What were we mapping? From the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project to the Southern Kalahari

Hugh Brody

Maps express the authority of those who make them, their claims to know and therefore own the world or the areas of the world that they thus declare to be theirs. Colonial and imperial expansion can be traced through a history of cartography. The names on British maps of Canada and much of southern Africa are evocative of their origins and purpose: members of the royal family, commanders of expeditions, explorers who represent the nation become headlands, islands, mountains and rivers. The challenge to these imperial claims, the assertion of prior or original entitlement to those lands, can also come in the form of maps. These set out different kinds of information about place, with names that belong much more deeply in the past and in the land. The authority behind these maps, and the needs that they meet, come from the peoples who have used and occupied the land 'since time immemorial'. The colonists' frontiers are thus revealed to be indigenous peoples' homelands.

The modern history of challenges to Canadian sovereignty, especially in the Arctic and British Columbia, is to be seen in a series of mapping projects. It was in these maps of indigenous life that representation of an altogether different way of knowing, using and laying claim to their lands, was pioneered. These rival maps, and the whole idea of cultural mapping, depended on a process and methodology that focused on achieving decolonization, originated in Canada and then spread across the social scientific and indigenous political world. I was fortunate to work on several of the Canadian projects, and also had the opportunity to help carry the methodology to the edge of the Kalahari Desert in South Africa. What follows here is a summary of this flow of mapping, a story about a set of stories each of which centers on a potential transformation of how the world should be seen and understood.

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In Inuktitut, the Eskimo language of the Canadian central and eastern Arctic, *nuna* is the word for land. *Nanik nunaqarpit,* where do you have land? is to ask "where do you live," and can mean "where do you come from?" The Inuit called their new jurisdiction, created in 1999, *Nunavut,* our land; *Nunavik,* widely translated as "great land", is now the name for the large Inuit region of northern Quebec. Inuit jurisdiction in Labrador was given the name *Nunatsiavut,* our beautiful land. Before Europeans laid claim to the Arctic, Inuit named the details of their environment, and not the large areas themselves – it was in response to Canadian maps that Inuit coined their own names for these as well. But the new Inuit territories were established on the basis of extensive research into who and where Inuit in each region used and occupied their lands. And this underlying evidence for Inuit rights and title resulted from the earliest cultural mapping projects, first begun in the 1970s. Mapping what had so often seemed to be invisible to outsiders, and therefore had been so easy to disregard, was pioneered in the Canadian north.

The word Inuit use to refer to a map is *Nunannguaq*, and can be translated as "pretend land". The morpheme *nnguaq* or *nnuar* can be either an infix or affix, and carries a range of meanings, depending on linguistic context. "He/she plays" (i.e. a game, for fun) is *pi-nguar-tuq*[1]; "he/she pretends not to know" is *qaujimangi-nnguar-tuq*; and "he/she acts" (as in a drama performance) is *nnguar-nnguar-tuq*, meaning pretend to pretend. Simon Anaviapik, my wonderful guide and mentor in Pond Inlet, the Inuit community at the north tip of Baffin Island, would often refer to me as *Irninnguaq*, which I understood to mean "pretend", i.e. "adoptive son". So a map, *nuna-nnguaq*, is the land made unreal, in an imitative form: standing in for something else. Virtual land.

But *nuna* is not quite as easy to translate as these examples of its use may suggest. When speaking of *nunangat, "*their lands", the Inuit include everything that they use – land, lakes and rivers, of course, but also ice; and Inuit elders make the point that their land, *nuna,* is not separable from all the animals on it, just as it is not separable from the plants, mosses and other features of the environment that Inuit know and depend on.[2] So *nuna* is often used to refer to a totality of environment, and not just the earth or piece of

1 I insert hyphens to show the place of *nnguar*; these would not be used in usual roman orthography for Inuktitut.

2 In a recent filmed interview (January, 2020) George Qulaut, an Inuit elder from Igloolik, said that "land" without inclusion of all "the animals" did not make sense to Inuit.

territory that can be separated out as a distinctive party of geographical reality.

Consider the different connotations between European and North American uses of the word "land". When they speak of their land, Western Europeans, along with just about all societies that depend on agriculture, are likely to be referring to a piece of earth that is demarcated and privately owned, and will not thereby denote seashore or even the rights to fish in rivers running through their land. North Americans will be more likely to talk about "the land" as a whole, something stretching in all directions and comprising everything it contain – including waterways, forests, animals and fish etc.[3] Inuit use "land" far more in the North American than European way, implicitly disavowing, or at least not relying on, any notions of land as something inherently divided and owned. Thus, when Inuit speak of the value of the land to them, they are including everything that is in and on the land, animals, water, coastal sea ice – and a knowledge of all these in virtue of which a place, *nuna*, is theirs to use. This suggests that they are including their sense of occupancy at least as much as their use of the land. This is a crucial distinction that I will be returning to.

There is also the problematic of ownership itself. Inuit, like so many hunter-gatherer societies, do not speak of owning their land or the animals and plants they rely on. In a recent interview, an Inuit woman recalled how her father had laughed out loud at the idea of anyone 'owning' the land.[4] Each extended family of Inuit – often referred to in the anthropological literature as "miut groups" – had a set of seasonal camps and hunting or gathering areas that constituted their territory. When outsiders began to say that these territories, or the land as a whole, "belonged to the government" or was "Crown Land", Inuit were both bewildered and indignant.[5] It is not true that there is no way of speaking of ownership in the Inuktitut language – the term *nangminiga* translates as "it is mine", and is used to denote personal

3 The popular and populist North American song, for example, "This land is your land, this land is my land…" invites and relies on a meaning of 'land' that is totalizing - and striking for its place in democratic and anti-establishment discourse, seeking to oppose a dominant, European way of speaking of land in which private ownership and therefore inequity are embedded. Hence the resonances of the singing of the song by Pete Seeger and his followers in the 1960s.

4 Rhoda Inuksuk, personal communication, January 2020.

5 A powerful statement to this effect can be found in the film *The People's Land: Eskimos of Pond Inlet*, made in the Granada TV *Disappearing World* Series, 1975.

possessions. But the land is not a possession of this kind, and the idea of a "land claim" was puzzling to many Inuit until it was understood that this was an issue not so much of ownership but management and control. Imposition of southern Canadian hunting regulations or rules about uses of wildlife revealed the new colonial threats far more forcefully than the abstraction of governmental assertions of overall ownership. The land was the arena of Inuit independence as well as their zone of complex economic and cultural value.

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The Canadian Inuit did not use writing of language until a syllabic script was introduced to the Arctic in the 1870s by missionaries and their first converts; the original purpose of this literacy centered on the Bible, or at least selected parts of it, as well as prayers and psalms. To receive and know the word of the Christian God, the Inuit were encouraged to be able to read some of the words for themselves. Before this intervention by outsiders, which transformed their spiritual lives, the Inuit – like most human beings in the long history of language – have learned, by listening as well as watching and doing. There was no such thing as a pencil or paper – the Inuktitut words for which vary from region to region. The Inuit used their flexible, agglutinative language to create multitudes of new words to name new pieces of material culture that came from the south.[6] Before Europeans provided writing materials, therefore, they did not make maps on paper. But I saw Inuit hunters sketch a travel map in the snow, and I am sure that this had in the past been a much-used way of sharing or talking about possible routes; so the facility for drawing maps predates any use of paper and pen.[7]

Inuit literacy consisted in a great facility to read the environment. The shape and orientation of ridges in snow can reveal the direction in which you are travelling in winter, even when all other indicators are invisible. The color and the patterns of meltwater on ice can show the safe routes to travel in

6 In the Ungava dialect, for example, the word for paper translates as 'resembles newly-formed (i.e. very thin) sea ice'. The word for writing has as its root a term referring to strangeness.

7 A fascinating exception might be the small wooden carvings made by Tunumiit hunters in east Greenland in the nineteenth century to reprise details of coastline and islands, see Harmsen (2018).

spring. Also, the landscape, and even the sea ice, is given meaning by multitudes of place names. There are many examples of this kind of literacy: through every working day, and perhaps in dreams as well, hunter-gatherers are reading, taking meaning from, their land. And sharing what they have 'read', passing on the meanings to others. To be able to make their own decisions, each hunter or gatherer depends on what others know and have learned; much time is given to hearing and reporting what has been experienced or remembered, contributing to an ever-expanding set of 'texts'. Much of this depends on great sophistication of both knowledge and perception, and remarkable feats of memory.[8] But none of this was recorded in any form of writing.

In 1822–23, at least fifty years before any Inuit had learned to read or write with syllabics, and some 100 years before missionaries first reached the Iglulingmiut, the people living at the very far north-west corner of Hudson Bay, two Inuit hunters were asked to draw maps. This request came from the captain of one of two ships that became trapped in the ice deep in Iglulingmiut lands. The ships were looking for the ever-elusive Northwest Passage, the imagined shipping route across the high Arctic from Europe to markets in Asia. Needing to work out this supposed route, and to understand where they were trapped, the captains of the ships, Parry and Lyon, both of whom had spent a great deal of time with the people they encountered, asked Inuit hunters to draw for them the shape and features of the coastline where they were trapped. This resulted in a set of three 'charts' that Parry in due course published as part of his report on the expedition (see Figure 1).[9]

The Inuit were able to draw for Parry and Lyon the coastline stretching far away from where the maps were made. One of the maps goes as far south as Southampton Island, a distance of 550 miles. Each of the maps shows both place names and information about the land and sea – places good for different kinds of hunting, productive fishing spots, qualities of tide and current, location of other Inuit groups etc. Parry reports that the Inuit who made the maps shaded the coastline with the pencil they were using. The detail and

8 See, for a very compelling example, John MacDonald (1998).

9 Parry was already among the most famous explorers in British naval history, having caused a popular sensation with his published report on his previous, 1818, expedition to the Arctic. He was quoted or cited, for example, by Byron, the Brontës and many other writers of the time, see MacDonald (2020). Both Lyon (1824) and Parry (1824) published detailed and illustrated journals.

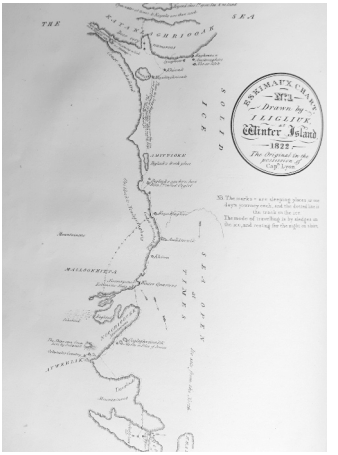
precision are remarkable; even more so is the facility with what must have been a completely new tool and an unfamiliar kind of intellectual process. For the first hundred or so miles of coastline, the relative distances between places and features of geography shown on these maps are very accurate; further away, and as the maps show areas that are of less importance to the Inuit making them, relative distances are compressed. But this set of drawn coastlines shows an astonishing facility for drawing the outline features of the environment as seen from above. In the mind's eye of the hunter, the land can be envisaged as if spreading below them. Inuit shamans, with their claim to make spirit flights over the land, reinforce this facility. The 1822–23 maps from Iglulik reveal the cartographic skills of at least the Inuit hunters Parry and Lyon came to rely on. In the late 1880s, Franz Boas reports on his Inuit hosts on Baffin Island making more than forty maps for him.[10]

Early in the twentieth century the young Robert Flaherty, when travelling and living with Inuit in Arctic Quebec, 760 miles south of Igloolik, heard for the first time that a group of islands not far off the coast were large enough to be the lands of a distinctive Inuit community. At the time, in the early 1900s, these islands were marked on Admiralty Charts as little more than rocky outcrops, named the Belchers. But Flaherty's guide and travelling companion in 1910 was George Weetaltuk, who told Flaherty about his home out on the islands that white people did not believe existed. Intrigued and inclined to believe Weetaltuk more than the Admiralty Charts of the day, Flaherty asked Weetaltuk to draw a map of his homeland. With great care, he outlined a complex multitude of islands; and indicated that it would take three days by dog team to travel the full length of the longest of them. This meant that Weetaltuk's homeland was at least 90 miles long; his map further showed that this hypothetical dog team journey covered only a small proportion of the lands that were shown on the map. In due course, Flaherty would reach these islands and discover that Weetaltuk's map was astonishing for its accuracy of both intricate detail and internal relative distances (see Figure 2).[11]

10 For this and much other detail and critical discussion of Inuit map making see Woodward/Lewis (1998).

11 By the time Weetaltuk met Flaherty, the Inuit of Arctic Quebec and south Hudson Bay had long been in contact with southern institutions and Euro-Canadian material culture. Many Inuit in that region would have been familiar with writing and Euro-Canadian maps since the late 1700s. Weetaltuk's complex map of the Belchers – as opposed to maps of the Igloolik area elicited by Parry 1822–23 – may well reflect this. Weetaltuk's grand-daughter, Mini Aodla Freeman (2015: 66-70), recalls Weetaltuk and

Figure 1: Parry's Chart of 1822 based on the map done for him by an Igloolik hunter (Source: Parry 1824); Figure 2: Weetaltuk's map of the Belcher Islands, drawn for Robert Flaherty in 1910 (Source: Flaherty 1918)



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In the late 1960s and though 1971 – the period during which a new oil and gas exploration frontier was opened up in extensive areas of the Mackenzie Delta – the need for coordinated resistance to large scale industrial development in the north was keenly felt across the communities of the western Arctic.[12] A new organization, the Committee of Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE), with headquarters in Inuvik, gave voice to local concerns. COPE represented all the regional groups that had strong cultural or economic interests in the region's land and wildlife – Inuvialuit, Dene, Métis and white trappers joined

his very remarkable life as community leader and boat- builder. The modern Inuktitut name for the Belcher islands is Sanikiluaq; for details of its fascinating topography see *Sanikiluaq Wikipedia 'images'*.

12 The new oil and gas frontier was not the first extensive intrusion into the Arctic of powerful outside interests. The Cold War, with USA fears of Soviet air invasion from the north, had led to the construction and maintenance from 1957 to 1988 of 63 Distant Early Warning stations, known as the DEW line. That was a set of military bases stretching the full width of the Northwest Territories (and beyond), some of them within easy distance of Inuit communities.

forces to protest, through COPE, against development activity that appeared to threaten their lands and livelihoods, and which seemed to be saying that the Mackenzie Valley was for the most part uninhabited 'wilderness'. COPE saw the apparent invisibility of local culture and economic activities as a central challenge. And from 1971, COPE was proposing that maps be made to show, as irrefutable defiance of the apparent blindness of developers and the government agencies that supported or licensed them, the nature and extent of hunting and trapping across the region. Nellie Cournyea, the first President of COPE, took a political lead in this initiative. Peter Usher, the Canadian geographer whose intensive and ground-breaking research into Inuvialuit economic life on Banks Island gave him a very sophisticated understanding of both local and national economic realities in the Mackenzie Delta, worked with COPE on the first conceptualization and design of this mapping.[13]

Alongside, and very much linked to this new phase of northern industrial development during the late 1960s and early 1970s, Canada's modern era of land claims began to take shape. At the same time as industrial development was coming to the north, the oil and gas frontier in the far north was opening up, and policies were being implemented aimed at establishing Canadian administration in even the remotest communities. A series of political-legal confrontations between hunters and trappers and developers or government (the two at times being inextricable entwined) shaped the national context. In 1967, an action was brought by the Nisga'a First Nation of northern British Columbia arguing that their Aboriginal Title to their lands and resources had never been extinguished. After losing in the lower courts of British Columbia, the Nisga'a case was taken to the Supreme Court of Canada. Its decision came down in 1973: The Court had split three to three on the central question of Aboriginal Title; and it was duly rejected on the deciding vote of the Court's senior judge. But this result was seen on all sides as a major victory for the Nisga'a, and a powerful blow to the government's view that all interests would be best served by further and final assimilation of indigenous peoples into Canadian society; Aboriginal Title could not be consigned to legal and political irrelevance.[14] At the same time, the James Bay hydro-electric project in northern

13 See Peter Usher's three volume report of his Banks Island work, where he gives detailed insight into how trapping and come to play a central role in western Arctic economic life and also documents the first incursion into the area of oil and gas interests (1971).

14 The assimilationist policy of the government of Pierre Trudeau was set out, famously, in the 1969 White Paper, which unleashed a furore of indignation and unrest in virtually

Quebec had triggered intense protest and opposition from both the Cree and Inuit whose lands and river systems were going to be drastically inundated or transformed. In 1971, this opposition secured an injunction, halting, albeit very briefly, all work on the project. This in due course led to the James Bay Agreement, negotiated through 1972–74 and signed into law in 1975. This Agreement recognized Cree and Inuit rights to their lands and resources, granted their entitlement to long-term compensation for damage being done to them, and established measures by which their way of life on the land be protected and developed in its own terms.[15]

These challenges to the assimilationist and development directions being taken by government were reinforced by intense concerns about Quebec separatism. In October 1970, activist members of the *Front de Libération du Québec* kidnapped the province's Deputy Premier and a British diplomat. Prime Minister Trudeau responded to this challenge by implementing The War Measures Act. In due course, the kidnappers released the diplomat, but murdered the Deputy Premier. For Canada, this was a crisis of sovereignty, and Trudeau's central concern a refusal to countenance forces that aimed at its fragmentation. Events in Quebec and calls for recognition of Aboriginal title were linked.[16] This buildup of pressures led the government of the day, still led by the charismatic Pierre Trudeau, to announce a remarkable political *volte face*. In 1969, his government had insisted that the entire apparatus of special interests of indigenous people in Canada and the special relationship that these had caused to develop within the Canadian body politic should all be dismantled. Then, Trudeau suddenly declared, in 1973, that the whole possibility of new arrangements and, in effect, modern treaties, should after all be "given a try". To this end the government set up funds and new administrative structures to deal with what came to be called "land claims".[17]

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every Aboriginal community across the country. For a First Nations perspective and excellent summary, see "The White Paper 1969", https://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/the_white_paper_1969/ (last accessed July 11, 2020).

15 For the text and implications of this Agreement, legally The James Bay and Northern Quebec Native Claims Settlement Act, see "Justice Laws Website, Canada", https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/ (last accessed July 11, 2020).

16 For details of the Quebec crisis, see http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/quebechistory/chronos/october.htm(last accessed July 11, 2020).

17 The continuing and deeply complex arguments for Aboriginal Title, and related historical/legal issues, is elegantly explored in Culhane (1997).

Thus 70 percent of Canada's total land surface was thrown open to some form of negotiation that could result in a new Agreement on Treaty between 'Canada' and an indigenous people or First Nation.[18] With this policy u-turn, Canada appeared to establish itself as a global leader in a new kind of political morality, seemingly centered on respect and acknowledgment for indigenous peoples' rights to their lands and resources.

It is important to be cautious about these kinds of accolade or motivation: Canada was concerned to achieve non-conflictual development of its northern resources as well as to establish a new northern equity. The new land claims could be expected to create a stable, low-risk investment environment. Yet the discourse around the new policy, and the initiatives it launched, were striking for a lack of cynicism: Aboriginal people across Canada understood the Trudeau initiative as a recognition of their right to both lands and genuine self-government. Over the following decades, documentation of this right became a central challenge to many indigenous communities in northern and western Canada. Among the first to take on this challenge were the Inuit of what was then called The Northwest Territories; and the decision was made to make Inuit relationships to their lands visible on sets of maps.

A year before the policy change and its establishment of land claims as a feature of federal government policy and institutions, a newly formed organization, Inuit Tapirisat of Canada,[19] launched the first cultural mapping project. This came to be known as the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project (ILUOP). Its ambition was remarkable: at its center was the aim to make a map biography for every Inuit who had used and occupied the land, and that this should include details of every single form of resource harvesting and related land use. Further, the plan was that older Inuit would make separate complete maps for each of three possible phases of their lives – the time before there was a trading post in their territory, between the arrival of traders and the establishment of a day school in the settlement where they were now living, and the period since the arrival of the school. Younger hunters, trappers and gatherers would make just the one, post school map; but the expectation was

18 The link between Quebec separatism and Aboriginal land claims can be seen in the adoption of the word "Nation", to refer to Quebec and 'First Nations' to Canadian Aboriginal peoples, meeting a shared demand for recognition for their special statuses within Canada, i.e. the very identity that the 1969 White Paper had forcefully rejected.

19 *Tapirisat* translates as potential members of a team or brotherhood. It subsequently changed its name to *Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami* – "the Inuit teams/partnerships in Canada".

that each community, as a whole, would in this way be able to demonstrate not only the nature and extent of land use, but also the ways in which the pattern of use had changed in response to outside forces.

Further, the mapping also aimed to show the nature of Inuit intellectual and cultural relationship to their lands. To this end, separate maps were made to show place names, travel routes, locations of special importance (former living and camping sites, berry picking areas, graves, places of special non-economic importance, etc.); and maps were made to show Inuit understanding of biology – including, for example: caribou migration and calving areas, polar bear denning sites, relationships between killer whales, narwhal and spring ice conditions. The places Inuit had lived in previous generations were marked, as also the ancient, barely visible house sites of the peoples who were in their lands before the Inuit – the cultural ancestors of the Inuit, whom they often refer to as Tunit, and the culture that predated Inuit occupation of the Arctic by several thousand years, the so-called Dorset people. To amplify these bodies of knowledge, recordings were made of discussions with both Inuit elders and youth in which they shared memories, further details of their relationships to their land and their concerns or fears about the way Inuit life was changing or seemed to be under various kinds of threat. In combination, this constituted the first, and in many cases the only, detailed account of Inuit realities from an Inuit point of view.

This work revealed the way in which Inuit knowledge of the environment is built from multitudes of detail, with both place names and stories about specific places or areas creating a web of interconnected information. In her study of the Innuinait of the Canadian central Arctic, Beatrice Collignon (2006: 92-96) explains how this kind of knowledge, with routes that hunters travel creating sets of lines across the land combining with zones of use and stories in relation to both humans and animals, generates an intellectual "framework on which a mental image of the land can be anchored" (ibid: 96). This account of Inuinnait ways of understanding and knowing their environment echoes core findings of the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy work. In both cases, these are findings that reveal the extent to which a great deal of mobility can constitute mental structures that are well suited to the making of maps. The question has to be asked, however, about how two-dimensional maps can do justice to this multi-dimensional way of using and occupying the land. The multitude of data, background information and maps generated by the ILUOP speak to the great extent, depth and complexity of Inuit relationships to their lands.

The results of this vast, ambitious project were published in a three-volume report; and various essays have been written reflecting on the way the work was done and what it might have achieved.[20] The ILUOP was very soon followed by cultural mapping work, usually linked to pursuit of land claims or Aboriginal title, that adopted its basic methodology – the map biography and layering of 'occupancy' on or alongside 'use'. This series of projects meant that Inuit in Labrador (Nunatsiaq) and Arctic Quebec (Nunavik) set out their relationships to the North in areas not included in the Northwest Territories. These were followed by methodologically allied mapping projects carried out in Canada by Dene (the western subarctic), Ojibway (northwest Ontario), Danneza (northeast British Columbia); and, in due course by indigenous groups around the world. Some of these projects, including the ILUOP, led to land claims settlements (e.g. both the Inuvialuit Settlement Region in 1984 and the establishment in 1999 of Nunavut). All of the mapping projects also played important roles in building social and even psychological strength within communities and families; and in carrying the argument for recognition to centers of power. In each case, they were used to make visible that which had seemed to be, or was deemed to be, invisible.

The ILUOP relied on a small team of social scientists, each responsible for a region of the Northwest Territories. As a member of this team, I coordinated the work in the North Baffin and northern Foxe Basin area. In each community, the teams worked in a close partnership with elders and assistants. We spent many hours with Inuit as they set out on maps or in memories the multitude of places they had used and the ways they had used them, were impressed – and often deeply moved – by the excitement and joy that this work generated. I remember that in all the four communities where I either helped to create maps or had the job of going over composite maps to show combined areas of use and occupancy, the process had strong social and intergenerational dimensions. As an elder worked on the maps, both other elders who were visiting and members of the family in the house where the work was being done gathered round to watch – and, often, to share thoughts, ask questions, clarify details. Older men and women encouraged the young to be there, to hear the stories; while younger hunters and gatherers became ever more enthusiastic about making their maps.

20 The three volumes were published as: "The Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project" (Freeman 1976); also Freeman (2011); Brody (2018).

This was a moment in northern history when relocation to new government-built settlements had just taken place. The Canadian government began its policy of creating relatively large, consolidated Inuit settlements in the 1950s. But in the central and eastern Arctic, this change did not take place until the 1960s, and was, in the remotest regions, still taking place in the early 1970s. Many individuals and families were experiencing new forms of stress as a result of the transition from a life centered on a set of hunting camps to life in a consolidated settlement. Some hunters struggled to get out onto the land as much as they would have liked, with concomitant feelings of despondency and some eruptive anger. Alcohol was beginning to arrive in large quantities, bringing unprecedented levels of stress and even violence. Older Inuit tended to be very critical of the young; and the young often spoke of their frustrations and disappointments. Schools were insisting on routines that did not fit well with previous established patterns of daily life and geographical mobility. Thus, the map making was for many people a chance to celebrate their way of using and knowing the land prior to the settlement era; and the project was also a chance to express deep anxiety about what people saw as new and powerful and, in their view, destructive social and economic forces. These considerations gave distinctive political and psychological energy to the mapping. The process as well as the results can be seen to have many kinds of value.

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The importance and apparent success of the ILUOP and its intellectual progeny, however, should not leave some of its underlying conceptual and methodological tenets unchallenged. In fact, a first such critique came from another Canadian indigenous organization – the Gitksan and Wet'swet'en Tribal Council. In 1987, this alliance of neighboring, inter-related peoples in northwest British Columbia launched a legal action against the Provincial Government arguing that Aboriginal title to their lands had never been extinguished and that Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en jurisdiction and laws should prevail across the 45,000 square miles of their 'traditional territories'. From the start, this action decided to draw on the evidence of maps; a comprehensive and sophisticated cartographic project was set up in Hazelton, at the Tribal Council's administrative center in northern British Columbia. But this mapping work began with a challenge to the ILUOP and allied forms of land claims research.

The critique centered on the legal status of 'use and occupancy'. The Gitskan-Wet'suwet'en leadership and its legal team pointed out that use and occupation are not valid or appropriate criteria for jurisdiction and territorial ownership. They pointed out that no nation-state must demonstrate its actual use of lands to justify those lands being part of the national territory. Unoccupied off-shore islands are not excluded from a jurisdiction by virtue of not being used and inhabited. So why do indigenous peoples have to satisfy these criteria? Moreover, do these criteria mean that places from where an indigenous people has been driven out cease to be part of that people's land claim? For the Gitksan and Wet-suwet'en, whose lands had been taken over within the previous fifty to a hundred years by large numbers of southern, colonial settlers, this was a point of intense significance. Their mapping project reflected this conceptual challenge to the legal theory implicit in the ILUOP: rather than map places its people used and occupied, the Gitksan-Wet'suwe'ten Tribal Council prepared maps to show the outlines of the complex of family-based hereditary territories that, together, make up their two Nations. Alongside these maps they also set out the laws and traditions that ensured each such territory was named, managed and passed on from generation to generation. Thus, these maps did not concern themselves with hunting, fishing or gathering areas within each territory, and disregarded the presence of outsiders – be it their farms or towns. When working on a film related to the court case, I was fascinated and indeed very moved by the way in which one Wet'suwet'en elder stood below a mountain of great importance to his territory, giving its name and pointing out his inherited boundaries, disregarding the presence on his mountain of the Smithers ski slopes and, below the mountain, part of the town itself. The elder laid claim to his lands, just as any nation might assert its right to its territory, by virtue of long-established jurisdiction.

Use and Occupancy may have their place in other kinds of evidence of links to those lands, but on this view the underlying assertion of title depended on something else. Indigenous societies tend very much to understand their land and the animals living on it as existing in a web of interactive relationships, with each sector observing and responding to the other. Thus, there are links to animals in dreams, or responses of the land itself to human behavior, and a constant interplay between the success or failure of hunting and the observance of taboos or a careful respect towards all that humans depend on. In this complex way, the land, *nuna*, exists within the sphere of mutual responsiveness. The occupancy of the land, beyond and beneath use, depends on and

expresses this set of fundamental relationships. The management of these relationships speaks to how a territory is occupied and, of even greater potential importance, how it is managed. This is a link to the nature and importance of jurisdiction.

When the Delgamuukw Case – so-called because it was framed as a class action through the name of one of the Gitksan senior hereditary chiefs – came to trial, extensive oral history evidence was led by the chiefs.[21] The Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en lawyers insisted that the basis for jurisdiction be established through the maps of the family territories and the formal narratives, the Adaox, that explain and affirm each territory. The Judge in the lower court expressed great impatience with and grave misgivings about this form of testimony. He worried that it might all be subject to hear-say rules of evidence, and would have to be struck out. In the event, he decided to allow the evidence to be called and heard in full, reserving his right to rule on its validity later (and he would indeed rule it to be "inadmissible").[22] This led to confrontations between the judge and elderly witnesses, most striking when one of them sang a song that was part of her Adaox – the moment in the trial when the judge declared that she should not sing because he had "a tin ear" (see Brody 2000: 206-215). But the most intense examination of the First Nation evidence in the course of the trial (which turned out to be the longest in Canadian legal history) centered on the maps. Were the boundaries of each of the territories to be trusted? Were there inconsistencies between different families' maps? Was this system a reality of the past or a reconstruction to achieve a legal purpose? It was the maps that challenged the Euro-Canadian forms and ideals of land ownership – they spoke to a very different and, in the context of the case, a radical challenge to the colonial and settler achievements. Whatever the fine judgment, however the dispute over jurisdiction might be resolved, in effect the power of the maps was acknowledged on all sides.[23]

21 For the development and unfolding of the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en claim, pursued in the Delgamuukw Case, see Culhane (1997); also see 'Blockade', the remarkable film exploration of this case, and issues to which it gave rise, made by Nettie Wild, 1994; https://vimeo.com/ondemand/thenettiewildcollection (last accessed July 10, 2020).

22 Though this ruling that it was inadmissible on the grounds of being 'hear-say', would in due course be overturned by the Supreme Court of Canada in its 1997 final judgment on the case.

23 The Supreme Court final ruling accepted that the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en had unextinguished Aboriginal Title to their lands; but did not specify what these lands encompassed. So the principle but not the geography of the maps was endorsed. Hence

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In 1996, I was asked to replicate the mapping work in northern Canada for a land claim being launched in South Africa by the ǂKhomani San of the southern Kalahari.[24] This claim was made possible by legislation that Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) government introduced soon after winning the 1994 election. The ANC had long said that once it secured power and the apartheid era was overthrown, it would ensure that those who had been dispossessed by racist laws would be able to claim that which they had lost – either with a view to its being returned to them or as a basis for compensation for their losses. Among its very first pieces of legislation, therefore, the new government created a Land Claims Office and put in place a process and legal mechanisms by which claims could be made by those who had been thus dispossessed since 1913. The significance of the date is twofold. First, it establishes that legal devices created in 1913 to take land away from black ownership and prevent black acquisition of land were going to be revoked and their consequences redressed. Second, these are claims originating in the legalities (and illegalities) of governance, not in anything like indigenous title. Nonetheless, the human rights lawyer Roger Chennells saw that the new ANC legislation meant that the San who had been evicted from their lands in the 1930s and 1970s by racial laws and racist administration could use the new land claims laws to file a claim. This led to the need to document relationships to those original lands. The ǂKhomani had been forced out of their homes and more or less disappeared from South African history; the challenge was to reverse this injustice and the consequent invisibility of the San; the decision was made to use maps to achieve this. Experience of the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy work was looked to for a possible template, giving a methodological starting point.

So, in 1996, I found myself sitting with a group of ǂKhomani in a small community center and extended family home at the edge of the Welkom township, a few miles from the gates to the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park, a

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the 2019-2020 intense dispute in Wet'suwet'en territory in relation to a natural gas pipeline (see Boynton 2020).

24 ǂKhomani is a name that appears to have been given to the San of the Southern Kalahari by ethnographers in the 1930s. It does not appear to be a name they had been using to refer to themselves as a group as whole. The term that was most often used by elders when I was working with them was N‡un/kwe, 'home people'. They are also identified as a group by virtue of their language, N/uu.

spectacular landscape of dunes and dry river beds where the borders of South Africa, Botswana and Namibia converge.[25] Leading members of the Kruiper and Malgas families, both of whom had lived within the park at least until the 1970s, began to draw on a set of topographical map sheets the places they had camped, hunted and travelled before their expulsion. And over the following two years, working in both Welkom and townships as much as 200 km from the Kalahari to which many San had gravitated in their dispossession, it was possible to document multiple and intricate relationships both to lands within the Park and to farms adjacent to it. But these relationships were not as anticipated. People told powerful stories about their lives, and spelled out the ways they had been driven off their lands and, in some narratives, hunted down and violently oppressed.

Figure 3: Oumas /Una and ǂKabakas showing the area in the southern Kalahari where they had lived as children (Photo: Bill Kemp, 1998)

25 First created in the 1930s, the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park has been renamed the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park. Our research revealed that two evictions had led to a final exclusion of San families from the Park; but also that many other related families, all coming from N/uu speaking heritage, and been dispossessed by Boer and Bastaar farmers from the late 19th through to the mid-20th century.

The focus of these narratives was loss, with memories that came from childhood and even, in some remarkable cases, from a time before the person was born – 'memories' that were spoken as recollection but which came from a passing on of events that was so vivid, or such special significance, or had such urgent reality, that what had happened to a parent became the lived experience of the child who had heard and internalized the story. And beneath or within this absorption of memory into experience there could have been a different concept of time. This sense of the past lived in the present informed much of the work - giving it intensity but also creating historical and conceptual puzzles. The narratives, spoken testimony coming from a profound tradition of oral culture, centered on lived experiences – for example, accounts of life as workers on farms adjacent to ancestral San lands, or being taken as part of the San dance troupe on show at the 1935 Johannesburg Empire Exhibition. But some of them also came from history they had heard. These recollections of history, however, were often told in the first person as if they were memory, or as memories within a San understanding of time, even though they pertained to events that we knew had taken place before the person was born – as, for example, description of the German army chasing down and shooting Nama speaking peoples fleeing the 1908 massacre.

The maps that were made to show these experiences and histories expressed this spread of time and geography, showing life as dispossession, with memories of use and occupancy or jurisdiction as the basis for a claim to an original home within the Park. Evidence on which to base this South African land claim was built with the narratives of diaspora, not accounts of 'traditional' hunting and gathering.[26] In this crucial regard, the southern Kalahari work was unlike both the Inuit and Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en projects. In fact, early in the process, when first sitting with San in front of maps of the lands from which they had been expelled, I realized that the ILUOP form of mapping had to be abandoned in all but a very small number of cases. The ǂKhomani testimony had to be built from narratives and experience of living away from places where they were born or which they looked to as ancestral homelands.

26 For extensive examples of these narratives and the background to the southern Kalahari mapping see the DVD: "Tracks Across Sand", directed by Hugh Brody, 2012 (https://store.der.org/tracks-across-sand-p342.aspx, last accessed July 12, 2020). For a summary of the ǂKhomani San land claim see Chennels 2002.

This meant that the people launching and then documenting the claim were drawn into questions about heritage and identity. In the case of both representatives of the South African National Parks view of them and anthropological critiques of San identity, their status as "Bushmen" or "hunter-gatherers" was contested. The "revisionist" strand within the so-called Kalahari Debate sought to deconstruct Kalahari hunter-gatherer self-definitions and putative heritage, urging the view that any such identity was either strategic fiction, self-deception under the influence of tourism and/or old-fashioned anthropologists, and a form of 'essentialism' on the part of either idealizing supporters or politically canny "Bushmen" themselves. The San who launched the southern Kalahari claim were all too aware of these challenges to their right to say they were Bushmen – dealings with officials of the Kalahari Gemsbok Park had included repeated expressions of hostile skepticism about their being anything other than "Coloured" or some sort of deracinated racial mix.[27] I heard aggressive examples of this when meeting with some of those officials in the course of the mapping work. In South Africa at that time, at the end of the Apartheid era, challenges on the basis of race were deeply discomfiting. And there was a troubling congruence between the positions taken by racist opponents of Bushman land claims and the discourse being promoted by anti-essentialist and post-modern strands in anthropology: they joined voices to achieve the dire aim of much colonialism – to drive the San out of their own history. But the narratives of dispossession, alongside linguistic evidence and many explanations of their history, showed that the southern Kalahari claimants were in no doubt themselves about their links to lands from which they had been driven, and a heritage that showed them to be a distinct group of San.

Yet the mapping of ǂKhomani experience and narratives was, in profound ways, unlike the land use and occupancy sets of maps. The extent and long history of dispossession meant that there was a more or less complete disappearance from the actual and metaphorical maps of South Africa; and, flowing from all this, an absence from history and an extensive repudiation of identity. Abandonment of language, along with much that was of distinct cultural importance, was part of almost every family's experience. In the course of the work, many elders spoke with great poignancy about this self-disappearance

27 For an anthropological expression of this skepticism see Steven Robins (2001); for a subsequent view of the complexities of the land claim for South African history see Frances/Francis/Akinola (2016).

phenomenon. In a remarkable interview, Ouma /Una Roi spoke of the way in which her people, under the violent pressure of the Boer, whom they worked for and came to depend on, had dug a grave for their language and buried it – anticipating that "when we have a place at the table" the language would be disinterred and given life again. Similarly, marriage between N/uu speakers and other peoples of the area, along with adoption of Khoekhoegowab, the language of the Nama herding peoples of the region, on the part of the families with the most recent links to their former homes and lands inside the National Park, meant that the ǂKhomani faced many complexities in documenting their claim. Mapping this degree and form of loss differs at its core from mapping a hunter-gatherer system that is extant, even if it also often turns to memory to find or set out its heartlands. To map that which is no longer actual, or to represent often uncertain and quite distant memory on maps, is a different kind of challenge.

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Memory and stories, even at two or more generations remove, are vital parts of many peoples' sense of their heritage and their rights and title to lands and resources. Occupancy had to be mapped to show Inuit relationships to their land; it could be said that it is the combination, indeed, from the Inuit point of view, the inseparability, of occupancy and use that establishes the depth and meaning of those relationships. And the challenge of cultural mapping is, of course, to find ways to document 'culture' in map-like forms at least as much as the representation of the geography of hunting and gathering. Mapping projects need to find a way to include spirituality and myths. The more a society seeks to establish ancestral heritage, with a need to explain and show meaning and values as much as the nature of resources of an economic system, the more it is likely to move from the practicalities, with their routines of everyday practice, towards the representation of custom and ways of life in distinctive, metaphysical forms of narrative. These come with attempts to explain to an alien, skeptical and potentially hostile world things that can be bewildering to outsiders that have long seemed obvious to the people themselves. Methods have to be adjusted and processes adapted to meet the many kinds of experience and expression. This is far from straightforward. Many peoples are, or have become, wary of revealing and sharing their spiritual realities. The forms in which the spiritual is expressed are often centered on performance of ritual in songs, dance and myth narratives. These cannot, and,

from the point of view of many indigenous elders, should not be turned into public documents. There may be a boundary to map making. But a mapping project can and often should include acknowledgment and explanation of this other reality in the voices and images that a people themselves offer.

All the projects referred to here have one feature in common: in every case the need for maps arose from threats to vital heritage, be it tangible or intangible, lands or belief systems, rights to hunt or ways of speaking. To work with those who face these threats and have endured these kinds of loss is to be at the front line of indigenous peoples' struggles against colonial invasion and, for many of them, dismaying and threatening transformations. For these peoples, at these colonial encounters, to make a map is to give expression to various kinds of vulnerability – there can be deep anxiety about being misunderstood by those who have come to have great power over their lands or lives, or great fear about further losses. These projects have arisen from peoples' determination to mobilize knowledge as a means to resist and win rights to that which they have always supposed was theirs. In this intellectual and political arena, memory itself can enable and become a form of resistance. Those who work on cultural mapping will again and again find themselves at this poignant, vital place. This is work of paramount and enduring importance – for those whose way of life and rights to lands are being represented, but also to everyone. Without recognition of indigenous knowledge and rights to this knowledge, everyone is the poorer, and the land itself – the world – ever more at risk. Cultural mapping is continuing to play an important, perhaps essential, role in this affirmation of knowledge, experience and narratives that we may all depend on.

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