# Towards Constructing Indigenous Political Identity: A Study of Tomson Highway's Kiss of the Fur Queen

#### Dr. Santosh Bharti

Abstract-There are several factors involved in the formation of identity. Identity is historical and thus also dependent on the position in society. So much so, different sections of people are seriously engaged today in defining and redefining themselves in their struggle for recognition and representation. It is unsettling how one version of the truth can become a criterion for measuring/evaluating other constructions of reality. In recent decades there has been an increase in self-confidence among indigenous peoples in Canada with a desire to revive their traditional cultures to renew their identity. In this paper attempt is made to examine the undercurrents in the debates on the concept of political identity of indigenous peoples. Through Tomson Highway's novel, Kiss of the Fur Queen, the paper outlines the problems in understanding and implementing indigenous political rights. For the indigenous peoples, their unique spiritual relationship with ancestral land/'territory' is integral to their socio-political and cultural identity. This is because indigenous peoples lived in and occupied ancestral lands well before the advent of the Canadian state. Indigenous social and political rights are in a sense, among other things, about decolonization of the legal and political freedom to follow indigenous customary laws and practices in accordance with their own legal systems and political institutions. However, there is a major constraint in defining 'customary laws' and therefore in conceiving its implementation within the Canadian national legal system. An attempt is made here to reflect Highway's ideas on what it may mean to be 'Canadian'. The paper highlights the dichotomy in the idea of 'self-determination' and 'self-governance' and how identity can be used as a political instrument to make a case for the indigenous in Canada.

**Key Words:** Political Identity, Kiss of the Fur Queen.

### Introduction

Indigenous identity is a complex and contested topic of discussion in Canadian political and cultural discourse. Today, indigenous peoples, are culturally diverse with varying levels of acculturation to mainstream Canadian society. This process of acculturation (be it social, cultural, psychological) resulted in cultural disruption and confusion, marginalization, discrimination and most important, an identity crisis for indigenous peoples. They were often being perceived as stateless communities or nations within Canada. Thus, in order to establish themselves as 'distinct' societies and sustain their rights, indigenous movements in Canada became more pronounced in the second half of the twentieth century attempting to transcend their dependence on the state towards a more autonomous existence. This is evident in the shift in the debate amongst the indigenous, towards self-determination and self-governance.

Because identities are embedded in systems of power based on race, class and gender, they have assumed political significance with ramifications for how contemporary and historical collective experience is understood. In this sense, identity includes ways of looking at people, how history is interpreted, understood and negotiated. For indigenous peoples, individual identity is always being negotiated in relation to collective identity in the colonizing society (Lawrence 2003). Further, identity of Canadian indigenous peoples has been viewed by scholars and policy makers within the narrow construct of a movement to enhance "self-governance". These views

understand indigenous identity politics in terms of the value system of the existing dominant paradigm and therefore view it as a part of it. Yet, indigenous writers and political theorists have been arguing on a different line of thought which considers indigenous identity or identities to be unique. Portrayal of indigenous identity, is very important as debates about 'identity' involve concrete policy choices and have to be understood as an interplay of theory and practice to understand how effectively these identities are being portrayed and on the basis of that protected by the state.

Ever since Canada proclaimed its Constitution Act in 1982 incorporating the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the federal government has not been politically or judicially responsive enough to accommodate satisfactorily the legitimate rights of indigenous peoples. Their "contemporary Native identity therefore exists in an uneasy balance between concepts of generic 'Indianness' as a racial identity and of specific 'tribal' identity as Indigenous nationhood". However, when one speaks of indigenous identity in Canada it "reinforces the notion that the word "Indian" describes a natural category of existence" and that "as a collective identity it was imposed on Indigenous populations when settler governments in North America usurped the right to define Indigenous citizenship, reducing the members of hundreds of extremely different nations, ethnicities, and language groups to a common raced identity as "Indian" (Lawrence 2003).

# Indigenous Writings and Tomson Highway

In redefining what it means to be indigenous, a new genre of writing emerged in Canada around 1960s by Canadian indigenous writers demanding indigenous rights to self-determination and land rights. These demands were based on historical claims accompanied by a large scale production of indigenous histories, memoirs, literary texts documentaries, attempting to portray the realities of indigenous life. A central mode of retrieving indigenous past in postcolonial literature was through reconstructions of their cultural and national

histories and identities. For indigenous writers, literature is not a leisure time or pleasure writing. It is considered as a means to record their glorious past before the advent of the colonizers. Writing for indigenous peoples is liberation, healing and medicine. It's a tool to condemn "the other", who is "othering" the indigenous Canadians. It is not simply about 'political power' but about a historical consciousness that the movement is inclined towards.

Though residential schools had damaging impact on indigenous traditional cultures and aimed at assimilation of indigenous children into the dominant culture and society, it helped indigenous peoples get education, an opportunity to write in English and make themselves heard. For example Tomson Highway, a person of Cree identity, and a product of the residential school became a famous pianist, playwright, novelist and theatre artist. Like him, many other indigenous children grew up to become teachers, novelists, musicians, politicians and lawyers. It is also due to residential school education that Highway writes his plays in English while incorporating indigenous language (Cree) and mythologies from his indigenous culture.

Highway's narrative is about the survival of indigenous spirituality and its healing powers indicating that indigenous spirituality is integral to Canadian indigenous identity and that the survival of the indigenous spirituality relates to the survival of that identity today. Indigenous texts, "engage fairly overt post colonial and decolonization themes that include the reestablishing of Native cultures and the challenging of historical and cultural records. The texts also expose destructive government policies and social injustices" (LaRocque 2010). This cultural clash also corresponds to Tomson Highway whose vision is embedded in Cree heritage but also distanced from it due to his white-English Canadian education. Such post colonial indigenous identity of indigenous writers/First Nations writers, is beset with ambivalence. On one hand, the intermingling of western forms with tribal and pan-tribal traditions, has led indigenous writers to "conceive of imaginable forms of identity

creation, in which boundaries are flexible and colonial realities can be subverted with little fear of punishment or reprisal", on another level, "the notion of hybridity undermines Native sovereignty, both individual and communal" (Sinclair 2010). Thus, indigenous writers, in their writings, "deploy individual untranslated words or phrases as markers of difference and remake colonial languages like English into distinctive or hybrid forms" (Hawley 2001). Mixing both indigenous Cree and English together, Highway constructs a "powerfully dialogized, hybrid narrative that enables him to write back, not only to expose and condemn the evil that so traumatized an entire generation of native people" but "thereby making its unfamiliarity to non-Cree speakers gradually familiar while always reminding his non cree readers that this strange language (Cree) belongs here and is in control of the story" (Grace 2001). It is important to note that Highway in his works does not reject the Western tradition or criticize it. Rather he presents a mixture of Cree and Western narrative style to address various serious issues of misogyny, homophobia, violence and sexual abuse (Pearson 2007). Thus, "through the medium of drama, natives themselves are beginning to present a veritable smorgasbord of ideas; different concepts of time, different mythologies, a different kind of spirituality, different attitudes toward sexuality, different concepts of relationships between people where the non-interference ethic is paramount, a different attitude toward land and perhaps the most difficult for Western readers to comprehend, a gender-neutral, non-hierarchical world view. Much of the drama is yet to come; as it continues to be produced it has the potential to have a profound impact on Western modes of thinking" (Grant 1995). Thus, within the Fourth World paradigm, indigenous literature is seen as social protest writing and this canon of Fourth World literature attempts to explore the "distinctive cultural traditions and hybrid identity that inform indigenous existence and continued survival" connecting to pan-tribal Fourth World community and history (Murphy 2008). Considered as "post colonial" writings, indigenous writers/authors narrate the stories of dispossession, loss of land, language,

marginalization, disruption, displacement, and identity, but "they also crucially give us narratives of persistence and survival and even celebration" at times.

# Political Identity in Kiss of the Fur Queen

In 1988, discussion about accommodating different ethnic groups led to the passage of Multiculturalism Act in 1988 which allowed more space for the indigenous literary canon to be culturally different. Indigenous writers of Canada like Thomas King, Beth Brant, Tomson Highway and others, included mythical figures of indigenous origin such as the 'trickster' in their work giving it a strong indigenous flavour. Given this sense of "difference" in indigenous writings, it has become a culturally appropriate means of approaching indigenous literature (Fagan 2010). Such body of works "provided a strategic rallying place for Indigenous artists across Canada to make strong political points in a way that was healing for them and their communities". Such association with indigenous trickster also "made the point that Indigenous people were tired of being stereotyped in mainstream Canadian cultural production, tired of having traditional stories used without permission or even acknowledgment of the storytellers and tired of being excluded from national and provincial institutions that regulated access to education, grants, and cultural capital" ( Fee 2010). Since trickster is a central figure in indigenous traditions and literature, it has helped indigenous leaders and writers to include political advocacy about indigenous rights in their works for example Harold Cardinal's *The* Unjust Society (1969), The Rebirth of Canada's Indians (1977), Maria Campbell's Half-breeds (1973), Beatrice Culleton's In Search of April Raintree (1983) and many more. Such political assertiveness with rise in educational levels, marked a revival of indigenous pride and cultural renewal (Magocsi 1999).

Highway's novel *Kiss of the Fur Queen*, describes trickster, "as pivotal and important a figure in our world as Christ is in the realm of Christain mythology". It has many names and guises for example Weesageechak in Cree, Nanabush in Ojibway, Raven in others. He is seen

as a comic, clownish character whose role is to teach about "the nature and the meaning existence on the planet Earth; he straddles the consciousness of man and that of God, the Great Spirit" (Highway 1999). This trickster figure, in Kiss of the Fur Oueen takes the character of the Fur Queen, who is one of the many trickster figures that appear in Highway's writings. The Fur Queen is described as the winner of the town's annual beauty pageant, who with her sparkling tiara and her Arctic fox fur cloak, presents a trophy to Abraham Okimasis, a Cree caribou hunter who won the Dog Sled Race at the Manitoba Trappers' Festival in 1951. The Fur Queen later kisses him indicating the entry of a First Nation hero into white popular culture. Since tricksters are always describes as shapeshifters, Highway presents this mythical figure as protector and spiritual healer for the two main protagonists-Jeremiah and Gabriel. According to Wendy Pearson, "the novel hybridizes the Fur Queen from a white teenager tricked out with a tiara and a cape of artic fox into Cree Trickster, a compromised and compromising mixture of the colonial and the pre-colonial, of the serious and the camp" (Pearson 2007). Thus, the presence of this mythic figure pervades the novel and the story of the two brothers (Abraham's sons). The Fur Queen keeps a watch over the family of Abraham Okimasis throughout the whole book, indirectly helping them in their greatest struggles and even bringing Abraham Okimasis's children into the world.

As a transcultural writer, Tomson Highway's Kiss of the Fur Queen, centres on transcultural identities of his protagonists, acquired as a result of forced assimilation. The Cree-brothers, in the novel, named Champion and Ooneemeetoo Okimasis are wrested away and educated at a Catholic residential school. At the residential school, they suffer sexual abuse at the hands of priests, disruptions and attack on their language, their innocence as children, their culture, selfesteem and dignity because of assimilative racist policies and practices. Their names too are changed to Jeremiah and Gabriel (Fitznor 2006). Estranged from their own people and alienated from the white culture imposed upon them, and caught up between two cultures,

Champion/Jeremiah becomes a concert pianist before turning to social work and later writing while Ooneemeetoo/ Gabriel becomes a dancer and choreographer by incorporating native elements in his performances. Hence, "the narrative moves continually between Native and White cultures, exploring the destabilizing effects of this clash on the young men's lives, each of whom has a dual identity as a Cree artist classically trained in a White milieu" (Howells 2004). Both protagonists express a desire to belong rather than embracing the ethno-cultural plurality which characterizes their surrounding or family histories (Loschnigg 2010). Thus, the novel "redresses Canadian history by decrying the Canadian cultural assimilation policies directed to annihilate First Nations' cultures and identities" (Fraile 2009). In spite of this, desire to 'belong' to mainstream society, the brothers are unable to fit in. The younger chooses dancing as his career which "Highway's narratives insists ... is still ... a practice that is culturally and spiritually meaningful among Aboriginal people in Canada" (Belghiti 2009).

According to Lindsey Claire Smith, Kiss of the Fur Queen evokes an indigenous identity that, is firmly grounded in cities as a centre for indigenous activism and community-building. Tomson Highway, who is Cree, through his text, "locates an urban Indigeneity that does not retain the same enduring ties with reservations that are common in earlier Native texts. Throughout his novel, Highway develops an urban-centred sense of Native place" (Smith 2009). Through the urban setting, Highway transforms Cree identity suggesting that, a sense of fulfillment can also come from locating indigenous identity within the city and not necessarily from a reserve. This reflects the legacies of Canada's varied indigenous peoples—Metis, Inuit, status and non status indigenous peoples, living in urban cities who experience duality of indigenous/colonial identity. Such dual identity or so to say fragmented human identity is due to experienced relocation in historical context. In the novel, the two brothers after completing their residential school, move to Winnipeg and find themselves living their dual identity in the city, caught between two realities. Jeremiah, the eldest

brother relates to those indigenous peoples who seem to be attracted to white culture, almost in denial of his indigenous origin. Gabriel too is completely urbanized and lives like whites only to discover later that he has AIDS. It is only at his death bed he finds his *self*, rooted in the past and tries to reconcile himself with his indigenous identity. Towards the end of novel, the Okimasis brothers verbalize their identity from which they were alienated for long. The vision of the Fur Queen that precedes Gabriel's death seems to announce the victory of indigenous spirituality. The trickster is not always a benevolent figure. Cynthia Sugars points out that, figure of trickster appears, "as various settler figures" encountered by Canadian indigenous peoples and its evil presence which is represented in the form of abusive priests at the residential schools or the modern commercialized metropolis and so on. This human turned monster "Weetigo", also "represents a critical after-effect of colonialism, for it embodies the ways members of a culture can be induced to turn on their own people" (Sugars 2012).

Another scholar views the figure of the Fur Queen or trickster as pan-tribal and critical of heteronormativity (Buzny 2011). According to him, Highway "depicts an alternative, circular temporality". In the text, Gabriel and his elder brother Jeremiah make attempts to confront the traumas inflicted upon them by the priests at the Birch Lake Indian Residential School. Scarred by the marks of residential school, the boys enter their adulthood and attempt "to modernize their primitive Cree subjectivities" (Buzny 2011). Throughout the narrative, Highway recounts the story of how both brothers as adults attempt to transform their distressing and harrowing childhoods-Jeremiah through music and Gabriel through dance—"into powerful affective states that enact a decolonization of their minds and bodies, primarily through the exorcism and abjection of Roman Catholicism". Later, Gabriel appears to embody 'Two-spiritedness' when he comes to understand that his suppression and oppression is through heteronormativity and colonialism (Buzny 2011).

Apart from transcultural identities both

protagonists Jeremiah and Gabriel face, one might argue that Highway through his novel Kiss of the Fur Queen, "invokes a tradition of First Nations two-spiritedness in order to suggest a universalizing conception of gender fluidity that allows gay identity to cohere with First Nations identity" (Henderson 2009). Elaborating on this, Andrew John Buzny states that, two-spirit is a unique indigenous sexual and gender identity which represents the blending of masculine and feminine spirits within one sexed body. The term 'two-spirit' was originated at the third Annual gathering of gay and lesbian Native people in Winnipeg in 1990, in order to counter discourse to white GLBTQ (Gay, lesbian, Bisexual, transgender and questioning) movements and as an alternative to colonial term berdache" and "third gender", to describe indigenous queer identities, communities and activism. By embracing the term 'two-spirit', indigenous peoples are attempting to claim their history and identity within their communities (Buzny 2011; Driskell 2010).

This sexual difference has been seen as a movement for self-representation of sexual minorities critiquing normality and embracing sexual minority differences (Cronin and McNinch 2004). To promote this difference, there are numerous two-spirit organizations across America and Canada such as the San Francisco, Minneapolis, Winnipeg groups, who emphasize on spiritual and cultural connections of the indigenous queer to their indigenous identity (Gilley 2006). As a pan-Indian phenomena, two spirits see their identities "as continuations and extensions of social roles and identities within Native communities" (Gilley 2006). For example, "male-bodied two spirits conducted death rituals, such as digging graves and preparing the deceased for burials. Thus, they ritually transcended the boundary between life and death. In some groups, male two-spirits also did work characteristic of women such as making quillwork and beadwork. Interestingly, these two-spirits held honour and respect in their indigenous societies. Winkte, alyha, mexago, tainna wa'ippe are some examples of the twospirits. The term berdache (used generally for males who are granted the social recognition of being a member of the opposite sex), is derived from the French word *bardache*, which is offensive to some indigenous groups because of the fact that it refers to a 'male prostitute'. The indigenous 'two-spirit' concept refers, to a male or female assuming a social role of the opposite sex. But the term *berdache* has been used by colonial settlers on Canadian land to impose European values on indigenous peoples (Womack 2010).

So indigenous homosexuality or the term 'two-spirit' enables indigenous peoples like Driskell and Highway to form a sovereign erotic, as Qwa-Li Driskell in his article, *Stolen from our bodies* states, "an erotic wholeness healed and/or healing from the historical trauma that First Nations people continue to survive, rooted within the histories, traditions, and resistance struggles of our nations. The term 'Two-Spirit' is a word that resists colonial definitions of who we are. It is an expression of our sexual and gender identities as sovereign from those of white GLBT (Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender) movements" (Driskell 2004).

The "two-spirited brings to the fore issues concerning race, ethnicity, indigeneity, naming, and spirituality as they relate to gender and sexual identities". In the novel, "Gabriel appears as queer who do not subvert both colonial and heteronormative discourses but comes to embody two-spiritedness when he comes to recognize that his oppression is mutually constituted through heteronormativity and colonialism" (Buzny 2011). The novel is autobiographical, in many ways. Jeremiah like Tomson Highway, is a concert pianist and playwright from northern Manitoba whereas Gabriel, like Highway's brother Rene, is a gay dancer who died of AIDS. But one central difference, is however, is that Jeremiah, unlike Highway himself, is heterosexual. However, "the experience of gay men such as Highway and his brother was hardly positive, but for a gay man this abuse cannot easily be divided from the resulting recognition of his sexual identity" (Goldie 2003).

# Conclusion

The cultural renaissance of indigenous literature

in Canada in the 1960s and 1970s was an effort in the direction of revitalization of indigenous cultures and to correct negative portrayals of indigenous identities that have affected their social and individual identities.

Further, Tomson Highway, through his writings exposes the traumatized state of indigenous communities in a cultural limbo. Attempting a cultural reclamation, Highway seeks to revive the trickster in his novel Kiss of the Fur Queen—a mythological figure forming an important part of indigenous cultures. Known by different names in different indigenous cultures (like Wenabozho in Anishnaabe, Nanabush in Cree), the trickster is a part of indigenous story-telling. By reviving the figure of Trickster, Tomson Highway reclaims his Cree culture and addresses the issues that had plagued indigenous societies for long in Canada. Though indigenous literature is a new genre, it is historically based on stories of colonization, coming of missionaries, residential schools, and their domination and subjugation.

Tomson Highway, a residential school survivor and first generation university educated indigenous person, uses a mixture of Cree and English language to tell his story. He constructs a powerfully dialogized, hybrid narrative that enables him to reproduce, expose and condemn the evil that traumatized indigenous communities for long. This way he creates a work of art that mixes cultures, languages, and modes of storytelling into a new heterogeneous discourse (Grace 2001). Such writing implies return to indigenous cultural roots which would enable indigenous peoples to recover a sense of belonging and identity. Like many postcolonial texts, Highway's Kiss of the Fur Queen explores the conflict between Euro-centric values and indigenous religious spirituality and creates an awareness of indigenous divine reality. In fact, his works have the blend of Euro-American background with indigenous ingredients derived from indigenous culture. So we can say that indigenous peoples like Tomson Highway,

generally represent a dual-identity. For example, to be Cree and Canadian at the same time enables them to restructure their relationship with Canadian government and maintain their distinct indigenous identity. In Highway's autobiographical novel Kiss of the Fur Queen, Jeremiah and Gabriel have dual identity, however both protagonists express their desire to belong to their traditional culture rather than embracing an ethno-cultural plurality. That is why Tomson Highway's works do not in real terms reject the dominant culture, rather they embrace it. In doing so, the social problem prevalent in contemporary indigenous communities in Canada is brought to the forefront—to confront the issue of indigenous colonization and subjugation and the necessity of indigenous healing for total well being. Highway chooses to write in English, to make his works accessible, not merely to the other groups of indigenous peoples but also to the potentially very large White-European leadership.

In his novel, Kiss of the Fur Queen, Highway moves beyond the customary western gender divide and invokes the tradition of twospiritedness found in indigenous cultures. Indigenous sexuality was found on multiple gender roles. Such tradition was erased with colonization, as it was associated with being gay or lesbian. Being unaccepted in dominant white culture, Tomson Highway's Kiss of the Fur *Queen* suggests a coherence of two-spiritedness with First Nations identity. Two-spirit is a term currently in use by indigenous peoples of Canada to reflect on their past culture. Prior to White-European contact, indigenous communities had two-spirit members who were honoured, respected and formed an integral part of indigenous communities. But after colonization, these peoples were dehumanized and often criticized by White-Europeans which distorted their unique identity in queer community. Today, it has become a political issue in relation to their identity. Being a homosexual himself, Tomson Highway makes his character Gabriel embrace homosexuality or two-spirit, to form a sovereign erotic. But how the two-spirit identity will cohere with the First Nations' identity in contemporary times, remains a question yet to be answered.

### **End Notes:**

- 1 Tomson Highway is a Canadian indigenous playwright, novelist, pianist and songwriter. For more information visit Tomson Highway's official website www. Tomsonhighway.com
- 2 Indigenous refers to individuals whose ancestors were original inhabitants of Canada before the arrival of the White Europeans. These indigenous peoples, under the sections 25 and 35, are recognized as Indians or First Nations, Metis and Inuit.
- 3 Indian refers to Status and Non-Status Indians. Status Indians are those who are registered with the Canadian federal government whereas Non-Status Indians are not.
- 4 One of the assimilationist scheme started by white-Europeans was the establishment Residential school to provide education to indigenous children.
- 5 Two-spirit is the English translation of the Anishninable/Objibway term "niizh manitoag".

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