on the wheel and the quadrants are fixed, it's very 2D. It lacks a living element to represent revitalisation» [ibid].

Although I didn't intend to design the circle of navigation was an embodiment of revitalisation, I found her comments relevant and inspiring, but her ideas were going beyond my technical skills and time resources. I also asked the opinion of Daphne Cardinal, an Anishinaabe friend studying sociology and working as a liaison person for the Indigenous students at Université de Montréal. She explained that it was not causing harm to anyone, not being detrimental, so for her it was not a wrong use. Besides, she saw the symbolic of the circle as connected with the content of the website. For her, the medicine wheel does not represent all First Nations, but the symbol is part of the collective imaginary gathering First Nations around a common vision and shared values. It was important to have an external point of view from a young Indigenous women who had not been taking part in the project.

The last point of view I would like to bring contrasts with the previous ones, exposing the depth of the quandaries around appropriation of Indigenous ways of knowing and being. I asked Skawennati's opinion, and she found it problematic that I used the medicine wheel in that way. In her initial answer, she questioned my relationships with the women, which made me think that the perspectives of the people involved in Circle of Voices are paramount. I explained her that I had consulted the women and the knowledge holders about it, and that they did not express resistance with the wheel being used for the website. I was really curious to hear her point of view because of her expertise with transposing Indigeneity into digital spaces, and her experience with eager non-Indigenous academics wanting to engage as allies of Indigenous peoples with their projects. She said that many thoughts came to her mind:

> «My first thought is this: it's not for you. Let our people get to ground zero, we are below ground zero. Let us learn this and feel good about it. Because what I actually believe, and what I'm working towards, is the time that everyone will learn this, that this is going to be worldwide religion. That this type of spirituality, this understanding of interconnectedness and the different parts of ourselves, will be common knowledge and will make us all thrive. A part of me just wants to tell you, this is great because you're enacting our future, but we are not there yet. (…) We need to get better, healthy, well, we need to thrive again. And then, we can all use whatever we want. (…) I think there is also a feeling that we are just learning our information, and we have to get more into it. We have to assume it, feel it, live it and breathe it, maybe it's not time to put it on the web right away for other people to look at. Then they think they know you, and you don't even know yourself yet. So that's something to be wary of» [interview with Skawennati Fragnito, 2018].

In her comment, Skawennati points at the context of ongoing colonialism and oppression in Canada, and at the need to understand the depth of the current social malaise among Indigenous communities. She expresses the need to prioritise healing and recovery on the social, cultural, spiritual, physical,

and mental level, before claiming to use an Indigenous symbol. By using the medicine wheel, I am acting on a different timeline, where I imagine that a simple thing as the UNDRIP (United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People) would have been implemented in Canadian federal laws[25]. Structural changes and the undermining of systemic injustice takes time. She further adds another interesting point:

> «So looking at this I would say: why is this white person using this symbolism? Now, I'm sure you showed these women, of course... But then I wonder, did these women want this website? If they do, then they could be hiring you, and you could offer your services as a contribution. But they need to be in control».

As she accurately questioned, the women never asked for a website. It was my idea, my research, and to a certain degree I imposed my vision, while they also agreed to contribute to the project in different ways. But the level to which they were in control of the development of the website is definitely debatable, as I explain in the next chapter.

I reflected on these different inputs and I decided to change the design for several reasons. First, none of the participants had a strong connection with the medicine wheel, with the exception of Michel. Especially for the young women, the wheel was quite disconnected from their everyday and ways to reconnect with their cultures. Therefore, it reinforced the distance between my own understanding and representation of Indigeneity vs. the worldviews and practices of the participants. Raphaelle shared a very striking comment on that matter: «it is not the first thing I think about when we talk about the culture. Actually it's rare that we refer to it. During my two years at a school about First Nations [Kiuna], we never talked about the medicine wheel» [interview with Raphaelle Obomsawin, 2018]. This ties to the second argument for altering the design. As we have seen, the medicine wheel originates from the Cree oral tradition, which none of the participants are from. My use of the wheel in this form was thereby a form of homogenisation of Indigeneity, what can also be described as an example of continental pan-Indianism (Boudreau, 2000:72).

Another point is tied to not sending mixed signals to the audience visiting the site. Skawennati explained that: «When people look at that, they think, or they should think, that an Indigenous person did it. I feel that it makes you seem that you're being disingenuous». This usurpation of identity relates to a dynamic of appropriation, where people from the dominating culture (white/Westerners) take space to express their understanding of the 'other' culture. On that matter, Perley writes: "much of the existing content representing Indigenous peoples on the internet imposes an outsider worldview that misrepresents and objectifies the culture, thereby furthering a colonialist agenda and contradicting the holistic values that Indigenous cultures uphold" (Perley et al. 2016:20). Although I do not think that circleofvoices.com fits into this oppressive dynamic, it is primordial to be aware of this context while designing a website portraying Indigenous cultures and identities. Skawennati also expanded on that concern:

> « It's very beautiful, it's good design, but I think it's not the right time yet for people... and it's because so many white people have taken it. They've actually done exactly what you're doing. They have been like 'I'm going to do my thesis on Indigenous stuff and I'm going to get ahead

[25] The MP Romeo Saganash introduced the Bill C-262 in 2016 to ensure that Canada align its laws with the UNDRIP. It reached the Senate on May 16th 2019 and a decision is to be expected in the coming weeks (Brake, 2019)

in my life'. We are not out of that yet, we are not out of that hurt from people taking from us and using it for their own good».

The historical pattern of extraction of Indigenous knowledge still weights heavily and continues. To a certain extent, I was reproducing colonial pattern of appropriation by using an Indigenous symbol for my own gain as a researcher.

Finally, it seemed important to adapt the circle of navigation to the actual material representing the fieldwork and drawn from it. The previous photographs were drawn from activities of my time in Quebec, and some of them were quite disconnected to the topic. For example in Land, the original design displays birch bark, whereas the only tree around which knowledge is gathered is the ash tree. For the Language section, the original picture shows a hand writing Naskapi syllabic signs. I took this picture while volunteering at the First People's Festival for a friend who had conducted her research in Kawawachikamach, the Naskapi community in Quebec. In the current circle, it shows Abenaki language. For the Art, I changed the picture of a dream catcher, another famous 'Indian' object largely commodified in the world, for a picture of Ivanie's regalia. Similarly, the fire in the first picture is quite abstract, whereas the drums below are an essential historical and contemporary practice. Another change is that the original circle only displayed my photographs, whereas in the new, the photographs of Lands and Languages were respectively taken by Marie Kristine and Raphaelle, from the photography activities. This acts as discrete recognition of collaboration. I adapted the color scheme by using the color picker tool in a graphic design software, and finding a certain harmony with Adobe Color Wheel online. Besides, I also decided to slightly adapt the titles with plural forms, in the vein of representing diversity.

Tensions, challenges and gifts of collaborative research in an Indigenous context

This shorter chapter shall be seen as a concluding echo to the second chapter, which introduced the participants of Circle of Voices. I would like to question the collaborative components (i.e. the intergenerational dance workshops, the sharing circles, and the participatory photography) of the project, and reflect on the blind spots of my approach. With the research spreading across geographical places (Canada, Germany and Denmark, where I have my academic affiliations), and virtual spaces (Facebook and the website), I wonder how the fragmentation in time and space impacted the development of the collaboration. How were these ruptures simultaneously fruitful and barren for the research process and outcomes? I will also look at how I used Facebook to circumvent these discontinuities. I would like to highlight the contradictions and ambiguities in the relationships built with the young women, elucidate challenging moments of friction, and interpersonal learnings. I will refer to the fieldwork materials from 2017, where I arranged initial reviews of the website, and from 2018, where I conducted the follow-up interviews with Ivanie and Raphaelle.

a) Framing collaboration

Collaboration is a multifaceted notion, which has been explored across various fields of knowledge and deployed in many ways (Lassiter, 2008:78). Since my work takes its roots in anthropology, I will refer to different pragmatic and theoretical approaches from white anthropology scholars (mostly based in the United States), who have worked extensively with Indigenous groups in different parts of the world. Paul Silitoe describes three phases in the history of his discipline vis à vis "the native -as subject, informant and collaborator" (Silitoe, 2018:31). While the first phase refers to the early beginnings, where armchair anthropologists were studying Aboriginal populations relying on archives and reports from missionaries, the two other ones are much more relevant in current practice. Silitoe qualifies the second phase of "participant-observation", where anthropologists conduct fieldwork by staying in the local communities for extended periods (ibid:32). In the third phase, the most recent, "the natives are increasingly engaging in research with 'participant-collaboration'" (ibid). They are not simply informants anymore, sharing their knowledge for the 'outsider' to process and publish, they exert a key role and are involved throughout the entire research process. There is an attempt to shift the distribution of human agency between foreign researchers and local knowledge holders. He further explains that collaborative research "seeks to work 'with' rather than 'on' people, who contribute from project design through data gathering and analysis to presentation of results" (ibid:33). The research becomes a gradual process, entangling iterative stages of dialogue, negotiation, and compromise. Besides, Luke Eric Lassiter outlines collaborative ethnography as an approach "that deliberately and explicitly emphasizes collaboration at every point in the ethnographic process, without veiling it—from project conceptualization, to fieldwork, and, especially, through the writing process. (…) Importantly, the process yields texts that are co-conceived or co-written with local communities of collaborators and consider multiple audiences outside the confines of academic discourse, including local constituencies" (Lassiter, 2005:16). His practical conception follows a similar thread as Silitoe's, where the partners take part from beginning to end. Lassiter puts a strong emphasis on the writing process and results, which in the case of Circle of Voices would translate as the website, as the main ethnographic outcome of the collaboration with the participants. Beyond these epistemological and methodological considerations, Lassiter also points at the importance of holding ethical and moral responsibility in relation to the collaborators, and engaging in honest communication regarding the ethnographic fieldwork experience (Lassiter, 2008:74). On this basis, a

collaborative research framework is built on the premises of establishing partnerships generating mutual benefit (Townsend, 2014), and on a research agenda grounded in the interests and needs of the communities (Cervone, 2007:106). While this delineates a broad understanding of collaboration, it essential to bear in mind that:

> "collaboration takes place through particular relations, positions, and interests and always unfolds in complex processes that are difficult to plan, define, or standardize because the different collaborating partners enter, push, and pull the collaboration in different directions and because every collaboration inevitably takes place in its own particular historical context" (Flora and Andersen, 2016:84).

Drawing from their experience in Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland), these two social anthropologists emphasize the rough, bumpy and twisting routes traveled during the conduct of the collaborative research. Perhaps, to continue with a metaphor, collaboration can be considered as a seismic terrain, constantly exposed and transformed by the particularities of its environment. They insist on examining collaboration in its situatedness, in regard to the socio-historical context, to the geographical space, and to the partners involved and their stakes. In this light, I wonder if Circle of Voices can actually be considered as collaborative research, and how would I situate the network of relationships and concerns unfolding?

b) Aborted participation and partial complicity

Initially, I aimed to work jointly with the young women, designing the methodologies, defining the topic of the research project, and conducting the activities together. But as I wrote on the first page of my BA thesis 'good intentions are not enough' (Romain Watson, 2016:3). The further I was advancing into the fieldwork, the more I was crafting a precise idea of which data to gather and how. In the case of the Piniariarneq project, "The collaboration, then, did not just change the constellation of the collaborators or their concerns throughout this project. The collaboration also changed the method as well as the technology—the very things that centered the collaboration in the first place" (Flora and Andersen, 2016:111). In a collaborative research project, the changes unfolding through collaboration have a direct impact on the production of knowledge. In the case of Circle of Voices, the trajectory of the research was more influenced by the context of the fieldwork (that is, staying in Odanak and visiting Kiuna), than it was by the participants. For example, I decided to interview the knowledge holders, who were all working in the community, after I had identified that I wanted to gather data about the four topics of cultural revitalisation. Even the choice of terminology 'cultural revitalisation' and the related themes weren't determined together with the participants, rather I suggested it to them, and they went along with it. A similar process took place for the collaborative activities: I offered to facilitate participatory photography and sharing circles, and the young women agreed. In both activities, their degree of agency was still very limited. In most cases, they took pictures because I asked them to do so, and they were using the equipment I provided. It slightly changed when Marie Kristine bough her own camera and started photographing her own activities. During my short return journey in 2017, we reviewed some sections of the website, and I asked her if she had more pictures to add to the photography pages from her personal collection, which she did. For the sharing circles, I elected the questions I was curious about, while offering them to add any of their interests (but they never did). Lastly the intergenerational dance workshops couldn't have happened without the involvement of Ivanie as the teacher. That is perhaps the activity that was the most collaborative, since she decided the content of the workshop while I arranged the time and place, and

invited people to join. Even then, she raised problematic dimensions of that activity in her follow-up interview:

> «It wasn't fluid, I was volunteering for you. What does it bring me? Yes, I am teaching the fancy shawl, you created occasions for me to teach the dance. But you didn't show an interest for what I was doing already, for the projects where I was engaged» [LR fieldnotes, interview with Ivanie Aubin-Malo, 04.12.2018].

In retrospect, she expressed that she felt forced to take part in the project, to come facilitating the workshops at her own costs and on her free time. Circle of Voices impeded her to develop herself in other personal and collective projects where she was growing already. It uprooted her from activities where she was evolving to make her join my research. At the same time, I imagine that Ivanie initially found the project interesting otherwise she would not have joined in the first place. As it evolved overtime, she maybe felt like she did not gain as much from the workshop as intended, but she hosted the workshops anyway, respecting our tacit agreement. In her comment, she points at a lack of reciprocity, of mutual interest and benefit. Because she was based in Montreal whereas all the other women were staying in Odanak, it was very difficult to invite her to the sharing circles, which she would have like to attend. She further insists on my lack of interest to follow the women in their paths and to assist them, without asking for something in return. Here, I must highlight that initially Ivanie was not considered on the same level as the other young women, but rather as an external collaborator. Thus, I did not show the same interest for her, as I did with the Kiuna students, attempting to support them in their paths.

Her comment was extremely painful to hear, because my intentions with the project was to be supportive and it seemed that I had achieved the opposite. Yet from this encounter, I learned about the growth that resides in vulnerability, in being ready to really listen and receive her words. She was able to articulate these thoughts because of the relationship we had grown over time. She knew that she could be honest with me and that I would not deny or reject her comments, rather I was asking her to be transparent and straightforward. This exchange truly felt like a gift, because it allowed me to exert a deeper critical reflection at my role as a researcher, and at my attempt with Circle of Voices. Later, when I asked her what she gained from the project, her answer was simply: me, our relationship, and the memories of the workshops dancing with the young Abenaki girls. To me, building relationships where all parties can be truthful, transparent, and appreciate each other is a real achievement towards successful collaborative research.

Looking back, I realise the imbalance between my wish to have the the women joining my research activities vs. taking part in their occupations. A certain lack of complicity contributed to the stagnation of intended collaboration. Joanne Rappaport expands on George Marcus' idea of complicity, as rapports of cooperation between ethnographer and subject (1997). She suggests to "take his suggestion further, to comprehend not only complicity in an ethnographic dialogue (which is frequently of greater interest to the ethnographer than to the subject), but complicity in achieving the goals of the subject through conducting joint research" (Rappaport, 2008:8). Yet with Circle of Voices, I never really got to the point where we could define common interests and objectives. The complicity was only partial and situated in advancing the research, i.e. gathering data. I wanted to nurture stronger bonds with the women, but different obstacles came in the way. Logistically, it was always easy to meet them, since the women formed a heterogeneous group with different schedules, places of dwelling, and preoccupations (they only formed a group because they sat together during some of the research activities). I had also underestimated the amount of time required to build trust and develop the methodological activities, within the constrained timeframe of the fieldwork. But it was also due to my lack of experience working in Indigenous context and my naivete, projecting that the

women would embark on the project and actively participate right away. Besides, I underrated the wider socio-historical and political context in which my research, me and the young women were situated. The production of scientific knowledge is inherently political, since it is (and has always been) put forth in relation to power interests, such as military and colonial systems (Haraway, 1988:587). Even more so, the anthropological inquiry is far from detached of economic and political interests, so "when working with contemporary Indigenous communities, anthropologists often find it necessary and inevitable to position themselves in regards to such issues and to reframe their relationship with indigenous actors" (Cervone, 2015:98). Over the years, I came to realise the complexity of my doing and being, and the simplicity with which I approached the field in the first place. This reflexive questioning, together with my personal engagement as an activist in solidarity with Indigenous rights, were maybe the only effective fruits of that collaboration. In brief, there was virtually no shift of "control of the research process out of the hands of the anthropologist and into the collective sphere of the anthropologist working on an equal basis with community researchers" (Rappaport, 2008:6). Therefore, if we consider participation and collaboration on a continuum, I would situate Circle of Voices closer to the 'participant-observation' than to 'participant-collaboration', in Silitoe's terms.

c) Trust building, instrumentalized friendship, and Facebook as socio-technical mediator

At the beginning of my first fieldwork, I remember how hesitant I was using the word 'research' when presenting the project. Especially when recruiting young participants, I thought that framing it as a project would sound more appealing, and I feared that their interest would dwindle if I came to call it as an actual research. This is informed by a context where Indigenous peoples are very researched already (Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 1999:3), and Quebec is no exception. I eventually found a compromise by calling it a 'research project', but this already signaled some issues around transparency. This lack of honesty and clarity further appeared in the next months and years of the research, regarding the objectives and the duration. One the one hand, this was due to the fact that I wanted to define these elements together with the young women, on the other hand I was not sure of where Circle of Voices would actually take me, apart from the requirement to write a bachelor thesis and my vision to create a website. Ivanie mentioned that the constraint of time, related to the imperative of providing an academic production, weighted heavily on the process. Because of the deadlines imposed by my university, and my intention to meet them, I was pushing the meetings, instead of letting things flow naturally. She added that, back in 2016, there was very little room for the encounters and activities to organise themselves naturally, especially when the women's schedules were busy. Only after being in Quebec for a few weeks, and getting more and more familiar with ethical guidelines and research protocols, I understood the vital part of building trust and relationships, before even starting the 'real work'. But even then, I am reminded of how insistent I was to make things happen by peeking through in my ethnographic notebook and the message threads of Facebook. At times, I was fuelled by the anxiety of not having enough data and ethnographic material to bring back. This distress certainly impacted how I behaved with the women in wanting to craft the research project together, thus leaving less room for collaboration to unfold.

A second sensitive topic discussed with Ivanie dealt with the instrumentalization of friendship:

> «We talked about how I was concealing a certain discomfort regarding my identity as a researcher (by presenting Circle of Voices as a 'project' rather than a 'research', fearing the reject of the young women). And we considered the implementation of strategies to become friends, so that I could assure the production of data later on» [LR fieldnotes, interview Ivanie Aubin-Malo, 04.12.2018].

Ivanie's feedback brought a whole new light on my approach as a researcher. Her comments reminded me of an article by Michael Marker, scholar in Indigenous education from the Coast Salish territory (British Columbia), titled "Indigenous voice, community, and epistemic violence: The ethnographer's "interests" and what "interests" the ethnographer". He explains how anthropologists have long acted as translators of Indigenous communities, where the Other is objectified for the advancement of Western knowledge (as discussed in chapter 5; see also Minh-Ha, 1989, Said, 1978, Bhabha, 1994, Fanon, 1986, Mohanty, 1988). He declares that "it must be admitted that it is the ethnographers' needs that are being fulfilled, not the needs of Indigenous communities" (Marker, 2003:367). In my case, although I wished differently, I have to accept that most of the research benefited myself more than the participants. Marker concludes his article with a quote from Vine Deloria where he asks anthropologists "to undertake a new task (…) to develop a personal identity as concerned human being and move away from the comfortable image of 'scholar'" (Vine D., 1997:221). I can relate to that, because it mattered to interact first as a human and building relationships. Still, it shouldn't lead to the concealment of the researcher part of my identity, since it was an essential feature which brought me to Quebec in the first place.

Another perception on that matter was brought by Raphaelle in her follow-up interview. When I asked her how she would describe the relationship between us, she said: «I don't think it was student/subject. I think we rather became friends, we were able to talk about something else than just the Abenaki culture. We did activities, we took pictures... Of course, it was for a project, but you taught me things, I taught you other things. For example, I had never used a camera before. It made us evolve each on our own. I'm aware it was for your work, but I think we developed something more than that, even if we don't see each other often (…) Actually, that was the most fun, that we didn't really feel it was for work» [LR fieldnotes, interview with Raphaelle Obomsawin, 02.12.2018]. Contrary to Ivanie, Raphaelle felt that a reciprocity took place, and this mutual learning affected the way she perceives me. She encountered personal growth and accessed new experiences, thus she did not feel instrumentalized the same way Ivanie did. Her words also imply that some of the activities, such as the sharing circles and the photography sessions, don't belong to the traditional research methods in her view. In my attempt to create a relaxed atmosphere in my interactions with her, I also shared information about my life which weren't related to the research. This contributed to building trust between us. Besides, she shared that «it was fun to take part in the project, but I don't have any other feelings about it. It's odd to say, I enjoyed participating… but I'm not particularly proud of it» [ibid]. Raphaelle also explains that the project definitely ended a while ago. I realised that since it had been a huge part of my life, I had the underlying expectation that it would still be relevant for her too. But as she further told, she moved on to another stage of her life now, studying outside of Odanak, where learning about her Abenaki culture and identity isn't in the foreground.

On 28th July 2016, I created a secret group 'Circle of Voices – Femmes des Premières Nations', where I first invited all the Kiuna students, and Ivanie a year later (because of that external status I mentioned earlier). Last autumn, Jessica also added a friend of her who lives in Odanak, but she did not give any specific reason for it. As I wrote in the description, "this group has been created with the objective to share things related to the project Circle of Voices. For example, it can be used as a space to select media content (especially photographs) which will be published on the website, and to share events and next activities."[26] My wish with the group was to foster collaboration and the exchange of audiovisual material, which worked to a limited extent. I first created two photo albums with my photographs, where the women showed their appreciation by liking a few. Jessica and Raphaelle also

[26] https://www.facebook.com/groups/1829745927248881/about/ (a Facebook account is required to view)

posted their own pictures, to add to the participatory photography sections or their own pages, which generated a few reactions. In 2017, I posted the photographs taken by Marie Kristine and Raphaelle on the topics of land and language, and added their comments in French and English. No one reacted to these two albums. The biggest photo album consisted of 86 profile pictures, either self-portraits, taken by each other or by me, where I had specified the following guidelines: 1- Like those you want to keep and make public. 2- Comment those you wish to have as a profile picture (on your profile page). 3- Add self portraits you took. It worked relatively well, since they all interacted with their own pictures. Raphaelle was the most responsive, liking almost all her pictures (5 likes and 1 comment), Lisa liked two of hers, Jessica commented one of her and liked one of Catherine, Marie Kristine liked three of her self-portraits, and Catherine liked one self-portrait. Based on these interactions, I selected the photographs to publish on their profile pages. Another efficient use of the group was to decide on the logo of the project, and especially the icons to represent the dance workshops and the sharing circles in the circle of navigation. Most of them expressed their opinion the comment thread and/or liked some of the icons. This was one the most interactive exchange on the group. Besides, I have also shared the interview guide, tried to arrange meetings, shared the questions of the last sharing circles on language and spirituality, posted a video of presentation of the website and a video clip of Catherine's interview, informed them about the launch of the website, and simply kept in touch (wishing them a happy new year, or posting pictures of a demonstration I organised in Berlin in solidarity with Standing Rock in their fight against the DAPL pipeline). I explored different ways to employ the Facebook group to mediate the work, and bring continuity to our relationships. While enhancing our connection with each other, this socio-technical platform also contributed to mutually shaping the design of some elements in the website. But the more time went on, the less interactions were happening. The group shifted towards a consultative space, where I recently posted updates about the design of the circle, and informed them about my next steps and visits in Quebec. I have also shared my BA thesis and the scholarly contribution written for the Arctic Youth report. Especially with the publications, I always offered them the possibility to edit anything if they wish so. When it does not generate a clear interaction, in the form of likes or comment, a useful feature is the indication below the post of 'Seen by x' with the possibility to view who has seen it. To me, this created a tacit understanding that they had consulted the content. At the same time, I was not expecting them to engage with the academic writings or even to read it. It rather felt like a matter of implementing transparency, and offering them the possibility to look at what I had written about them if they ever became interested in it. I operated out of an ethical understanding which might not have been adequate to the medium of communication, Facebook, and the material shared, academic papers written in English.

In their interviews, I asked Raphaelle and Ivanie to share some feedback about how Facebook, and that group in particular, facilitated the conduct of the project. Raphaelle never posts or shares anything on Facebook, but she is more active on Instagram, where she posts her own content once in a while. She mostly uses the platforms to look at what other people do. Of the first things she told me in her interview, is that she saw the publication of the website through an Instagram post from the circleofvoices account. But her seeing the release post doesn't necessarily means she visited the website. Regarding Facebook, she said: «I don't think it really eased the continuity, I think it was useful because we could all communicate, consult each other, ask questions, prepare our meetings. But then…we didn't talk to each other after that, we didn't talk about the project, nor wrote to each other on Messenger… I did not even remember we had a conversation on Messenger» [LR fieldnotes, interview with Raphaelle Obomsawin, 02.12.2018]. Although I frequently posted updates on the Facebook group while being outside of Canada, and messaged her personally via Messenger, our

communication did not leave her a strong impression. So Raphaelle found it most useful to coordinate while the project activities were taking place.

Ivanie doesn't have an Instagram account, but posts every other day on Facebook, and is very often tagged in pictures and posts (especially during the pow-wow season, and when she performs). She shared that: «Facebook Messenger eased the communication, but I don't recall that it facilitated the project itself... Except maybe to agree on a common date for the dance workshop, but it did not work very well. It's positive because it offers us the capacity to talk to each other, but the interpretation of the answers can create ambiguity» [LR fieldnotes, interview with Ivanie Aubin-Malo, 04.12.2018]. Whereas I saw Facebook as a tool to stay connected through time and space, to them it mostly served as a tool of communication during the fieldwork. I am left with the open question of: how did my personal pattern of fragmentation and discontinuity, which I hoped to transcend through a socio-technical mediator like Facebook, impact the relationships with the participants and the knowledge production for the project?

d) Practicing consultation and navigating representations

In my case, the dimension of collaboration did not apply to the final phase of analysis, interpretation and publication of the results. Neither the design of the website, nor the writing itself, that is programming, was done jointly with the young women. A collaborative analysis could have taken the shape of learning and practicing technical skills required for the elaboration of the digital outcome, such as programming, graphic design or video editing. We could have explored other formats to present the ethnographic material than through a website, crafted different ways to navigate the content, or more elements of interactivity (as suggested by Ivanie in the previous chapter). The potential benefits of sharing the processing of the results could be diverse. First, it would probably lead to a higher appropriation of the website by the Indigenous participants, and they would maybe share it in their networks as one of their achievements. It would also grow mutual learning, and generate skills and capacity building, which the women could apply in other settings. But I engaged in a collaborative approach with a different group, programmers from Open Tech School Berlin and friends. They helped me with their precious skills in coding, graphic design, and launching the website. Therefore, a more appropriate way to designate my approach with the participants would be to use the word consultation. Both in 2017 and 2018, I consulted all the participants (with the exception of Michel in 2017) on the development of their profile pages, and other sections of the website. Especially in 2017, because the website was still a work in progress, I was spending hours in my software Atom, writing code and fixing technical issues, in between meetings in order to deliver a result to the participants (this will be exemplified in the quotations below). I have developed a particular relationship with each participant, especially with the young woman. In this final section, I would like to describe how I handled that consultative process of design and mediation with Luc, Guy, and the women. In chapter 6, I have already described extensively how it took place with the other knowledge holders, Monique and Michel.

We reviewed Luc's page in two instances, first in April 2017:

> «I went to sit next to the church of Odanak, where Luc had agreed to meet me. I 'finalize' the coding, do some clearing and bootstrap[27] on his page. He arrives and invites me to drink tea at his place, where I meet his wife and his two daughters. I take the time to observe, to appreciate and to simply be, before showing him his page. He gives me a positive feedback,

[27] Bootstrap is an open-source CSS framework with templates I used for the layout of the pages

approves the content and says that he looks forward to the final version» [LR fieldnotes, 12.04.2017].

This is an example of coding during the fieldwork, where I was fixing and updating his page until the last minute. The idea to care for my surroundings before showing the website emphasizes my wish to be there first as a human. I met Luc again last autumn, where we reviewed different sections starting with his biography. He did not comment much and said that he required more time to look at it thoroughly. When I showed him the section on ash pounding, he shared memories from the First People's Festival in Montreal, where I had filmed him and a young Abenaki, Kenny Panadis. I also displayed the pages of Raphaelle and Jessica, and he was impressed by Jessica's garden and her corn harvest. As someone working on the land and passionate about his job, he questioned me about the seeds and said that he would be interested in planting them. Even though I later asked Jessica, it never resulted in an exchange between them. Overall, Luc seemed satisfied with the content, he did not express any design changes to be done. The website seemed to serve as a mediator to engage in a friendly interaction, and share information about people in the community.

With Guy, we only had a very short time to review his page in 2017, where I asked him to transcript his sentences in Wendat. In 2018, I went to meet him at his hotel in Montreal where we had breakfast. After sharing where I was in the research process, and discussing avenues of reflection for my thesis, he examined the homepage. He commented about the war paint on Marie Kristine's face, which made me aware of the reproduction of stereotypes. This self-portrait of Marie-Kristine was completely staged, since we had spent the afternoon together with Lisa and Catherine, painting each other's face. I had suggested that activity as a way to invite the women to produce self-portraits for their pages Each woman chose the symbols and colours, taking inspiration from different websites. I initially chose that picture because I interpreted Marie-Kristine's facial expression with a sense of pride for her origins. At the same time, the very first page was reproducing the stereotypical construction of the Indian warrior, a limiting representation often found in movies, especially from the Indians & Cowboys period. Guy's comment brought attention to this wider context in which the photograph is situated, and I decided to change the picture with another familiar symbol of Indigenous cultures, the tepee, and a a dimension of contemporary the commodification of Indigenous customs and traditions.

Photographs on the homepage presenting the women's biographies:
The old one (above) is a self-portrait of Marie-Kristine
The current one (below) with Raphaelle and Jessica at the Musée des Abénakis

We then moved to his page. He seemed content with his front picture, and we rapidly scrolled through the interview capsules and the sections of the interview. He paused on the topic of Indigenous women, and asked me play the first 15/20 seconds. He pointed at the centrality of the gendered dimension in the project, and asked me if I will consider what could have evolved about the place and role of Indigenous women since I started Circle of Voices. We also talked about the subjectivity in the choice of the participants, how it was based on my own encounters. As Marker points out, "ethnographers are both in a hurry and selective about whom they talk to and get information from" (Marker, 2003:367). In my case, different constellations of events and connections brought me in contact with the different participants. I decided to focus on young women, and to look at their quest for identity because I resonated strongly with it, and I thought I could contribute to their lives as another young woman from Europe. The fact that I interviewed Guy, who is a man and not from an Algonquian Nation (unlike all the other participants), was definitely due to my particular relationship with him, his expertise in Indigenous performative and contemporary arts, and his willingness to participate.

Ivanie has been one of the most willing to review the website and to give me honest feedback, for which I am incredibly grateful. Already in 2017, she came to my house in Montreal for an initial review of her page, and she chose another picture at the start of her page, which Marie Kristine had taken at the pow-wow of Kahnawake. She acknowledged the amount of work done, and approved the website as a whole. She noticed how her dancing had evolved over time and suggested to put videos of her dancing over the years. She pointed at the fact that the website would be a great tool to keep track of the evolution. A few weeks later in April, I visited her at her place with a more updated version, and she seemed happy to have a page of her own, since she doesn't have a website. In 2018, she shared some thought-stimulating insights. I asked her what she felt the first time she viewed the page:

> «I didn't feel included, motivated, or integrated. I didn't feel it brought me anything. Also the fact that it is in English, it's as if you are cultivating the idea that it is not for us, that it is for the research, we are not included» [LR fieldnotes, interview with Ivanie Aubin-Malo, 04.12.2018].

When I initially showed the website, it was in French, but once I had finished the translation, the page only became available in English (to fit my university's requirements). The language created even more distance between her and her digitised self. Originally, I had planned to have the complete website available both French and English, but I had underestimated how much work was required behind the publication of a bilingual website. Yet, I still managed to have the pages of the knowledge holders in French, because I was not sure of their level of English, and I wanted them to validate the content.

Ivanie's comment made me realise that it was important for her too, and that I had assume that she would be fine with it since she is young. Later, I asked if she felt represented by the page or not, she answered:

> «It was not my desire in the first place, it's not me, it's your project, your questions, the things you wanted to highlight in me. On your site, my page is not Ivanie, it's a data. There are pictures and videos, but it's not really me. I am not only a fancy shawl dancer» [LR fieldnotes, interview with Ivanie Aubin-Malo, 04.12.2018].

She points here at the page as depicting a reductive representation of her identity, focussing on the part that connects her to her Indigeneity. As a performer, Ivanie engages with dance not only through her Indigenous roots, but also through contemporary dance, theatre and collaborative performances with non-Indigenous people, or with Indigenous people outside of Canada. Being the creator of her page, I focused on the part of Ivanie's identity I came to know first, since I approached her to join the project after a performance she gave at a cultural event in Montreal. Through the organisation of the intergenerational dance workshops, and influenced by my own fascination for Indigenous dancing and drumming, I mostly became familiar with Ivanie as a fancy-shawl dancer, especially in 2016. Thus the ways through which she is represented on the page also involve my understanding of her identity. For example, I tried to add alternative content with a video of a poem she wrote and performs. She published the video clip on her Facebook in 2017 and I found it really moving. This material was not produced within the frame of the research project, but as the designer, I thought it displayed another side of Ivanie's work and identity.

The first update of Raphaelle's page took place in April 2017 while waiting for the bus to take me back to Montreal. We sat in her car and she expressed the changes she wanted (pictures on her page, and add some of her artistic creations). She was positive about the website and found it beautiful. Unlike Ivanie, she felt represented by her page

> «because it is really information I have told you and it is what I think too. It is a page of my brain regarding the Abenaki culture, also a little bit my path in general. So yes, I think it represents me because you didn't extrapolate what we said, you really put the words and the facts, which makes it more authentic I think, than if you had taken our words and turned them around in sentences» [LR fieldnotes, interview with Raphaelle Obomsawin, 02.12.2018].

Raphaelle expresses here another perception on what constitutes authenticity, which is closer to my initial configuration of it as expressed in chapter 6. She also felt represented by the design of the page «In life, I'm a person really sober [solemn]… I wouldn't have liked it if there would have been many, many colours, that's not me. But I like the page, in the background it looks like bark. I find it beautiful and it represents me» [ibid]. Raphaelle seems pleased that the page reflects the sobriety of her personality. When I asked her if she felt comfortable to have her page shared on social media or in academic publications, she shared that she is totally fine with it. She said «I don't have anything to hide, and I think I've said a lot of things in there. It represents me. In the worst case, people will just get to know me better» [ibid].

Both Ivanie and Raphaelle had never shared the website, and only viewed it a few times. They expressed discomfort when watching videos of themselves, or listening to themselves talking. Ivanie highlighted that if I was to interview her today, she would use the word 'autochtone' (Indigenous) instead of 'Amérindien', which is the term she grew up with. Raphaelle barely watched the videos, but felt pleased looking at the photographs because it represents projects that she did and she likes (such as the earrings). Another issue that Ivanie raised was the lack of anonymity, and how the video interviews were too accessible.

> «When I do a Youtube search, I don't want everyone to see it. I'm not comfortable with it, the interview was done in a relaxed atmosphere, not in a professional setting. Even with the dance videos, I have evolved since. The only thing that the videos remind me of, is that when I was dancing, I had a beautiful connection at the level of feelings» [LR fieldnotes, interview with Ivanie Aubin-Malo, 04.12.2018].

This was particularly interesting because one of the hopes of the project was to bring visibility to the women's paths. Yet in that instance, the easy access to her dancing and interview videos on Youtube with her complete name (which is quite unique) actually became embarrassing and potentially detrimental for her career. «People from Radio Canada saw it [they wanted to interview her], they searched for videos and they found these dancing videos. I was like hiiiii no» [ibid]! I realised that, when designing the website, I had not really considered the online traceability of the media displayed. Because this outdated portrayal of her dancing style could jeopardize future opportunities, we explored different options, such as changing the Youtube setting to private instead of public, and agreed to change her name, and put her initials. But even after operating these modifications in the programming software and publishing the changes, I would still find the videos of Ivanie dancing by simply typing her name in the Google search bar. It took a few weeks for the media components to lose their obvious traces, which is what Ivanie wished for.

Thanks to their detailed answers, I learned about the propensity of risks when publishing online content relative to personal biographies. It also brought awareness to the distance that naturally emerges between the women's current realities and the online representations of themselves. On the ethical level, it was essential for me to travel back and receive their feedback. Additionally, this practice of engagement elicited new knowledge around the website and deepened our relationships, especially with Ivanie. Even if happened only with two of the young women, conducting the evaluation of the project three years after its starts was an important step in being accountable to my collaborative intentions.

Over time, Marie Kristine and I have developed a stronger bond. She was one of the most committed to the project and to nurturing our relationship. We first reviewed her page in 2017 and I informed her the possibility to change or adapt anything because it is her page: «She seems touched (and a little embarrassed) by the positive description introducing her, especially the last part listing her various artistic skills. She suggests other profile pictures, such as her current one on Facebook, and some edits regarding her future (the bachelor program she is enrolled in and her vision to obtain political independence for her Nation). We also write a few things in atikamekw» [LR fieldnotes, 29.03.2017]. Paradoxically, I don't recall any other instance where we sat together to review her page, nor the website. We shared many moments together in 2018, since we were studying in the same university. In 2017, she had agreed to be the co-lead of Facebook and Instagram, but it never really came to fruition in the form of her creating a post.

I never really managed to conduct a formal interview with Jessica, she never seemed to find time for it when I was around. Instead, an interesting iterative process took place to design her profile page. In March 2017, Jessica was the most enthusiast when we reviewed her page, and other pages of the website. I also explained her the wheel, which was not programmed at the time, and what I envisioned for the social media accounts. She was curious at the programming side and asked me if I was writing it all. We also discussed which picture she wanted on her profile. In April while staying at her house and inquired about doing an interview. She replied that it would be difficult to find the time, so I started asking her questions about her family, her origins, her education…. When I tried to ask more

complex questions, such as what motivated her to reconnect with the Abenaki culture, the answers were more difficult to come. A last instance of consultation took place a few days before my departure in 2017: «Sitting at the bar where Jessica works, I keep coding her page while chatting, trying to generate bits of information for her biographical introduction. The next morning, I code another hour, and show her the profile page. She reads everything and specifies that her name is Jessica Ann. She likes the pictures, maybe she will send me more» [LR fieldnotes, 12.04.2017], which she eventually did. Because of the incapacity to conduct an interview, I had to endorse a creative approach. Thus, I designed her page in a different way, publishing pictures showing the evolution of the gardens she grew in Odanak and for Kiuna. Even though, I stayed at Jessica's house several times in 2018, which also contributed to developing our friendship, we never found the time to review her page again.

I sat down with Lisa for the first time in March 2017: «She read her biography with some attention, and less so for the rest of the page. She expressed her agreement for the pictures, and I tell her about the idea of adaptability and collaboration on the page. She nodded and replied: 'anyway it's your project, your research'» [LR fieldnotes, 29.03.2017]. Already there, I should have been mindful through Lisa's words, that she did not feel included in the research at all, that she perceived it as my project. A few weeks later, on a drive back to Odanak, I finalised the programming of her page and showed it to her in the car. «She giggled as she read herself and did not ask for any change. I then showed her the photographs she took at the powwow, and pushed her a little to choose some of them» [LR fieldnotes, 12.04.2017]. This slightly forceful approach of mine propelled more to a withdrawal than her engaging with the project. When I met with Lisa again in 2018, we did not talk about the project. After several attempts asking for her availabilities for a follow-up interview, she stopped answering. But a person close to her sent me a message via Messenger, informing me that I had to leave Lisa alone, she did not have time for my project, she had done enough already and that I should ask someone else. I replied by recognising Lisa's work for the project and apologising if she ever felt pressured to do something for me. I also specified my intention, that I wanted to hear from her because she had taken part in the project initially and I was willing to hear her critiques. Her answers, which I perceived as outspoken and abrasive, informed me that Lisa was really busy, and that I should figure out the answers on my own, since it is my project. She said that the project had ended long ago, I should have specified that it was long-term, and I couldn't expect the women to stop their life for my project, or for me to make a name. After reading this, I sent my apologies to Lisa, and never heard back from them.

Catherine reviewed her page only once, in 2017. She read the texts carefully, while sharing her apprehension that she maybe did not give the right information, which would meet the demand of my research. She then realised that it was actually not that bad, and specifically highlighted the part where she talks about stereotypes regarding the purity of Indigenous identity. After navigating to all the other women's pages, she gave me a positive feedback, saying that she liked what she saw and finds the project interesting. She inquired if that was a lot of work, and I showed her the programming done in Atom. I met her again a few times in 2018, also because she was studying at UQAM, and saw her at different cultural happenings, including the opening of her first event as curator. In February 2019, she asked to step out of the project, meaning to have all her videos from Youtube removed, as well as her page. I accepted her decision, asked her what motivated her decision, and if it included the sharing circles where she participated. She replied that it should ideally be included, but it was fine since the other women were there too. She also underlined to wish to be consulted before using anything she said as part of my work. I followed her will, removed all the content, and sent her the contribution for the Arctic Youth Report, as well as a screenshot of her short description in Chapter 2. She approved, and never explained why she decided to withdraw from the project.

The fact that some of them appropriated the project while others did not, depends greatly on the relationship built with each woman, and on their priorities and concerns. For example with Raphaelle, she saw the project as terminated but she agreed to meet again in 2018 because of our friendship, even though we had not been much in contact. In Lisa's case, she did not have the time to re-engage with the project in 2018, since she prioritised other activities and considered the project to be over when she left Kiuna. With Marie-Kristine, even though I spent much time with her and we became good friends, I never found an appropriate time to close the loop of the project with her. This multiple experiences of collaboration emphasises the complexities of the colonial-Indigenous relations, in which I come as an outsider (non-Canadian) with mixed origins (born in France, but my academic affiliations were either German or Danish).

I sent a survey at the end of the fieldwork in April 2017, where 4 out of 6 answered. The questions dealt with: their perceptions on the collaborative dimension of the project, their participation in designing their profile page, what the research was useful for, their agreement with the data collection and presentation, which activities they wish to take part in, how could the website help them in their future lives, if it could be detrimental to them, if they felt at the core of the project. I also asked them if they wanted to get involved with managing the social media accounts, with updating their pages, and what was their impressions of our trip to the sugar shack. The last question was: since the start of the project, how important do you consider cultural revitalisation in your life? Was it the same before the project? The questions can be seen online[28] and the answers are in the annex of my BA thesis, both in French (Romain Watson, 2016:22-27). Briefly, they all felt like they collaborated to the project to a relative to great extent, and that they participated in developing their page, while half of them expressed an interest to update it. For all of them, Circle of Voices fostered their creativity, deepened friendships, and they learned more about themselves. They also all agreed that after the website release, the project would help them to be conscious of who they are. Finally, for two of them, Circle of Voices helped them to have a clearer understanding of cultural revitalisation, and what they can do for their Nations, although they had an interest for the topic before. With this survey, I attempted to engage in a consultation on different dimensions that seemed essential. It only worked partially, since two of them did not take the time to give their feedback.

In brief, none of the methodologies really shifted once the collaboration was in place. I would qualify my approach rather as consultative than collaborative, although "most if not all anthropological research is collaborative in one way or another (Marcus 2012, 433, in Flora and Andersen, 2016:89). However, the implementation of the Facebook group and the various usages of it enabled different interactions which mediated the women's perspectives on the design of the website. In some cases, the discontinuities brought insights, but also painful realisations and exchanges. Cervone talks "a new hero or heroin who undertakes the mission of fighting battles on behalf of the oppressed" (Cervone, 2007:105). Although I do not perceive any of the participants as oppressed, rather as empowered Indigenous people, I have to accept that a part of wanted to uphold these voices to have a wider reach. In this light, where does my pride and ego as a white researcher reside to make myself seen, to make a name and gain praise by using their stories? As Clare Land rightfully asks, instead of pretending to contribute to these women lives, how might my work contribute towards understanding how white researchers may be able to serve the interests of indigenous people through research? (Land, 2015:116). I believe that that it starts by acknowledging our shadows and those casted by our

[28] https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1W7L_LShRihMdJ9pv2Z9Y7qoDACemfOxx8qziwsckG0g/edit#response=ACYDBNhkDlSEpyM0ejRKGiTU4GcVR6UbXh-Xbjw0O6qanXx5_XG7UWUv-A0GMpo

disciplines and institutions. The practice of transparency about the real motives behind our actions as researchers is crucial to then engage in trust-building with the participants. In my case, I strived to initiate a research project that would bring meaning to my academic trajectory, where I would be valued for my work, while also wanting to act in solidarity with others' struggles. To Land's question, I would answer that key learnings lay in our capacity to deeply listen, observe, and feel, before asking, proposing, taking, and doing. Once we have come to a place of calm and patient acceptance with research surroundings, the gifts of the collaboration might naturally appear in the form of opportunities, experiences, and sharings. An example that comes to mind was when Marie-Kristine invited me to travel together to Manawan, her home community. She was driving up there to celebrate her grandmother's 80th birthday, which was coincidentally the 50th anniversary of her grandparents, but her grandfather had died recently. She told me that she could present me to her family, and it felt like a very intimate gathering to be invited to. These few days spent in Manawan were a powerful highlight of my time in Canada. It was the first time that I felt completely immersed in a different culture, especially due to Atikamekw language being spoken, but also the food we ate, the wandering on the land, and the hospitality of Marie-Kristine's family.

Marie-Kristine and her kokom at the local church in Manawan

From this nuanced collaboration with the young women, I have learned at my own expense, that it is fundamental to learn to adapt to a different pace, or as Stengers formulates it, to 'slow down our reasoning' (Stengers, 2005:994).

Conclusion

When I began this research journey with Circle of Voices, I thought that I had found my ultimate purpose: a way to leave my first meaningful imprint on the world. Allied in a common vision, my inquisitive heart, my passionate mind, and my white, female body led allowed me to wish for creating change, hope and mutual understandings between peoples. I thought to myself: this is going to be a life-long journey. I could not imagine where and how it could ever end.

My 3 years-old self meeting her first Indian

Over the years, I take a new look at what instigated my quest for adventures. At 18, I left my home country pursuing independence, freedom, and a more satisfying study program in Berlin. In anthropology, I found a way to discover my self through the study of the other. As much as this research journey was a fulfillment of my dream as an aspiring researcher, it was also the beginning of a long process to reconciliate with my roots and my French identity. I will echo Clare Land, active supporter of Aboriginal struggles, who writes: "I acknowledge that I am changed by the research: in particular, the workings of my own privileges have become more apparent (although not fully transparent) to me throughout the research project" (Land, 2015:). This work was made possible by the webs of privilege and oppression in which I, and all the people involved in the project, are situated. From this position, I consider that academic research has a responsibility to face societal challenges and implement political change, with the role of technologies in that enactment being key.

With this thesis, I hope to have contributed to the growing field of Techno-Anthropology with a research project exemplifying the practice of bridging both worlds of technologies and anthropology. Theoretically, I explored the overlapping of cultural anthropology (addressing one of the discipline's favourite subject and alter ego: the Indigenous Other) and of different streams in science and technology studies. In practice, I have assembled digital visualisation technologies and multimedia ethnographic materials on circleofvoices.com, translating Indigenous knowledge about cultural revitalisation and contemporary expressions of Indigeneity. I have analysed this process of

transformation from multiple angles: through my relationships with Indigenous participants and the dynamics of collaboration which build the foundations for the knowledge produced; through the experimental interplay between ideas, stories, experiences and non-human entities acting as technological mediators; and through an analysis of socio-technical processes emerging in and around the website, such as patterns of reification, the practice of validity and accountability, and the multi-linearity of narratives. It is through these intricate human-technology relations that the knowledge presented in Circle of Voices is elicited, transformed and mediated. Embracing both the human and non-human world, Circle of Voices emerges as the meeting of species, but not quite in Haraway's terms (2007). In my research project, familiar partners, such as anthropological research and Indigenous knowledge, meet technological tools, design practices, and engaged positionality. As I come to the completion of my academic cycle, I fathom this thesis to be a confluence of diverse conceptual teachings, transformative endeavours, personal convictions, and fruitful encounters. I hope my work here will honour the streams of wisdom which have met my personal trajectory and that they will continue to shape my life outside academia.

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