



## DOING DEMOCRACY DIFFERENTLY: INDIGENOUS RIGHTS AND REPRESENTATION IN CANADA AND LATIN AMERICA

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## Notes

### NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

- 1 Author interview, Whitehorse, Yukon, June 8, 2012.
- 2 Author interview, Iqaluit, Nunavut, June 6, 2013.
- 3 Author interview, La Paz, Bolivia, August 22, 2014.
- 4 Author interview, Quito, Ecuador, August 27, 2012.
- 5 Notable exceptions include important comparative studies of Indigenous politics in Canada and Mexico. See especially Altamirano-Jiménez (2013) and Cook and Lindau (2000).
- 6 The Bolivia's 2009 constitution can be consulted online at <https://pdba.georgetown.edu/Constitutions/Bolivia/bolivia09.html>.
- 7 The 2008 Ecuadorian Constitution is available at <http://pdba.georgetown.edu/Constitutions/Ecuador/english08.html>.

### NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

- 1 Abele and Prince (2006) do not identify self-governing First Nations in the Yukon as embodying the nation-to-nation model. Instead, the authors outline the key features of this model and the power relations that it embodies.
- 2 Author interview, La Paz, Bolivia, August 22, 2014.

### NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

- 1 Author interview, Whitehorse, Yukon, June 5, 2012.
- 2 Dietmar Tramm, senior policy analyst, Kwanlin Dün First Nation Government, author interview, Whitehorse, Yukon, June 18, 2012.
- 3 See "Census 2021," Yukon Bureau of Statistics, accessed January 20, 2024, <https://yukon.ca/en/statistics-and-data/yukon-bureau-statistics/find-yukon-statistics-statcan-census>.
- 4 It was exactly a hundred years later, in 2002, that the Ta'an Kwäch'än First Nation signed its final land claim and self-government agreements. See "A Short History of the Ta'an Kwäch'än," Ta'an Kwäch'än Council, accessed January 21, 2024, <https://taan.ca/history/>.
- 5 Author interview, Whitehorse, Yukon, June 20, 2012.
- 6 See "History of Land Claims," Council of Yukon First Nations, accessed January 21, 2024, <https://cyfn.ca/history/history-of-land-claims/>.
- 7 Tramm interview.

- 8 “An Interview with Sam Johnson,” *Voices of Vision: Yukon Aboriginal Self-Government*, Government of Canada, last modified September 2, 2011, <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/131499952800/1617811084158> <Accessed 20 January 2024>.
- 9 Liz Hanson, NDP caucus leader and MLA for Whitehorse Centre, author interview, Whitehorse, Yukon, June 13, 2012.
- 10 “History of Land Claims,” Council of Yukon First Nations, accessed January 21, 2024, <https://cyfn.ca/history/history-of-land-claims/>.
- 11 Although this amount of land represents a mere fraction of the traditional territories of Yukon First Nations, the settlement land with subsurface mineral rights is scattered across the entire territory in a patchwork design that ensures extensive Indigenous control over land-use decisions.
- 12 “Learn about Mining Projects and Yukon First Nations,” Government of Yukon, accessed January 22, 2024, <https://yukon.ca/en/doing-business/funding-and-support-business/learn-about-mining-projects-and-yukon-first-nations#mineral-rights-on-settlement-land>.
- 13 “History of Land Claims,” Council of Yukon First Nations, accessed January 23, 2024, <https://cyfn.ca/history/history-of-land-claims/>.
- 14 “An Interview with Lesley McCullough,” *Voices of Vision: Yukon Aboriginal Self-Government*, Government of Canada, last modified September 2, 2011, <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1314986766996/1617811423438>.
- 15 “Yukon Forum,” Government of Yukon, accessed January 23, 2024, <https://yukon.ca/en/your-government/find-out-what-government-doing/yukon-forum>.
- 16 See section titled “Governance,” Kwanlin Dün First Nation, accessed January 23, 2024, <https://www.kwanlindun.com/>.
- 17 “Clans,” Carcross/Tagish First Nation, accessed January 22, 2024, <https://www.ctfn.ca/haa-kusteeyi/clans/>.
- 18 “Government Branches of the Ta’an Kwäch’än Council,” Ta’an Kwäch’än Council, accessed January 23, 2024, <https://taan.ca/governance/>.
- 19 Ruth Massie, grand chief of the CYFN, author interview, Whitehorse, Yukon, June 5, 2012.
- 20 Dorothy Frost, information officer, Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation Government, author interview, Whitehorse, Yukon, June 11, 2012.
- 21 Author interview, Whitehorse, Yukon, June 14, 2012.
- 22 Massie interview.
- 23 “An Interview with Doris McLean,” *Voices of Vision: Yukon Aboriginal Self-Government*, Government of Canada, last modified September 2, 2011, <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1314984408599/1617811538742>.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

- 1 Author interview, La Paz, Bolivia, August 26, 2014.
- 2 For data on population size and GDP per capita, see “Bolivia,” World Bank, accessed January 8, 2024, <https://data.worldbank.org/country/bolivia?view=chart>.

- 3 The member organizations of the Unity Pact included the United Peasant Workers' Confederation of Bolivia, the Confederation of Indigenous Peoples of Bolivia, the Bolivian Syndicalist Confederation of Colonizers, the Bartolina Sisa National Federation of Peasant Women of Bolivia, and the National Council for Ayllus and Markas of Qullasuyu.
- 4 The series of elections held between 1978 and 1980, against the backdrop of Bolivia's transition to democracy, saw the rise of a number of Indigenous political parties inspired by an ideology known as *Katarismo*, which blends Marxist analysis with Indigenous rights claims. *Katarismo* derives its name from the legendary Inca-descended revolutionary Túpaj Katari, who was executed in 1781 by the Spaniards (Ticona Alejo 2000). None of the *Katarista* parties received more than 1 per cent of the presidential vote. Bolivia's only other contemporary Indigenous-based party is the Pachakuti Indigenous Movement (Movimiento Indígena Pachakuti, or MIP). The MIP competed against Morales and the MAS in the 2002 national elections, capturing 6 per cent of the vote (Van Cott 2005, 86). In the presidential elections of 2005, the MIP managed to garner only 2.2 per cent of the vote, signalling its demise.
- 5 Electoral reforms in the 2009–10 period guaranteed gender parity and alternation between men and women for national, sub-national, and even judicial elections. The 2010 gender quota law raised the minimum threshold for candidates fielded by political parties from 30 per cent to 50 per cent women in both the lower and upper houses of the congress, making the Bolivian legislature one of the most gender-equal legislatures in the world (Htun 2016, 39).
- 6 The text of the 2016–20 National Development Plan is available at <http://www.planificacion.gob.bo/pdes/pdes2016-2020.pdf>.
- 7 Author interview, La Paz, Bolivia, August 22, 2014.
- 8 I'm quoting here from Reinaga's statement at the First International Congress on the Philosophy of Fausto Reinaga, which I attended in La Paz, Bolivia, August 21–4, 2014.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

- 1 Author interview, Iqaluit, Nunavut, June 10, 2013.
- 2 In this chapter, I follow the advice of Gregory Younging (2018, 66), who explains that “[the term ‘Inuit’] is a collective noun. It means *the people*, so it does not take an article or the qualifier *people*.”
- 3 Amagoalik interview.
- 4 Tagak Curley, member of the Nunavut Legislative Assembly, author interview, Iqaluit, Nunavut, June 10, 2013
- 5 A map of IOL in Nunavut can be accessed online at <https://www.tunngavik.com/files/2011/03/iolmap.pdf>.
- 6 John Quirke, clerk, Legislative Assembly of Nunavut, author interview, Iqaluit, Nunavut, June 6, 2013.
- 7 Amagoalik interview.
- 8 For population data, see “Nunavut Statistics,” Nunavut Bureau of Statistics, accessed January 23, 2024, <https://www.gov.nu.ca/eia/information/statistics-home>.

- 9 Arthur Yuen, legal counsel and coordinator, N'TI, author interview, Iqaluit, Nunavut, June 5, 2013.
- 10 For more on Simon's background, see "Biography," Governor General of Canada, accessed January 23, 2024, <https://www.gg.ca/en/governor-general/governor-general-mary-may-simon/biography>.
- 11 Brian Manning, director of education programs, Nunavut Arctic College, author interview, Iqaluit, Nunavut, June 13, 2013.
- 12 Curley interview.
- 13 Author interview, Iqaluit, Nunavut, June 11, 2013.
- 14 Mike interview.
- 15 Mike interview.
- 16 Mike interview.
- 17 See "Nunavut Devolution," Government of Canada, last modified January 18, 2024, <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1352471770723/1537900871295>.
- 18 Amagoalik interview.
- 19 Mike interview.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

- 1 Author interview, Quito, Ecuador, August 29, 2012.
- 2 For data on population size, see "Ecuador," World Bank, accessed March 15, 2024, <https://data.worldbank.org/country/ecuador?view=chart>.
- 3 Indigenous populations in Latin America are notoriously difficult to estimate accurately given the fluid and ambiguous nature of Indigenous identities in the region as well as the technical complexities involved. For data relevant to the Ecuadorian case, see "Indigenous Peoples in Ecuador," International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, accessed March 15, 2024, <https://www.iwgia.org/en/ecuador.html>.
- 4 *Pachakutik* is a Quechua word that means "time for transformation" or the "overturning of order" (Quispe Quispe 2003, 3).
- 5 Author interview, Quito, Ecuador, August 27, 2012.
- 6 Ninfa Patiño, analyst, Subsecretary of Interculturality, author interview, Quito, Ecuador, August 23, 2012.
- 7 Ecuador's National Plan for Living Well (2013–17) is available online at <https://www.gobiernoelectronico.gob.ec/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Plan-Nacional-para-el-Buen-Vivir-2013-%E2%80%932017.pdf>.
- 8 Germán Guerra Terán, analyst, Subsecretary of Decentralization, author interview, Quito, Ecuador, August 30, 2012.
- 9 Antuni interview; Tenesaca interview.
- 10 Mauricio López, master's student, FLACSO-Ecuador, author interview, Quito, Ecuador, August 20, 2012.
- 11 Tenesaca interview.

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