



THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES: LANGUAGE GUIDELINES

2021 | VERSION 3.0



THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

Respect. Recognize. Reflect.

Dear Colleagues,

Canada's historical relationship with the first inhabitants of the land has been shaped by its imperial and colonial history. One result has been that for many years, Indigenous peoples' respective identities were neither recognized nor respected in mainstream discourse.

This is best exemplified by the fact that all of the Western Hemisphere's autonomous Indigenous groups or nations came to be referred to simply as "Indians," even though they were and continue to be distinct from one another linguistically, culturally, politically and in many other ways.

Over time, Columbus's misnomer "Indians" has been superseded by a succession of other terms, such as Native, Aboriginal, First Nations and more recently Indigenous, some of which derive from government discourse or Indigenous national and international movements.

All these terms carry connotations that can be functional or harmful, depending upon context, and their usage by powerful social institutions such as universities makes a real difference.

Version 3.0 of this guide has been produced to help UBC communicators navigate the terminology and meanings associated with this subject in order to produce the best — and most respectful — results, with the recognition that, as time passes, the terminology is subject to change and this guide will again need to be refreshed.

Please note that this guide is not a comprehensive treatment of this complex subject, but it is an entry point. Users are encouraged to expand their knowledge on the matter by referring to other sources, some of which are listed at the end of this document.

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Indigenous Peoples: Language Guidelines

2021 | VERSION 3.0

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INDIGENOUS PEOPLES: LANGUAGE GUIDELINES

WHY TERMINOLOGY MATTERS

Why Terminology Matters

1.0

In the history of relations between Canadian institutions and Indigenous peoples, terminology has often been deployed in ways that have been damaging to communities. The terminology used in public discourse has rarely been that actually preferred by Indigenous people, who most often refer to themselves by the traditional name of their specific group.

Using the best terminology in any given situation is not just a matter of being “politically correct” but of being respectful and accurate.

1.0

1.1 PEOPLES VS PEOPLE

The plural “peoples” can be used to recognize that more than one distinct group comprises the Indigenous population of Canada. In some contexts, using “Indigenous people” may seem homogenizing, or seem to refer simply to a collection of individuals. In contrast, “Indigenous peoples” (plural) indicates a broad group that includes a number of separate Indigenous populations.

For the purposes of style, it is acceptable to use “Indigenous people” when referring to separate Indigenous populations, or in contexts in which the scope of reference is clearly aggregated, and then conversely to use “Indigenous peoples” in contexts in which a recognition of multiple communities, or the diversity of communities, is helpful. The subject and context will determine which is more appropriate, e.g., news article vs. official report. In any case, the key is to be consistent, or to have a clear logic in each choice.

Indigenous negotiators of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples waged a years-long “Battle over the S” with state negotiators. They fiercely and successfully advocated for the term “peoples” rather than “people,” as the former (being a collective of distinct groups) have the right of self-determination, respectively, whereas the latter (regarding individuals) do not.

1.2 CAPITALIZATION

UBC uses uppercase for the terms “Aboriginal,” “Indigenous,” “First Nations” and “Native” in all cases, consistent with the larger global community of specific demographics, e.g., Europeans, American.

As a generalized adjective in non-specific running text, “native” and/or “indigenous” is not capitalized. For example, “milkweed is indigenous to the region” or “he’s a native Vancouverite.”

When deciding to use Indigenous *peoples* or Indigenous *Peoples*, consider the publication you are writing for and its purpose, including the message you want to convey. Consider, too, which version was used previously in your publication or in a similar one. For instance, the former is acceptable for informal news, opinion or narrative writing, e.g., *the Indigenous peoples of Canada*, while the latter is more suited for a formal declaration for the purpose of assigning the highest level of recognition and respect toward First Nations, Métis and Inuit collectively, e.g., *the Indigenous Peoples of Canada*.

“Métis” and “Inuit” are capitalized.

When part of a formal title, capitalize “Chief,” “Hereditary Chief,” “Grand Chief” and “Elder.”

1.3 TERMS TO USE AND/OR AVOID

NATIVE

Today, “Native” is a depreciated general term, and is used very infrequently. We advise that you not use it unless there is a specific reason to do so, such as in an organizational name that derives from an earlier period (e.g., Vancouver Native Health Society). If you choose to use a general term, “First Nations,” “Aboriginal,” and more recently, “Indigenous” are more current and are preferred by many in the community, though each has particular nuances.

ABORIGINAL

“Aboriginal” is a general or umbrella term that collectively refers to First Nations, Métis and the Inuit in Canada. Given it is found in the Canadian constitution, it is a term often used in legal circles, e.g., “Aboriginal rights.” It is broad, on one hand, because it includes all three groups, but specific, on the other, in that it is not widely used in international contexts. (In the US, for instance, it is not widely understood.) Though until recently a preferred term, it does, for many Indigenous people in Canada, by the very fact of its use in government policy, carry a negative association, though not nearly as strong a one as its predecessor, “Indian.”

Do not use “Aboriginal” as a noun, but rather as an adjective. The former, especially “Aboriginals,” connotes an early colonial time when poorly conceived synonyms like “Indians,” “primitives” and others were casually applied to Indigenous people. It is also needlessly reductive, in that it unnecessarily reduces an agglomeration of distinct Indigenous groups to a singularly blunt term.

For example, do not say “the Aboriginals of Canada” or “June is an Aboriginal who is....” Instead say, “the Aboriginal people of Canada” or “She’s an Aboriginal student (or person, athlete, leader, etc.) who is....”

With “Indigenous” having overtaken “Aboriginal” in usage, the need to consider how to appropriately use the latter term has become less of a concern. For instance, because the former is difficult to use as a noun, e.g., “The Indigenous of Canada...,” “June is an Indigenous who is....,” which simply sound wrong, proper use is more assured.

Be aware that Aboriginal people, however named, do not “belong” to Canada. Therefore, do not preface any of the terms considered above with a possessive, e.g., “Canada’s Aboriginal (or First Nations, Inuit, Indigenous, Métis) people,” or worse yet, “our Aboriginal people.” This is profoundly insulting and not easily forgiven, as it invokes an entire history of paternalism and control.

When in doubt as to what is the most appropriate term to use, ask the person or group involved, learn what is in use in your area or subject field or simply ask someone knowledgeable.

INDIGENOUS

The term “Indigenous” also encompasses all these groups, either collectively or separately, and is a preferred term in international usage, e.g., the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. In its derivation from international Indigenous movements, which is associated more with activism than government policy, it has emerged, for many, as the preferred term for national Indigenous movements, as well. Subsequently, governments across Canada have adjusted to this preferred use, e.g., Ministry of Indigenous Affairs.

In some contexts, however, it can be ambiguous: a reference to “Indigenous people in Canada” could include Māori or American Indian (US) people living here, as well as Canadian Aboriginal people, so in contexts in which legal specificity to people originating in Canada is important, “Aboriginal,” or a more qualified use of “Indigenous” may be warranted (e.g., “the Indigenous people of Canada”).

While “Indigenous” is increasingly being chosen over “Aboriginal” in both formal and informal communications in Canada, and that some First Nations, Métis and Inuit people prefer to self-identify with this particular high-level term (in addition to their more specific identity), there are instances where it may still be preferable to continue to use “Aboriginal” for the sake of consistency or clarity, depending on the situation. Thus, it may be acceptable to use both terms in a formal document or across a communications channel. To avoid confusion, however, do not use both in the same article, unless there is a logical reason to do so.

While a preferred term, “Indigenous” is nevertheless a colloquial term, at least insofar as it does not replace the legally recognized term “Aboriginal,” as in, for example, “Aboriginal rights,” or for that matter “Indian,” as per the *Indian Act*. However, given that the Province of British Columbia recently passed the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act, and with similar legislation being pursued nationally, the term “Indigenous” is increasingly becoming formalized in Canada.

Use of the antonym “non-Indigenous” should be done judiciously, as its use often creates a dichotomy between the two populations, which is made all the more starker in the context of sometimes fraught relations arising from colonialism. In some instances, it is clearly preferable to use the term to convey concepts or expressions that stand to benefit from this rhetorical approach. Casual use, however, whether for brevity or stylistic reasons, runs the risk of inadvertently and thus unnecessarily creating an “us and them” framing. Since this approach does not come without risk, it’s worth asking whether it accurately and appropriately describes or expresses the thing you want to convey (subject and context notwithstanding), and, if not, whether alternate phrasing is better.



Consider that “Indigenous and other students (faculty/groups/people/etc)” works to offset the starker binary phrase “Indigenous and non-Indigenous students,” while using “broader UBC community” in place of “non-Indigenous UBC community” works well, too. In the first phrase, the alternate choice recognizes that Indigenous students are but one of many student groups on campus, while the second one implies that the Indigenous community is a subset of the whole community rather than being its opposite, and thus possibly perceived to be excluded from it. In short, using alternative phrasing like this exemplifies UBC’s commitment to inclusive language.

INDIAN

The term “Indian” can still be found in use today, but in general, it is an archaic term with very negative connotations for many and should be avoided in most contexts, unless it is part of a historical reference, part of a legacy term or used in reference to a government policy or classification (e.g., the *Indian Act*, “status Indian,” “Musqueam Indian Band”). You may encounter, particularly in legal or policy contexts, the terms “status Indian,” “Indian status” or simply “status.” All refer to the government classification system in which “status” confers certain benefits (and historically, certain penalties). This is a technical area with sensitivities, so you may want to consult with knowledgeable people before initiating the use of any of these terms.

FIRST NATIONS

Most, but not all, reserve-based communities in Canada refer to themselves as “First Nations,” though some do not. Most notably, for UBC Vancouver, Musqueam does not use this term in self-reference, but rather prefers to use their legal name, i.e., “Musqueam Indian Band.”

For informal documents, use “First Nation,” or, collectively in referring to reserve-based communities, “First Nations,” but in specific references, use the name that the community (or First Nation) uses publicly, i.e., “Indian Band,” “First Nation” or “Nation.”

The term “First Nation” can refer to individuals, but technically refers only to those who have Indian status under Canadian law, as part of a recognized community (or Band). Using “First Nation” is more specific than simply using Indigenous (or Aboriginal) and thus is encouraged, along with identifying the particular First Nation the person is affiliated with, whenever possible. For example, “Linda, a Katzie First Nation member, is a first-year science student,” is preferable to “Linda, an Indigenous student, is a first-year science student.”

Always keep in mind that including a First Nation’s full name is more accurate as well as more respectful of actual identity. What is more, for stories that highlight student or faculty success, the subject will appreciate seeing their First Nation’s name in the story, that is, if it isn’t already central to the story itself. Also, the spelling of the First Nation’s full name should be what the community itself uses.



Committing to this level of specificity adds context and clarity, which makes for a richer story. Moreover, it goes a long way toward restoring the unique differences and complexities between First Nations, Métis and the Inuit that umbrella terms like “Indigenous” or “Aboriginal,” “Native,” etc., flatten and obscure.

Do not use “Indian” when referring to a First Nations individual! And Métis and Inuit individuals should never be referred to as “First Nations.”

Avoid using “nation” to refer to a whole cultural group, e.g., “Tom Smith is from the Cree Nation.” Instead, it’s acceptable to simply say “Tom Smith is Cree....” In some cases, the attribute of nationhood to a cultural group may be misleading and/or somewhat offensive. For instance, referring to the “Coast Salish Nation” could be found offensive and thus derided by some, specifically because the notion of a “national” grouping is not a traditional part of the culture of Salish communities in this area. Even the term “Coast Salish” is falling out of favour with many since it derives more from anthropology than community self-description.

The exception to this standard occurs when referring to the Squamish Nation, Tsilhqot’in Nation, Innu Nation, etc., who are formally comprised of two or more communities (or Bands and/or reserves), all sharing specific attributes, e.g., Bob Williams is from the Squamish Nation.

To learn more about BC First Nations’ traditional names, visit the BC Government’s First Nations A-Z Listing webpage:

(<https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/environment/natural-resource-stewardship/consulting-with-first-nations/first-nations-negotiations/first-nations-a-z-listing>)

MÉTIS

The Métis are a distinct Indigenous (or Aboriginal) group in Canada with a very specific social history. The term “Métis” may be used as singular or plural, and refers to individuals or groups, e.g., “Tom, a Métis student, attends UBC,” or “The *Indian Act* does not govern the Métis.” Be sure to use the acute accent over the “e” in Métis unless quoting a name or source where it is not used.

INUIT

The Inuit are the third main Indigenous (or Aboriginal) group recognized in Canada. Historically located in the Arctic, they are legally and culturally distinct from First Nations — or legally-defined Indians — and Métis. The singular of “Inuit” is “Inuk,” and thus you would write, for example, “He is Inuk” and “the Arctic is home to the Inuit.”

Note that the translation of Inuit is “the people,” and therefore it is redundant to add “people” after it.

Do not use “Eskimo,” which the Inuit consider to be a derogatory term.

1.4 OTHER KEY CONSIDERATIONS

RESERVE

An “Indian reserve” is a legally defined geographical area set aside by the federal government exclusively for use by a specific First Nation, and, historically, where its members were once confined. First Nations often possess a main reserve where they reside and secondary ones for less intensive residential use and/or land-based activities. In general, it is better to refer to a “community” than to a “reserve,” unless the geographic or legal precision of “reserve” is required.

The term “reservation,” commonly used in the United States, is not used in Canada.

TRADITIONAL, ANCESTRAL AND UNCEDED TERRITORY

Use “traditional territory” in recognition of lands traditionally used and/or occupied by First Nations, and “ancestral” for lands handed down to subsequent generations, but only if you know this to be the case. “Unceded” refers to land not turned over to the Crown by treaty or some other agreement.

In most cases, when referring to a First Nation’s traditional territory, it isn’t necessary to include “ancestral” or “unceded,” as First Nations generally do not use these descriptions themselves. The Musqueam, however, often do, and so we include them in land acknowledgments at UBC Vancouver.

“Traditional territory” almost always refers to a more extensive area than a legal “reserve.” The Vancouver campus, for instance, is most definitely part of Musqueam traditional territory, though not part of the very small Musqueam reserve. And most traditional territory in BC (though not elsewhere in Canada) is unceded, including the Vancouver campus, because very few treaties were negotiated here.

POLES AND POSTS

“Totem pole” is a popular term derived from anthropological discourse that is generally used to describe any elaborately sculpted woodwork of this nature, which is most often made from a Western red cedar tree. Depending on its purpose, a more accurate reference than “totem” might be to a heraldic (or crest, family), honour, memorial, welcome, shaming or mortuary pole. Such poles are characteristics of some, but not all, communities in which carving is common. Other communities may carve statuary figures or house posts, and not “totem poles,” and will find the misnomer annoying if not insulting. The Musqueam Post or sʔi:ɬqəy̓ qeqən (double-headed serpent post) by the UBC Bookstore, for instance, is a “post” and not a “totem pole.” When possible, it is a good practice to determine what kind of pole or post is being discussed.

See Resources on page 19 for information on diacritic characters for Musqueam and Syilx terms.



INDIGENOUS PEOPLES: LANGUAGE GUIDELINES

ACKNOWLEDGMENT AND RECOGNITION

2.0

2.1 ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The UBC Vancouver campus is situated within the traditional territory of the Musqueam, and UBC's other Vancouver operations are situated within territory best regarded as shared by the Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh. The Okanagan campus is situated within the traditional, ancestral, unceded territory of the Syilx Okanagan Nation. It is now a common practice at public and private university events, important business meetings, and in formal documentation, to acknowledge these relationships, as appropriate to the specific location.

ORAL RECOGNITION

Vancouver Campus:

- I/we would like to acknowledge that we are gathered today on the traditional, ancestral and unceded territory of the Musqueam (*people* is optional).

Robson Square, Vancouver General Hospital and/or Centre for Digital Media:

- I/we would like to acknowledge that we are gathered today on the traditional territory of the Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh (*peoples* is optional).

The anglicized pronunciation of Tsleil-Waututh is "slay-wa-tuth." Sometimes you will hear people say "Coast Salish" to address all three First Nations, but we recommend naming the communities instead: "Coast Salish" is regarded by some in the communities as a depreciated anthropological term.

Okanagan Campus:

- I/we respectfully acknowledge the Syilx Okanagan Nation and their peoples, in whose traditional, ancestral, unceded territory we stand and are gathered upon today.
- *Alternative:* I/we respectfully acknowledge that we are gathered today on the traditional, ancestral, unceded territory of the Syilx Okanagan Nation.

Okanagan campus virtual event recognition:

- I/we would like to respectfully acknowledge the Syilx Okanagan Nation and their peoples, in whose traditional, ancestral, unceded territory UBC Okanagan is situated. I would also like to acknowledge that you are joining us today from many places, near and far, and acknowledge the traditional owners and caretakers of those lands.
- *Alternative:* I/we would like to respectfully acknowledge that UBC Okanagan is situated on the traditional, ancestral, unceded territory of the Syilx Okanagan Nation. I would also like to acknowledge that you are joining us today from many places, near and far, and acknowledge the traditional owners and caretakers of those lands.

UBC virtual events not attached to a specific campus/location:

- I/we acknowledge that UBC's campuses are situated within the traditional territories of the Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh, and in the traditional, ancestral, unceded territory of the Syilx Okanagan Nation and their peoples.

WRITTEN RECOGNITION

Vancouver Campus:

- We acknowledge that the UBC Vancouver campus is situated within the traditional, ancestral and unceded territory of the Musqueam.
- *Alternative:* We acknowledge that the UBC Vancouver campus is situated within the traditional, ancestral and unceded territory of the xʷməθkʷəy̓əm (Musqueam).

In the second version (above) the traditional spelling of “Musqueam” is used, a practice that is increasingly being followed across campus, and “people” does not follow “Musqueam.” In the latter instance, it is acceptable to leave out “people” as “Musqueam” translates to “People of the River Grass,” thus it can be seen as redundant. (To render the traditional spelling, see Resources on page 19 for a link to the First Nations Unicode font.)

Robson Square, Vancouver General Hospital and/or Centre for Digital Media:

- We acknowledge that (insert learning site name, e.g., UBC Robson Square, VGH, Centre for Digital Media) is situated on the traditional territory of the Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh peoples. (Note: “unceded,” “ancestral” are not included in this version, and, for the reason noted below, you may choose to leave out “peoples.”)

As with “Musqueam,” the translations for Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh are “People of the Sacred Water” and “People of the Inlet,” respectively. Thus, it is acceptable to not use “people(s)” when referencing these First Nations. At this point, however, including it is still acceptable as it helps those unfamiliar with these First Nations to know that groups of people are being referenced.

Okanagan Campus:

- We respectfully acknowledge the Syilx Okanagan Nation and their peoples, in whose traditional, ancestral, unceded territory UBC Okanagan is situated.
- *Alternative:* We respectfully acknowledge that the UBC Okanagan campus is situated on the traditional, ancestral, unceded territory of the Syilx Okanagan Nation.

Campuses and Learning Sites:

- We acknowledge that UBC’s campuses and learning sites are situated within the traditional territories of the Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh and in the traditional, ancestral, unceded territory of the Syilx Okanagan Nation and their peoples.

Digital land recognition (for UBC websites and publications not attached to a specific campus/location):

- We acknowledge that UBC’s campuses are situated within the traditional territories of the Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh, and in the traditional, ancestral, unceded territory of the Syilx Okanagan Nation and their peoples.

2.0 ACKNOWLEDGMENT AND RECOGNITION

2.2 ACKNOWLEDGMENT RESOURCES

To learn more, view the short video, *Why We Acknowledge Musqueam Territory* (<https://indigenous.ubc.ca/indigenous-engagement/musqueam-and-ubc/>).

You may also refer to UBC Ceremonies' *Guidelines — Acknowledging the Musqueam First Nation at Ceremonies and Events* (<https://ceremonies.ubc.ca/protocol-at-ubc/>).

2.3 A NOTE ON IMAGES OF INDIGENOUS ARTWORK

Indigenous artworks almost always contain culturally significant iconography associated with important stories. Attribution helps to avoid the trivialization of these artworks, and it avoids the fact or appearance of appropriation (see example below).

In general, video, photographic and graphical representations of Indigenous-related artworks should be attributed to the artist, along with Indigenous affiliation and the artwork's name and location. In most instances, permissions for use should be secured if the work is not in the public domain (as it might be, for instance, if it appeared in news coverage of a public event). In some cases, it may be advisable to seek advice from the artist or the artwork's custodian to ensure an artwork's image is used in a manner consistent with its intended purpose.

- Example: "The Respect to Bill Reid Pole," James Hart, Haida, Totem Park, MOA

2.4 A NOTE ON LOGOS

Like others, Indigenous groups use logos to represent their communities and organizations. As a general practice, when it comes to another organization's or group's logo (or mark or signature), it is best not to reproduce or use it without explicit permission.

These logos are legal property of the group or organization. Do not assume use of these logos for any purpose is acceptable, except as specifically provided for by license, signed agreement or other written permission. This advice is recommended even when one accurately describes a relationship with the group or organization, or even in cases where one is advocating or supporting a group or organization's interests.

When requesting permission to use a logo, it is advisable to specifically state the intended use, and not replicate the logo outside of that instance.

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES: LANGUAGE GUIDELINES

EVOLVING COMMUNICATIONS



Evolving Communications

3.0

As with any living, adaptive language such as English, the “rules” are in constant evolution and adjustments are part of the multi-faceted world the language strives to represent. We have seen, in the past few years, for instance, a very rapid rise in the use of “Indigenous” in both publications and in usage by community members.

So if you are feeling less than confident in using certain terms in reference to Indigenous peoples, keep in mind that fear of using the “wrong” word should never stifle important dialogue and discussions that need to be had. And please do not be insulted or defensive if someone suggests a correction, but do try to understand the logic of the suggested change.

While nuances can be challenging to understand and navigate at times, every effort should be made to be specific and use the correct word in any given context.

As UBC communicators, the goal is to provide consistent, clear language with the objective of being respectful, non-hierarchical and inclusive at all times.



INDIGENOUS PEOPLES: LANGUAGE GUIDELINES

SOURCES AND RESOURCES

4.0

RESOURCES

[Reporting In Indigenous Communities Lexicon and Terminology](#)

- Good, broad strokes
- Refers back to Strategic Alliance of Broadcasters for Aboriginal Reflection (SABAR) for most points
- Not substantial as a standalone guide

[Journalists for Human Rights' Style Guide for Reporting on Indigenous People](#)

- Authored by Indigenous journalists

[Library and Archives Canada Research on Aboriginal Heritage Terminology Guide](#)

- Thorough glossary and terminology
- Not a style guide
- Good for background and historical reference

If you are in need of a font that supports all the Indigenous languages of the Americas, we suggest using [Huronia](#). To obtain Huronia, please contact Ross Mills at ross@tiro.com.

Additionally, a version of UBC's official font, Whitney, that includes diacritic characters for typesetting Musqueam and Syilx words has been created in consultation with members of the Musqueam and Syilx communities. These are available to UBC communicators [upon request](#).

Another option is to install the [First Nations Unicode Font](#), which allows you to render certain characters used in First Nations languages in your preferred font. You may also wish to use [BC Sans](#), a free typeface created and used by the BC Provincial Government that supports many Indigenous languages.

SOURCES

This guide was informed by existing resources at UBC:

- [Indigenous Foundations](#)
- [UBC Style Guide](#)

THANK YOU

Thank you to Professor Linc Kesler, former Director of the First Nations House of Learning and Senior Advisor to the President on Aboriginal Affairs, and Kevin Ward, Research and Communications Officer from the First Nations House of Learning at UBC, for advice and written input on the creation and update of this guide.

PHOTOGRAPHY DESCRIPTIONS



Cover: sʔi:ɬqəy̓ qeqən (double-headed serpent post), Brent Sparrow Jr. (Musqueam), UBC Vancouver. Photograph by Paul Joseph.



Page 3: Haida Looplex X Canoe, Bill Reid (Haida), UBC Vancouver. Photograph by Kevin Ward.



Page 4: Raven Brings the Light, Bernard Kerrigan (Haida), UBC Vancouver. Photograph by Caid Dow.



Page 13: shílíʔtn, Les Louis (Syilx), UBC Okanagan. Photograph by Margo Yacheshyn.



Page 15: Musqueam artist Brent Sparrow Jr. in front of his artwork, ʔəlqsən (Point Grey) at UBC. Photograph by Paul Joseph.



Page 19: ʔəlqsən (Point Grey), Brent Sparrow Jr., UBC Vancouver. Photograph by Paul Joseph.