

DECOLONIZING RESEARCH

Collecting Two-Spirit Data in Culturally Affirming Ways



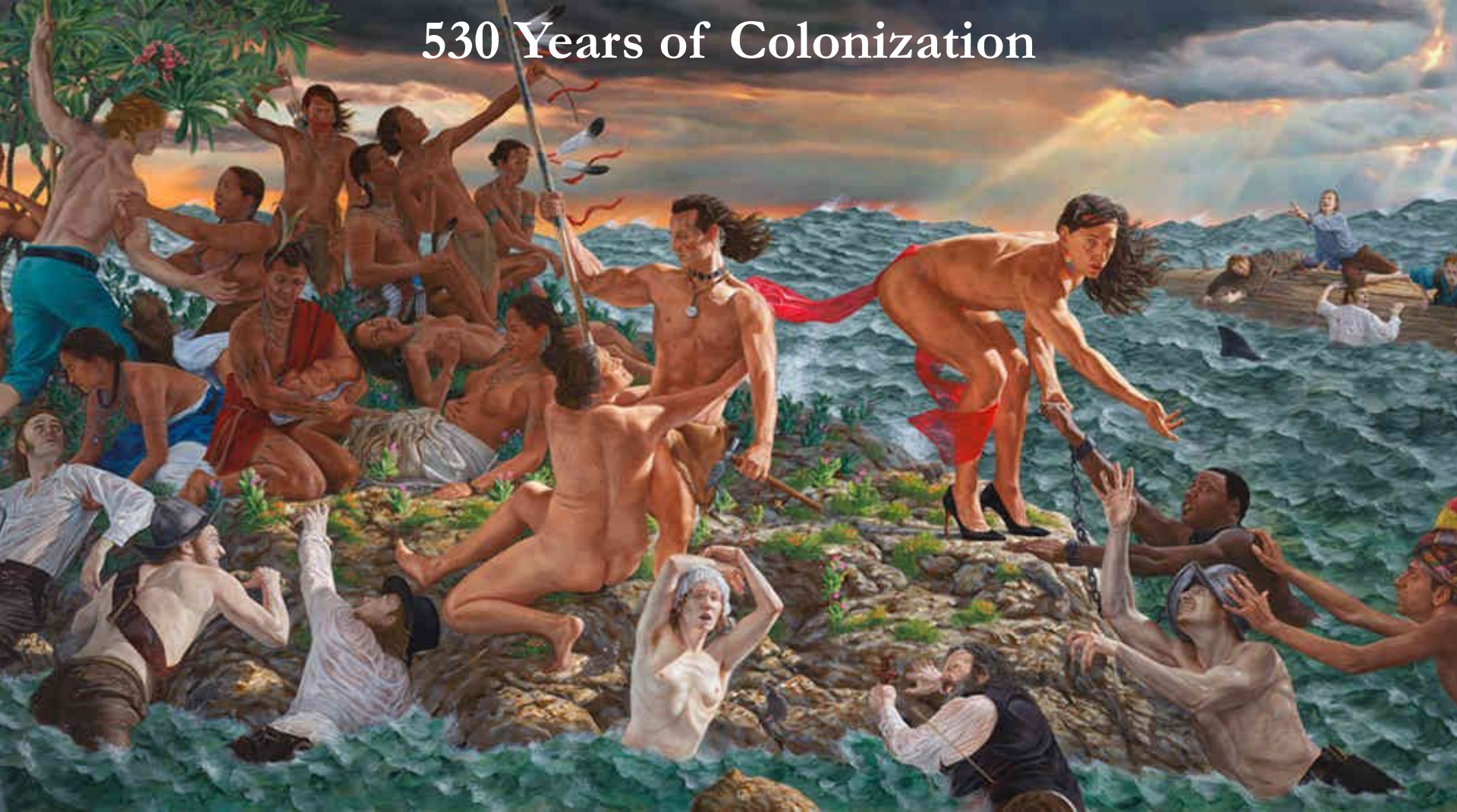
Harlan Pruden, BC Centre for Disease Control

 @HarlanPruden

Michael Smith Foundation for Health Research KT Connects

Friday, March 26, 2021

530 Years of Colonization



TWO-SPIRIT
in Health Research

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



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 This legislation was repealed in 1972.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- Sterilization begins in British Columbia with Sexual Sterilization Act and was repealed in 1973.

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.

TWO-SPIRIT PEOPLES



Artist Credit - Corey Bulpit (*Haida*)

CONCEPT OF TWO-SPIRIT

Two-Spirit is organizing strategy/tool and not an identity*

Two-Spirit does not make sense unless it is contextualized within Indigenous framework/community

Within a traditional setting Two-Spirit 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^



Artist Credit
Corey Bulpit
(Haida)

TWO-SPIRIT
in Health Research

*Pruden, H. (2019).

^ Westley, Thomas (1997)

HISTORY OF TERM 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 (Southern Peigan)	Male-assigned: Aakí'skassi Female-assigned: Saahkómaapi'aakíkoan	"acts like a woman" "boy-girl"
Cayuga	Deyoihwage: Hoye' Deyoihwage: Goye' Deyodônhetra:ge:	He has two ways She has two ways two souls, spirit, heart
Cherokee	Male-assigned: nudale asgaya Female-assigned: nudale agehya All term: asegi	different man different woman Both male and female assigned
Cheyenne	Male-assigned: He'eman (singular), He'eman'e'o (plural) (hee = "woman") Female-assigned: Hetaneman (singular), Hatane'mane'o (plural) (hetan = "man")	
Chickasaw, Choctaw	Male-assigned: Hatukiklanna Female-assigned: hatukholba	

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

Nation	Term	“Loose” translation
Chumash	Male-assigned: Agi	
Cocopa	Male-assigned: Elha ("coward") Female-assigned: Warrhameh	
Cree	Male-assigned: napêw iskwêwisêhot Female-assigned: iskwêw ka napêwayat Male-assigned: ayahkwêw Female-assigned: înahpîkasoht Male-assigned: Iskwêhkân Female-assigned: napêhkân	a man who dresses as a woman a woman dressed as a man a man dressed/living/accepted as a woman a woman dressed/living/accepted as a man literally ‘fake woman’ – not negative 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	Male-assigned: Miati	"to be impelled against one's will to act the woman," "woman compelled"
Hopi	Male-assigned: Ho'va	
Illinois	Male-assigned: Ikoueta Female-assigned: Ickoue ne kioussa	"hunting women"
Ingalik	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: Monaguaia	
Klamath	Male-/Female-assigned: Twlinna'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 eglwa 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	
Nuu-chah-nulth	Male-assigned: tuučuk Female-assigned: čakusšļ	“more like a woman” “becoming a man”
Ojibwa (Chippewa)	Male-assigned: Agokwa Female-assigned: Okitcitakwe	"man-woman" "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	Male-assigned: Tuva'sa	"sterile"
Bannock	Male/Female-assigned: Tubasa	
Lemhi	Female-assigned: Waipu sungwe	"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' aa Female-assigned: senp' aa	“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: Ikle'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"

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

pinapinaaaine

MALAYSIA

Singapore

mak nyah

AFRICA

Lugbara

okule (Male-assigned)

agule (female-assigned)

Zulu

isangoma

Other cultures outside of North America

ASIA

Korea

mudang

Siberian Chukchis

Yirka'-la'ul ("soft man")

Qa'cikicheca ("similar to a man")

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PACIFIC ISLANDERS

Hawaii

mahu

Tahiti

mahu

Samoa

fa'afafine

Tonga

fakafefine/fakaleiti

Tuvalu

pinapinaaaine

MALAYSIA

Singapore

mak nyah

AFRICA

Lugbara

okule (Male-assigned)

agule (female-assigned)

Zulu

isangoma

RESOURCES - TWOSPIRITJOURNAL.COM

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TWO SPIRIT
JOURNAL

ABOUT ARTICLES CALENDAR

RESOURCES

Two-Spirit Celebration on Native Blankets




Photo credit Nour Images and supplied by Eighth Generation

■ ARTS, CANADA, FEATURED, IDENTITY, UNCATEGORIZED, USA

Two-Spirit Blanket Ceremony

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Email

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Two-Spirit Events Calendar

Today: [←](#) [→](#) February 2019

Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat
27	28	29	30	31	Feb 1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	Mar 1	2

TWO-SPIRIT
in Health Research

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.

TWO-SPIRIT DRY LAB (2SDL):



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BCCDC/CPS



Jannie Leung
Epidemiologist
Fraser Health



Travis Salway
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PhD Candidate
UBC Department
of Sociology



Nathan Lachowsky
CBRC Research Director
& *UVIC Assoc. Professor*



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BCCDC



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TWO-SPIRIT
in Health Research

HOW WE WORK AS THE 2SDL:

Centering of Indigenous ways of being

Transdisciplinary collaboration of Indigenous and non-Indigenous epidemiologists, knowledge translation leads, sociologist, researchers, and community members

Indigenous methodologies/approaches:

- Two-Eyed seeing approach (Mi'kmaq Elder Albert Marshall)
- Meetings and work done in a circle
 - ✓ Collaborative
 - ✓ Non-Hierarchical
 - ✓ Consensus decision-making with the aim, or requirement, of acceptance by all members of the Lab

SEX NOW SURVEY & 2SDL ENGAGEMENT:

Background of the Sex Now Survey:

Canada's largest and longest running national periodic survey of GBT2Q men's health

- 2002 & 2004: paper surveys at Vancouver, Victoria & Prince George Pride Festivals
- 2006, 2007, & 2008: first online surveys across BC
- 2010, 2012, & **2015**: first national survey across Canada

2SDL revised the 2018 Sex Now survey to better capture health-related and experiential knowledges of Indigenous participations

SEX NOW QUESTIONNAIRE: 2015

1. What is your gender identity (check all that apply)

Man

Woman

Transgender

Genderqueer

Two-spirit

Added Category: Please specify

2. How do you usually describe your sexual identity? (check all that apply)

Gay (homosexual)

Bi (bisexual)

Straight (heterosexual)

Queer

Two-spirit

Added category: No identity etc. Please specify

70. What best describes your ethnic/cultural origins? (Check all that apply)

Aboriginal (First Nations, Inuit, Metis)

African

East Asian

South Asian

South-east Asian

Caribbean

Latino/Hispanic

Middle Eastern

Pacific Islands

White/Caucasian (British, European)

Results:

- 4.5% were Aboriginal (N=363)
- 156 selected Two-Spirit in Q1 and Q2
- Of the 156 respondents, **62% were NOT** Aboriginal

COLLECTING TWO-SPIRIT DATA (SEX NOW 2018)

Result:

- 8.9% were Indigenous (n=314)
 - 59% First Nations (N=160)
 - 38% Metis (N=102)
 - 3% Inuk (N=9)
- 42% of Indigenous respondents identified as Two-Spirit
- 0% of respondents **were NOT** Indigenous

Which of the following best describes you?

Please select all that apply.

- Black
 - East/Southeast Asian
 - Indigenous:
 - First Nations
 - Métis
 - Inuit
 - Prefer to self-describe (please specify)
 - Prefer not to say
 - Latino
 - Middle Eastern
 - South Asian
 - White
 - Another category
 - Prefer not to say
- Are you Two-Spirit?** Yes No

CIHR's "MEET THE METHODS Series – ISSUE 2

Issue 2 | October 2020

MEET THE METHODS SERIES: "WHAT AND WHO IS TWO-SPIRIT" IN HEALTH RESEARCH



Artisit Credit
Cory Bullpit



Harlan Pruden (nēhiyo/First Nations Cree) is an Educator at the BC Centre for Disease Control's Chee Mamuk Program. Travis Salway is an Assistant Professor of Health Sciences at Simon Fraser University. They both work in the Two-Spirit Dry Lab, North America's first research group/lab that exclusively focuses on Two-Spirit People, communities and/or experiences. They are also principal investigators for a grant funded through the [CIHR Indigenous Gender and Wellness Initiative](#), exploring "Wellness in Two-Spirit Communities across Turtle Island: A Two-Eyed seeing approach to a gender-inclusive community-based 2S research network".

- 1. Demonstrate inclusion in a meaningful way.**
Research teams should include Two-Spirit persons in decision-making roles. Do not rely on one Indigenous person to articulate the experiences of all Indigenous Peoples. Fully listen to the Two-Spirit persons and integrate their voices into the study.
- 2. In survey options, list Indigenous terms alongside Western notions,** so that Two-Spirit and Indigenous Peoples see themselves within the survey instrument. For example, Indigenous-only options of Elder or Knowledge Keeper could be listed alongside Western terms like psychologist or social worker.
- 3. Meet or exceed the spirit of the Tri-Council Policy Statement 2 (2018) - Chapter 9: Research Involving the First Nations, Inuit and Métis Peoples of Canada³ and become OCAP⁴ certified (Ownership, Control, Access and Possession)⁴.**
- 4. Ensure that recruitment is done by Indigenous Peoples** from a particular community, asking their community.
- 5. Understand cultural nuances and protocols.** For example, it's important to know when it's appropriate to approach individuals. This will only be possible when Indigenous Peoples facilitate and help with that process.

Which of the following best describes your race?

Please select all that apply.

- Black
 - East/Southeast Asian
 - Indigenous:
 - First Nations
 - Métis
 - Inuit
 - Prefer to self-describe (please specify)
 - Prefer not to say
 - Latin
 - Middle Eastern
 - South Asian
 - White
 - Another race category
 - Prefer not to say
- Are you Two-Spirit?** Yes No

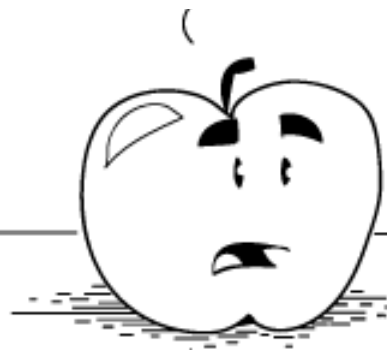


Institute of Gender
and Health
Institut de la santé des
femmes et des hommes

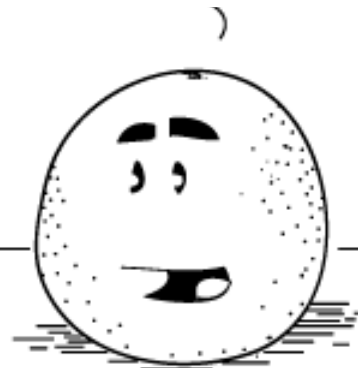
TWO-SPIRIT
in Health Research

DECOLONIZING (AND CHALLENGING) RESEARCH

We're both fruit so that makes us the same!



Uhhh....no



INTELLIGENT SPECULATION

TWO-SPIRIT
in Health Research

INTRA-GROUP ANALYSIS

Types of Oranges

—Sweet—



Common Orange



Mandarin Orange



Satsuma Orange



Clementine Orange



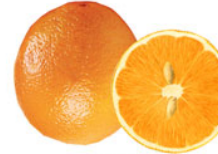
Blood Orange



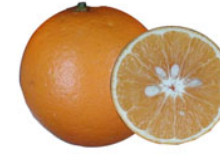
Navel Orange



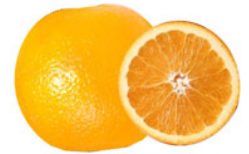
Acidless Orange



Jaffa Orange



Hamlin Orange



Pineapple Orange

—Bitter—



Seville Orange



Bergamot Orange



Trifoliate Orange



In testing the null hypothesis:

- We assume that 2 groups have no difference
- By showing there is a difference, further analyses are warranted
- Resulting:
 - innumerable studies that establish that health indicators for Indigenous peoples differ from non- Indigenous counterparts
 - Not contributing further knowledge but merely rehashing the known (we are different)

By accepting that these differences exist, we acknowledge the health inequities exist, while simultaneously freeing ourselves to look at strengths in communities rather than just the deficiencies that rejecting the null hypothesis allow us.

WHAT DOES THIS LOOK LIKE IN RESEARCH?

Drivers of Sexual Health Knowledge for Two-Spirit, Gay, Bi and/or Indigenous Men Who Have Sex with Men (gbMSM)

In this study, we compared the responses of those who used ‘Two-Spirit’ to describe themselves to Indigenous individuals who do not use ‘Two-Spirit’.

We found that there were significant differences in the drivers of sexual health knowledge between these two populations.

Then, we examined the responses between those who live in urban compared with rural and remote areas and once again we found significant differences.

From this analysis, we can offer (evidence-based/wise-practices) guidance (policy and programmatic) for those who are working or wanting to work with Indigenous/Two-Spirit people and communities in respectful ways.

Pruden, Salway, Consolacion, Leung, Ablona, Stillwagon, (2020)

TWO-SPIRIT
in Health Research





"Those of us who stand outside the circle of this society's definition of acceptable women; those of us who have been forged in the crucibles of difference -- those of us who are poor, who are lesbians, who are Black, who are older -- know that survival is not an academic skill. **It is learning how to take our differences and make them strengths. For the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house.**"

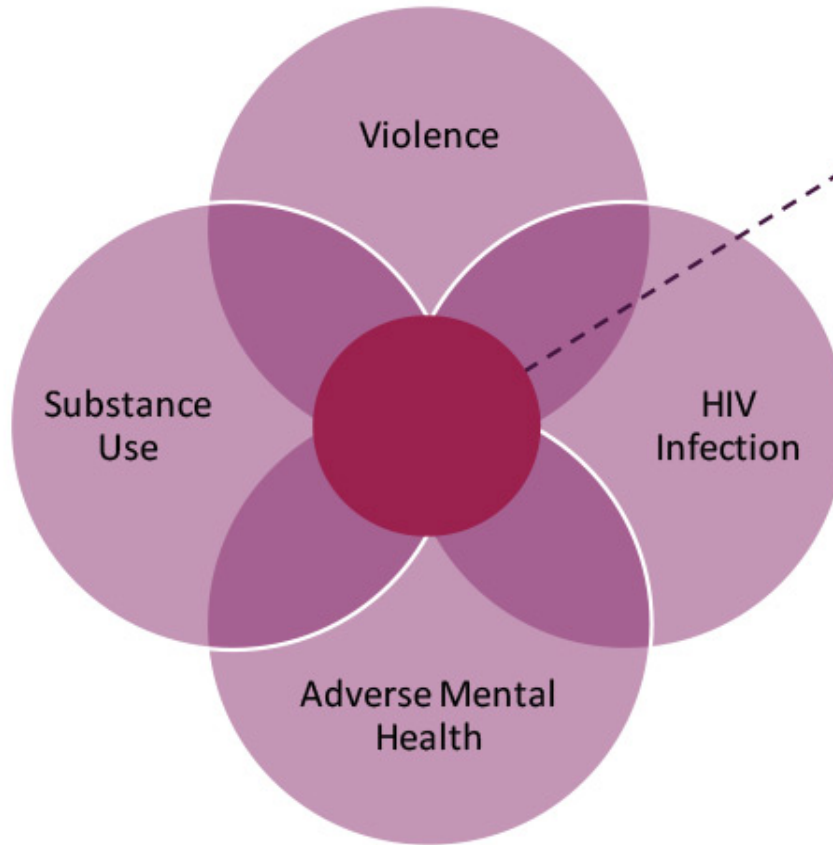
Audre Lorde

//POC Online Classroom//

TWO-SPIRIT
in Health Research

Danang, (2019, June).

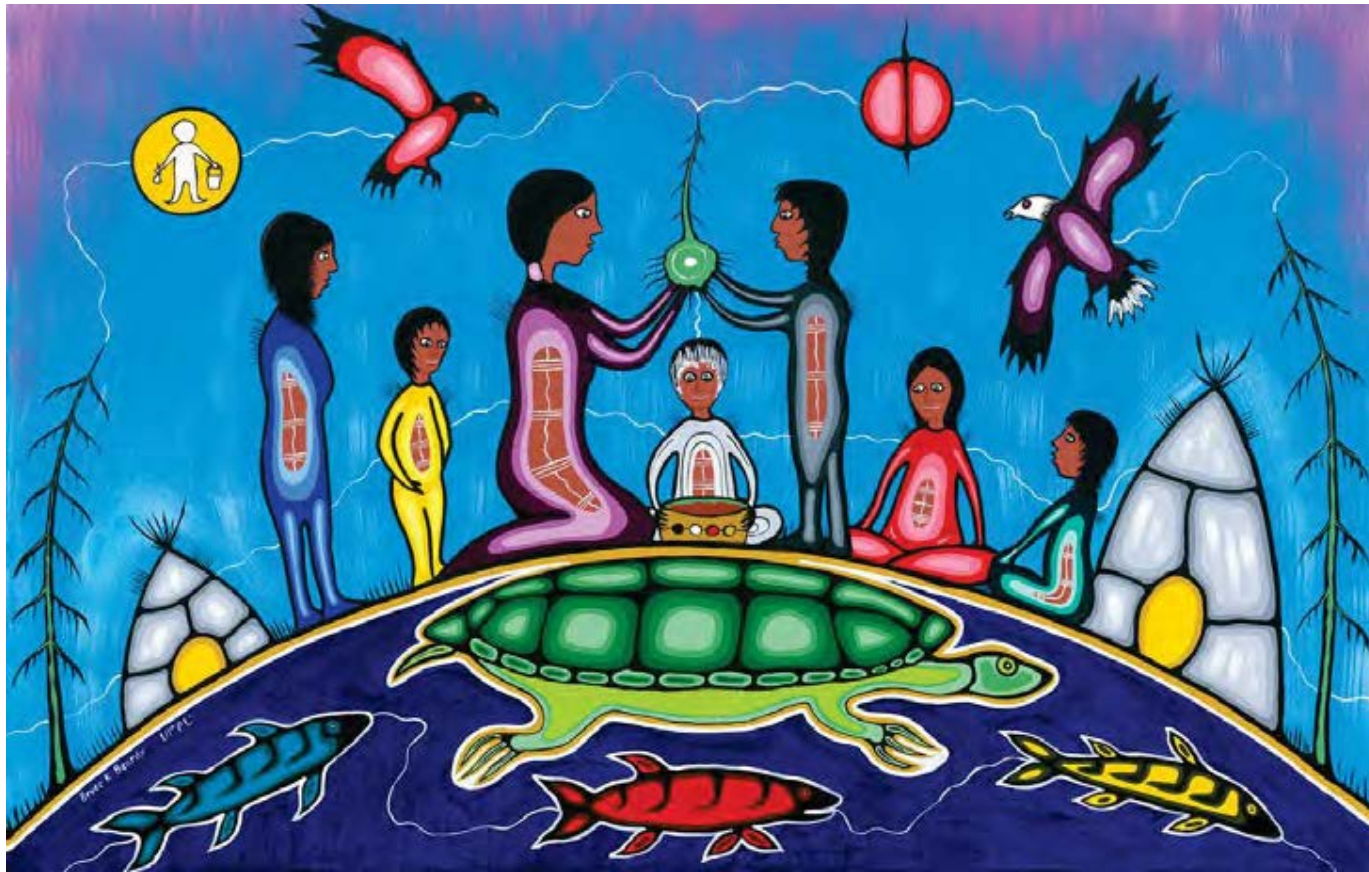
THEORY OF SYNDEMIC



Syndemic:

Mutually reinforcing interaction of disease and social conditions

MITAKUYE OYASIN



TWO-SPIRIT
in Health Research

Artist Credit - Bruce Beardy (Oji-Cree First Nation)

TWO-SPIRIT IN HEALTH RESEARCH:

When Two-Spirit data is collected in a culturally safe and affirming way, **health researchers** are given the opportunity to promote rigorous science that **considers biological sex and all genders**.

Research conducted in this way has the potential to expand our **understanding of health within a diversity framework** that considers how determinants such as ethnicity, race, socioeconomic status, disability, sexual orientation, migration status, age and geography interact with sex and/or gender.

By bringing these considerations into focus, they can help **formulate health research, policies and programs that are relevant to the diversity** of the Canadian population.

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Questions, Comments or Conversation (QCC)



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