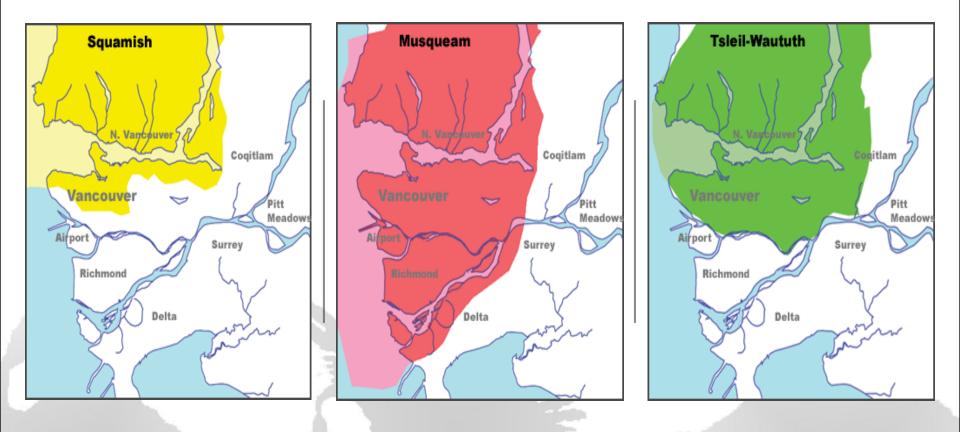
What do you mean Two-Spirit doesn't simply mean an LGBTQI+ Indigenous person? What and Who is Two-Spirit Discussion



Harlan Pruden (Nehiyô/First Nations Cree) @HarlanPruden Tribal MAT ECHO Clinic Presentation Tuesday, March 15, 2022



Land acknowledgment

Jonathan Ho

530 Years of Colonization

Welcoming the Newcomers and Resurgence of the People, Kent Monkman (Cree), 2019, NYC, NY

HILL 1004

Image from U.S. Army.

Canadian Example (re)visiting our past

• 1928 - STERILIZATION BEGINS

Alberta passes the Sexual Sterilization Act and begins sterilization of residential school students to prevent them from giving birth and continuing their culture. This legislation was repealed in 1972.

- 1933 BC BEGINS STERILIZATION
 - Sterilization begins in British Columbia with Sexual Sterilization Act and was repealed in 1973.

American Example (re)visiting our past

- The Indian Health Service (IHS), formed in 1955 within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW).
- IHS preformed forced sterilization on an estimated 70,000 Native American women in the 1960s and 1970's
- Even after legislation designed to protect women from forced sterilization was passed in 1974, the abusive sterilizations continued. Between 1970 and 1976 alone, between 25 and 50 percent of Native American women were sterilized.
- The 1970 census revealed that the average Native woman bore 3.29 children, whereas the median for the entire US was 2.48 children.
- Following the end of the forced sterilization period, the 1980 census showed that the average number of children born per Native woman had plummeted to 1.3.

Lawrence. 2000.

Research Examples (re)visiting our past

CANADA:

The experiments were performed by the Department of Indian Affairs of Canada unethical nutrition experiments performed on Canadian Aboriginal children at six residential schools between 1942 and 1952:

- **Dr Percy Moore**, the Indian Affairs Branch Superintendent of Medical Services
- **Dr Frederick Tisdall**, a famed nutritionist, a former president of the Canadian Paediatric Society and one of three paediatricians at The Hospital for Sick Children (Toronto, Ontario).
- In their experiments, parents were not informed, nor were consents obtained.
- Even as children died, the experiments continued. Even after the recommendations from the Nuremberg trial, these experiments continued.

UNITED STATES:

In a 1950s study, the U.S. Air Force's former Arctic Aeromedical Laboratory attempted to identify the role of the thyroid gland in human acclimatization to cold weather. With the assistance of Native elders, Alaska Natives were recruited into the study, which entailed ingesting a radioactive isotopic (National Research Council, 1996; Shore, 1989).

> Macdonald, N. E., Stanwick, R., & Lynk, A., 2014 Mosby, 2013 Hodge 2012

Research and colonialization

- The experiments were performed by the Department of Indian Affairs of Canada unethical nutrition experiments performed on Canadian Aboriginal children at six residential schools between 1942 and 1952:
 - **Dr Percy Moore**, the Indian Affairs Branch Superintendent of Medical Services
 - **Dr Frederick Tisdall**, a famed nutritionist, a former president of the Canadian Paediatric Society and one of three paediatricians at The Hospital for Sick Children (Toronto, Ontario).
 - In their experiments, parents were not informed, nor were consents obtained.
 - Even as children died, the experiments continued. Even after the recommendations from the Nuremberg trial, these experiments continued.

Macdonald, N. E., Stanwick, R., & Lynk, A., 2014 Mosby, 2013 Hodge 2012





Concept of Two-Spirit

- Two-Spirit is organizing strategy/tool and not an identity*
- The term of Two-Spirit does not make sense unless it is contextualized within Indigenous** framework/community
- Two-Spirit within a traditional setting was a gender analysis and not a sexual orientation
- Today, most people associate the term with LGBTQI+ Native peoples; however, the work of the Two-Spirit organizations, leaders, elders and community members is more akin with the traditional understanding ^

*Pruden, Harlan 2015

^{**} Terms 'Indigenous' and 'Indigenous peoples' will be used to represent all First Nations, Inuit, Métis, Native American, and American Indian peoples inclusively. 'Aboriginal', 'Aboriginal peoples', 'Native', 'Native peoples', and 'Indian' are used when reflected in the literature under discussion. Wherever possible, culturally specific names are used. ^ Jacobs, Sue-Ellen, 1997

Two-Spirit

• Up to Contact - Our Own Words^

• 1492 to 1989/'90 - Berdache*

• 1989/'90 to Present - Two-Spirit**

^ Roscoe (1988) * Lang (1998:6), Thomas (1997), Williams (1986) ** Lang (1998:6), Roscoe (1989), Thomas (1997)



Two-Spirit Role(s)

- Mediators (Cree)
- Love Potions / Match Maker (Cree)
- Social Workers
- Name Giving (Sioux)
- Sun Dance



- Were Holy people, told the future and brought good luck
- Boy's & Girl's Puberty Ceremony
- Peace-Makers for the Tribe
- Joined war parties
- Were doctors/medicine people

Some Two-Spirit Names

Nation	Term	"Loose" translation
Acoma	Male-assigned: Kokwi'ma	
Aleut	Male-assigned: Ayagigux' Female-assigned: Tayagigux'	"man transformed into a woman" "woman transformed into a man"
Arapaho	Male-assigned: Haxu'xan (singular), Hoxuxuno (plural)	"rotten bone"
Arikara	Male-assigned: Kuxa't	
Assiniboine	Male-assigned: Winktan	
Blackfoot	Male-assigned: Aakíí'skassi	"acts like a woman"
(Southern Peigan)	Female-assigned: Saahkómaapi'aakííkoan	"boy-girl"
	Deyoihwage: Hoyę'	He has two ways
Cayuga	Deyoihwage: Goyę'	She has two ways
	Deyodônhetra:ge:	two souls, spirit, heart
	Male-assigned: nudale asgaya	different man
Cherokee	Female-assigned: nudale agehya	different woman
	All term: asegi	Both male and female assigned
1 i	Male-assigned: He'eman (singular), He'emane'o	
Cheyenne	(plural) (hee = "woman")	The second se
	Female-assigned: Hetaneman (singular),	
	Hatane'mane'o (plural) (hetan = "man")	
Chickasaw, Choctaw	Male-assigned: Hatukiklanna	
CHICKASAW, CHOCIAW	Female-assigned: hatukholba	

Building upon Roscoe (1988) work with Bay Area's Gay American Indians organization

Nation	Term	"Loose" translation
Chumash	Male-assigned: Agi	
Сосора	Male-assigned: Elha ("coward") Female-assigned: Warrhameh	
	Male-assigned: napêw iskwêwisêhot	a man who dresses as a woman
	Female-assigned: iskwêw ka napêwayat	a woman dressed as a man
Circo	Male-assigned: ayahkwêw	a man dressed/living/accepted as a woman
Cree	Female-assigned: înahpîkasoht	a woman dressed/living/accepted as a man
	Male-assigned: Iskwêhkân	literally 'fake woman' – not negative
1000	Female-assigned: napêhkân	literally 'fake man' – not negative
Crow	Male-assigned: Bote/Bate/Bade	"not man, not woman"
Dakota (Santee Sioux)	Male-assigned: Winkta	
Flathead (Interior Salish)	Male-assigned: Ma'kali	
Gros Ventre	Male-assigned: Athuth	
Hidatsa	IVIALE-ASSIGNED' IVIATI	"to be impelled against one's will to act the woman," "woman compelled"
Норі	Male-assigned: Ho'va	
	Male-assigned: Ikoueta Female-assigned: Ickoue ne kioussa	"hunting women"
IIIIOAlik	Male-assigned: Nok'olhanxodeleane Female-assigned: Chelxodeleane	"woman pretenders" "man pretenders"

Nation	Term	"Loose" translation
Inuit	Female-assigned: Sipiniq Male-assigned: arnaasiaq Female-assigned: angutaasiaq	"infant whose sex changes at birth" "a man who should have been a woman" "a women who should have been men"
Juaneno	Male-assigned: Kwit	
Karankawa	Male-assigned: Monaguia	
Klamath	Male-/Female-assigned: Tw!inna'ek	
Kutenai	Male-assigned: Kupatke'tek Female-assigned: Titqattek	"to imitate a woman" "pretending to be a man"
Laguna	Male-assigned: Kok'we'ma	
Lakota (Teton Sioux)	Male-assigned: Winkte Female-assigned: Bloka egla wa ke	"['wants' or 'wishes'] to be [like] [a] woman." A contraction of winyanktehca "thinks she can act like a man"
Luiseno San Juan Capistrano Mountain	Male-assigned: Cuit Male-assigned: Uluqui	
Mandan	Male-assigned: Mihdacka	mih-ha = "woman"
Maricopa	Male-assigned: Ilyaxai' Female-assigned: Kwiraxame	"girlish"

Nation	Term	"Loose" translation
Mescalero Apache	Male-assigned: Nde'isdzan	"man-woman"
Micmac	Male-assigned: Geenumu gesallagee	"he loves men," perhaps correctly spelt ji'nmue'sm gesalatl
Miwok	Male-assigned: Osabu	osa = "woman"
Mohave	Male-assigned: Alyha Female-assigned: Hwame	"coward"
Western Mono	Male-assigned: Tai'up	
Mohawk	Rotinon:wat Iotinon:wat Onon:wat	They have a pattern (males + females) () (females + non gender) () (not gender specific)
Navajo	Male-/female-/intersexed-assigned: Nadleeh or nadle (gender class/category), nadleehi (singular), nadleehe (plural)	"one in a constant state of change," "one who changes," "being transformed"
Nisenan (Southern Maidu)	Male-assigned: Osa'pu	0
Nuu-chah-nulth	Male-assigned: tuučuk	"more like a woman"
	Female-assigned: čakusšλ	"becoming a man"
Ojibwa	Male-assigned: Agokwa	"man-woman"
(Chippewa)	Female-assigned: Okitcitakwe	"warrior woman"
Omaha, Osage, Ponca	Male-assigned: Mixu'ga	"instructed by the moon" "moon instructed"
Otoe, Kansa (Kaw)	Male-assigned: Mixo'ge	"instructed by the moon" "moon instructed"

Nation	Term	"Loose" translation
Papago (Tohono O'odham), Pima (Akimel O'odham)	Male-assigned: Wik'ovat	"like a girl"
Omaha, Osage, Ponca	Male-assigned: Mixu'ga	"instructed by the moon," "moon instructed"
Otoe, Kansa (Kaw)	Male-assigned: Mixo'ge	"instructed by the moon," "moon instructed"
Papago (Tohono O'odham), Pima (Akimel O'odham)	Male-assigned: Wik'ovat	"like a girl"
Paiute Northern Southern	Male-assigned: Tudayapi Male-assigned: Tuwasawuts	"dress like other sex"
Pawnee	Male-assigned: Ku'saat	
Potawatomi	Male-assigned: M'netokwe	"supernatural, extraordinary," Manito plus female suffix

Nation	Term	"Loose" translation
Salinan	Male-assigned: Coya	
Sauk (Sac), Fox	Male-assigned: I-coo-coo-a	"man-woman"
Seneca	Teadiya'de:no' Hënöja'dajaöh	(Translation in process)
Shoshone Bannock Lemhi	Male-assigned: Tuva'sa Male/Female-assigned: Tubasa Female-assigned: Waipu sungwe	"sterile" "woman-half"
Gosiute	Male-assigned: Tuvasa	
Promontory Point	Male-assigned: Tubasa waip Female-assigned: Waipu sungwe	"sterile woman" "woman-half"
Nevada	Male-assigned: Tainna wa'ippe Female-assigned: Nuwuducka	"man-woman" "female hunter"
Takelma	Male-assigned: Xa'wisa	
Tewa	Male-/Female-assigned: Kwido Female-assigned: kweep' ąą Female-assigned: senp' ąą	"a person (of either sex) who belongs to a third gender or is transgender" (Lang) "Man like a woman" "Woman like a man"
Gwa'sala – 'Nakwaxda'xw	Gusgimukw	Man who lives(s)(d) as a woman
(Isleta) Tiwa	Male-assigned: Lhunide	

Nation	Term	"Loose" translation
Kumeyaay Tipai, Kamia	Female-assigned: Warharmi	
Tlingit	Male-assigned: Gatxan	"coward"
Southern Ute	Male-assigned: Tuwasawits	
Winnebago (Ho-Chunk)	Male-assigned: Shiange	"unmanly man"
Wishram	Male-assigned: Ik!e'laskait	
Yuma (Quechan)	Male-assigned: Elxa' Female-assigned: Kwe'rhame	"coward"
Yup'ik Chugach/Pacific (Alutiiq, Southern Alaskan) St. Lawrence Island (Siberian Yup'ik, Western Alaskan)	Male-assigned: Aranu'tiq Male-assigned: Anasik Female-assigned: Uktasik	"man-woman"
11		

Nation	Term	"Loose" translation
Kuskokwim River (Central Alaskan)	Male-assigned: Aranaruaq Female-assigned: Angutnguaq	"woman-like" "man-like"
Zapotec	Male-assigned: Muxe	
Zuni	Male-assigned: La'mana Male-assigned: ko'thlama Female-assigned: Katotse	"behave like a woman" Same as la'mama "boy-girl"

Other cultures outside of North America

ASIA

Korea *mudang* Siberian Chukchis *Yirka'-la'ul* ("soft man") *Qa'cikicheca* ("similar to a man") Thailand *kathoey* Philippines *bantut*

Pakistan bulbul India hijra

INDONESIA

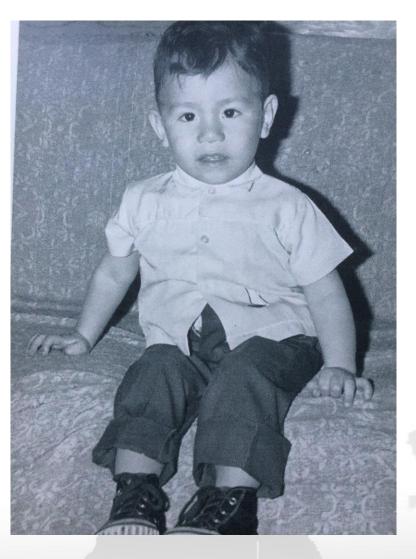
Borneo basir (among the Ngaju of Kalimantan) manang bali (among the Iban) Sulawesi basaja (among the Toradjas) bissu (among the Makasserese)

PACIFIC ISLANDERS

Hawaii mahu Tahiti mahu Samoa fa'afafine Tonga fakafefine/fakaleiti Tuvalu pinapinaaine MALAYSIA Singapore mak nyah **AFRICA** Lugbara okule (Male-assigned) agule (female-assigned) Zulu isangoma

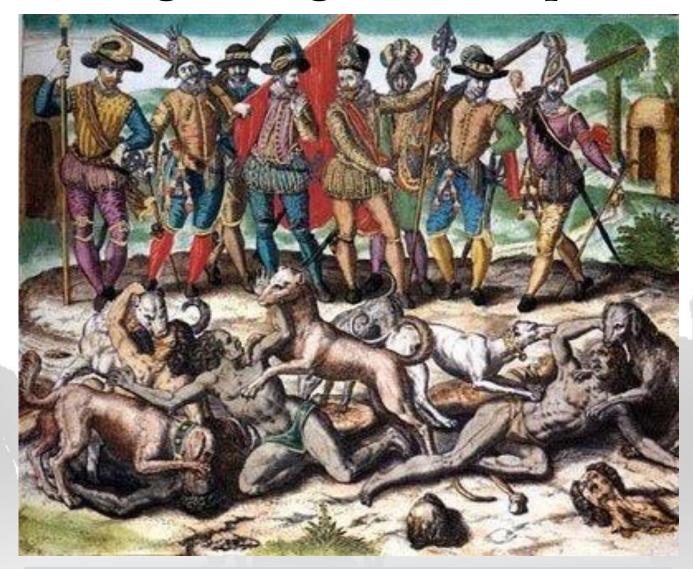
Who Were Some of the Two Spirit People from Years Ago?





Harlan Pruden (Nehiyô/First Nations Cree)

Balboa's dogs killing our Two-Spirit People



Balboa setting his dogs upon Indian practitioners of male love (1594) The Spanish invader Vasco Núñez de Balboa (1475-1519) shown in Central America with his troops, presiding over the execution of Indians, whom **he ordered eaten alive by the war dogs** for having practiced male love. New York Public Library, Rare Book Room, De Bry Collection, New York.



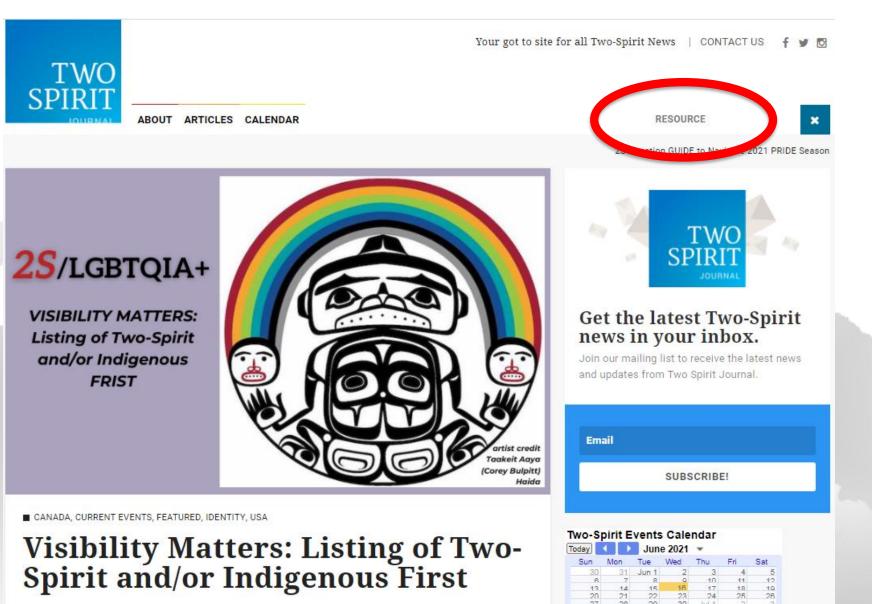
What is historical trauma?

A combination of immense losses and traumatic events that are perpetrated upon an entire culture (through policy and upheld by the judicial system.) For Native Peoples, these losses include:

- Culture
- Language
- Land
- People (deaths due to diseases and war)
- Way of life
- Economic Systems
- Ceremonies
- Family structure (forced into boarding schools)

Gone, JP (2011), Pruden (2012)

<u>RESOURCES</u> - TwoSpiritJournal.com



Events shows in time ten

+

In summary

- Two-Spirit, the intersection of those who embody diverse sexualities, genders, gender roles and gender expressions, and who are Indigenous to Turtle Island, is a community organizing tool and not an identity.
- It is going to mean something different depending on what Nation an individual is from and a member of.
- Two-Spirit refers to history/tradition that predates western notions and concepts such as LGBTQI+ and is about reclaiming and restoring a place of honor, respect and dignity within an individual's Nation.
- This work is deep decolonizing work that center's one Indigeneity that calls Two-Spirit people home and is thereby a mending of the sacred hoop.

References:

- Danang. 2019. Audre Lorde quotes the Master Tools. Retrieved March 14, 2021, from https://chastitycaption.blogspot.com/2019/06/audre-lorde-quotes-master-tools.html
- Government of Canada, C. 2020. Meet the Methods Series: "what and who is two-spirit?" in health research issue 2 october 2020. Retrieved March 14, 2021, from https://cihr-irsc.gc.ca/e/52214.html
- Ghose, M. 2020. 13 of the popular types of sweet and Bitter oranges. Retrieved March 14, 2021, from https://www.onlyfoods.net/types-of-oranges.html

Gunn Allen, P. 1986. The Sacred Hoop. Beacon Press.

Hodge, F. S. 2012. No meaningful apology for American Indian unethical research abuses. Ethics & Behavior, 22 (6), 431–444. http://doi.org/10.1080/10508422.2012.730788

Jacobs, T, and Lang, S. 1997. Two Spirit People Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality. University of Illinois Press. Chicago.

Lang, S. 1998. Men As Women, Women As Men: Changing Gender In Native American Cultures. Austin, TX : University Of Texas Press.

Lewington, J., & Beardy, B. (n.d.). New beginnings. Retrieved March 14, 2021, from

https://pourparlerprofession.oeeo.ca/publications/professionally_speaking/2017-09/2017-09-Feature-Story-1-PS.asp

Nativeland.ca. (n.d.). Retrieved March 14, 2021, from https://native-land.ca/

Maloney, J. 2020. False equivalence - critical thinking: Intelligent speculation. Retrieved March 14, 2021, from https://www.intelligentspeculation.com/blog/false-equivalence

- Macdonald, N. E., Stanwick, R., & Lynk, A. 2014. Canada's shameful history of nutrition research on residential school children: The need for strong medical ethics in Aboriginal health research. Paediatrics & child health, 19(2), 64. https://doi.org/10.1093/pch/19.2.64
- Mosby I. 2013. Administering colonial science: Nutrition research and human biomedical experimentation in Aboriginal communities and residential schools, 1942–1952. Social History. 46:145–72.

National Research Council. 1996. The Arctic Aeromedical Laboratory's Thyroid Function Study: A radiological and ethical analysis. Washington, DC: National Academy Press

Pruden, H., 2019 Two-Spirit Conversations & Work: Subtle and at the same time radically different, Transgender: A Reference Handbook. ABC-CLIO, publisher.abc-clio.com/9781440856914.

Pruden, H., Salway, T., Consolacion, T., Leung, J., Ablona, A., Stillwagon, R., (2020) Drivers of Sexual Health Knowledge for Two-Spirit, Gay, Bi and/or Indigenous Men Who Have Sex with Men (gbMSM), Journal of Indigenous HIV Research, V. 12, https://www.ahacentre.ca/drivers-of-sexual-health.html

Roscoe, W. 1990. "That is my Road - The Life and Times of a Crow Berdache." Montana - The Magazine of Western History, v. 40, 46-55.

_____, ed. 1991. Zuni Man-Woman. New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press.

_____, ed. 1998. Changing ones: third and fourth genders in Native North America. New York: St. Martin's Griffin.

_____, ed. 1988. Living in the Spirit: A gay American Indian anthology. New York: St Martin's Press.

Shore, J. H. (1989). Transcultural research run amok or arctic hysteria? The Journal of the National Center, 2, 46-50.

Stevenson, M C. 1904. The Zuni Indians: Their Mythology, Esoteric Fraternities, and Ceremonies. Twenty Third Annual Report of the Bureau of American

Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian, 1901-1902, pp. 3-634. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Tedlock, B. 200). The Woman in the Shaman's Body: Reclaiming the Feminine in Religion and Medicine. Random House Publishing Group.

Thomas, W. 1997. Navajo Cultural Constructions of Gender and Sexuality, in Jacobs et al. (eds.) 1997, 156-173.

Walter, M., Andersen, C. 2013. Indigenous Statistics: A Quantitative Research Methodology. Walnut Creek, CA: Routledge..

Williams, W L. 1986. The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual diversity in American Indian culture. Beacon Press. Boston.

Williams, W L. & Toby J. 2006. Two Spirits: A Story of Life with the Navajo. Maple Shade, NJ: Lethe Press.

Kinana'skomitina'wa'w, Exsi Maka

Harlan Pruden (Nehiyô/First Nations Cree) (a) HarlanPruden hpruden@gmail.com

Questions, Comments or Conversation (QCC)



Harlan Pruden (Nehiyô/First Nations Cree) <u>(a)HarlanPruden</u> <u>Harlan.pruden@bccdc.ca</u>