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The Role of Property in Gender Diversity among the Indigenous Societies in North America

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the relationship between Indigenous gender diversity, namely Two-Spirit identities, and property ownership and understandings of the land in Indigenous communities in North America, as compared to that of Western colonial ideology. As a society's economic structure can be understood by studying its mode of production and whether property is seen as private or communal, I consider the influence of economic structures in Indigenous gender diversity: If pre-colonial Indigenous societies were inclusive of all genders, then is the absence of private property ownership in these Indigenous societies one of the reasons for their inclusive and equal societies? Along with the harsh socio-cultural changes brought on by colonial assimilationist policies, Indigenous economies and modes of production were also drastically altered under colonization. Accompanying these Western economic influences was a colonial emphasis on patriarchy and cisheteronormativity, which negatively impacted Indigenous non-binary gender identities, suppressing Two-Spirit identities. From an anthropological perspective, I explore these economic changes in the mode of production among various Indigenous groups in North America to reveal associated shifts in perspectives on gender diversity and Two-Spirit identities. Through a holistic lens, I discuss the role of colonial economic influences as part of the sociocultural changes to the status of Two-Spirit identities in Indigenous societies in North America.

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INTRODUCTION

The relationship between property and gender has been studied separately and understood from various perspectives; most notably from a feminist perspective exploring the role of private property in the decline in the status of women (Brettell and Sargent, 2017, p. 333). Property is a system of rights that gives people legal control of valuable things (Powell, 2009). It can be either privately owned or collectively owned. Gender can be defined as a social construct that includes the social, psychological, cultural, and behavioral aspects of being a man, woman, or non-binary gender identity (REF). Epistemologically, both property and gender can be known and defined differently across cultures. *Etuaptmumk* or Two-Eyed Seeing, refers to learning from Indigenous knowledge through one eye and from Western knowledge through the other eye (Bartlett et al., 2012). A Two-Eyed Seeing approach can bring together the strengths of both Indigenous knowledge and Western knowledge for the benefit of all. Through a Two-Eyed Seeing approach, I explore both Indigenous perspectives and Western perspectives on the concepts of property and gender in both the pre-colonial and colonial eras in North America. Obvious differences were identified in the Indigenous and Western worldviews of both property and gender in the pre-colonial era, but I argue that the perspectives of the Indigenous societies on both concepts were altered to reflect the Western perspective in the colonial era in North America. Most of the pre-colonial Indigenous societies in North America had egalitarian economic strategies and were inclusive of all gender identities. These inclusive pre-colonial perspectives of Indigenous societies were altered by colonization and the imposition of capitalistic Western ideologies that have a regressive cisheteronormative approach towards gender.

A variety of feminist studies have focused on the negative impact of the introduction of private property on the status of women. (Brettell and Sargent, 2017). However, the impact of private property on the status of gender variant identities has not received the same attention. This paper intends to explore the relationship between Indigenous gender diversity, namely Two-Spirit identities, and property ownership and understandings of the land in Indigenous communities in North America, as compared to that of Western colonial ideology. As a society's economic structure can be understood by studying its mode of production and whether property is seen as private or communal, I consider the influence of economic structures on Indigenous gender diversity. If pre-colonial Indigenous societies were inclusive of all genders, then is the absence of private property ownership in Indigenous societies one of the reasons for their inclusive and equal societies? So, from an anthropological perspective, I explore these economic changes in the mode of production among various Indigenous groups in North America to reveal associated shifts in perspectives on gender diversity and Two-Spirit identities. Through a holistic lens, I discuss the role of colonial economic influences as part of the sociocultural changes to the status of Two-Spirit identities in Indigenous societies in North America.

BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The relationship between gender diversity – namely, Two-Spirit identities – and property ownership in North American Indigenous communities and the Western colonial ideology is the central focus of this study. History is important to understand the evolution of concepts like gender and property in both Indigenous and colonial backgrounds. Beginning with a discussion of Two-Spirit identities, I define and provide an analysis of the concepts of gender and property as essential to compare changes between pre-colonial and post-colonial practices.

Before colonialization, Indigenous categorizations of gender were as diverse as Indigenous cultures themselves (Greenwood et al., 2018). Indigenous languages, oral histories, and ongoing cultural practices of Indigenous peoples are some of the ways to understand the pre-colonial knowledge of Indigenous systems of gender (Greenwood et al., 2018). Various anthropological research on Indigenous cultural knowledge shows that the term "Two-spirit" is associated with multiple meanings and identities; thereby, there is no single definition of the term (Greenwood et al., 2018). Many of the Indigenous languages in North America have terms to describe individuals who are neither men nor women, and these individuals were assigned responsibilities and roles that were vital to a Nation's wellbeing; most of these roles included teachers, knowledge keepers, healers, herbalists, childminders, spiritual leaders, interpreters, mediators, and artists (Greenwood et al., 2018). These culturally specific non-binary expressions of gender needed an umbrella term to refer to the diversified Indigenous LGBTQ identities. Further, a new term was needed to address the insulting and inaccurately derived colonial terms like "Berdache" (meaning male prostitutes) coined by the Europeans with their ethnocentric observations of non-binary gendered Indigenous individuals they encountered (Nanda, 2000, p. 11). Therefore, the term *Two-Spirit* was framed in 1990 at the Third Annual Intertribal Native American/First Nations Gay and Lesbian Conference to appropriately address people with non-binary gender identities in the Indigenous communities in North America (Robinson, 2020).

Many Indigenous communities have assigned important roles to the Two-Spirit people with different cultural significance that added value to their societies. Brown (1997) explores Indigenous spiritualities to understand various gender roles in their societies to begin understanding the place of lesbian, gay, and bisexual persons within Indigenous societies. From this ethnographic study, Brown observed that the Two-Spirit people were accepted rather than

marginalized by the Indigenous communities. In his book *Becoming Two-Spirit: Gay Identity and Social Acceptance in Indian Country,* Brain Joseph Gilley (2006) also shows various historical evidence of how Two-Spirit identity was respected in the pre-colonial Indigenous societies in America. Similarly, in *Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality,* Jacobs et al. (1997) discuss the various identities of Two-Spirit people in Native American communities and note that Two-Spirit identity is not a matter of sexual orientation but of occupational preferences. Most Indigenous societies in North America define gender in a way that allows for the cultural construction of more than two genders, which has come to be termed as *gender variance* (an individual's gender expression that does not match socially defined masculine or feminine gender norms.) (REF)

The concept of transvestism or cross-dressing (to dress in the clothing of the opposite sex) has been used to help explain how Two-Spirit identity is not a matter of sexual orientation but of occupational preferences. Lang (1998) focuses on the concept of transvestism to understand the Native American perspective on various gender and sexual identities. From cross-cultural observations made across Indigenous groups in North America, Lang (1998, 2016) concludes that transvestism occurs where gender roles are not strictly constructed and institutionalized. In her book *Gender Diversity,* Nanda (2000) focuses on multiple gender identities and their roles among various Indigenous societies in North America by exploring five aspects of gender diversity such as transvestism, cross-gender occupation, same-sex sexuality, gender transformation, and recruitment of specific roles in association with spiritual or sacred power. Nanda's (2000) work supports the argument that despite cultural differences, some significant similarities among Indigenous societies are particularly consistent with multigender systems and progressive viewpoints on gender diversity.

William (1986) and Smithers (2016) explore Indigenous gender roles from a spiritual perspective. Based on their "spiritual connections," Cherokee Two Spirits individuals were treated with respect due to their varied gender identity (Smithers, 2016), and Two-Spirit people were perceived as sacred and held ceremonial roles as psychic healers, "medicine men" and prophets (William, 1986). There is evidence supporting the acceptance of varied sexuality among Indigenous societies as non-reproductive sex between non-binary gendered people for good emotional health was encouraged (Roscoe, 1998). From these works, we can understand that Indigenous peoples in North America have historically been open-minded and accepting of multiple gender and sexual expressions.

Although the term Two-Spirit has been accepted among Indigenous scholars and communities, there has also been resistance to using the term. One argument is that the term should not only be seen from gender and sexuality perspectives and suggests that the study of Two-Spirit identity should also include spirituality, power, sexuality, gender, identities, and desires (Jacobs et al., 1997). Another argument is that not only is the term problematic but the concept of non-binary itself is seen as forbidden in many Indigenous communities at present (Cameron, 2005). This contemporary argument reflects a change from an open-minded acceptance of gender variance in pre-colonial Indigenous societies to a colonial binary gender understanding. Traditional Indigenous cultural values were lost due to the forced assimilation process that occurred systematically with European colonization (Alers, 2010) and missionization.

The legacies of colonialization and ongoing settler colonialism have suppressed Indigenous traditional knowledge, thereby changing their acceptance of gender variance and diversity to a regressive cisheteronormative gender ideology. Ma-Nee Chacaby (2016) provides

an extraordinary account of her life as an Ojibwa Cree lesbian in her book *A Two-Spirit Journey: The Autobiography of a Lesbian Ojibwa Cree Elder* and documents the hardships faced by the Two-Spirit people due to the colonized regressive thoughts about gender and sexuality. As a child, Chacaby learned spiritual and cultural traditions from her Cree grandmother, and these teachings made her realize that the pre-colonial Cree culture was open-minded towards sexuality. This awareness made her challenge existing regressive colonial perspectives that are oppressing Indigenous peoples with non-binary gender identities, namely, the coloniality of gender.

According to Western theories and perspectives, gender is identified with bodily differences reflecting sexual dimorphism. This colonial gender perspective is further based not only on the concept of heteronormativity, which considers heterosexuality as the normal or natural sexual orientation but also on the concept of cisheteronormativity, which ascribes a binary system of sex/gender assigned at birth. Not only gender is gender deemed bodily but all other kinds of differences, such as race or social status, are also seen as based on the body: “The body is the bedrock on which the social order is founded in the Western world” (Oyewumi, 1997, p. 27). Gender, under the coloniality of power, became one of the axes of oppression that controlled many aspects of society including sexual access, authority, labor, control of knowledge, and intersubjectivity (Lugones, 2010, p.744). As Lugones (2020) explains, the coloniality of gender has been and continues to reduce Indigenous peoples and peoples of African descent to animality; for example, not all females were given the identity of woman because the colonized and enslaved females of the planet were not included within the category of human. Lugones (2020) discusses how the colonial gender system dehumanized Indigenous people and African descendants and did not consider them as social agents, thereby excluding them from the civil society. So, bodily sexual differences are the basic criteria on which gender is

assigned from a colonial perspective. Gender was also differentiated based on social roles, with reproduction and raising children assigned to women. Lugones (2020, p.33) concludes that "the gender system introduced by the colonizers only constituted European bourgeois men and women as gendered, their sexual difference socialized as emphatically heterosexual. Thus, the cisheteronormative gender approach was justified by the European colonizers.

The cisheteronormative gender approach of the colonizers was imposed on Indigenous societies, thereby altering their traditional views on gender and sexuality, which were integral to their social order. These colonial views of gender and sexuality universalized the gender debate and injected Western problems like homophobia and transphobia into other societies in which these issues originally did not exist (Upadhyay, 2021). The harmful impacts of various heinous assimilationist practices, such as the residential schools and the Sixty Scoop caused significant trauma in the lives of the Two-Spirit people in Indigenous communities (Ristock et.al., 2019). The multiple forms of intersecting violence (including domestic violence, community violence, and structural violence by the colonial state) faced by the Two-Spirit people are created systematically on various levels, including class, race, gender, and sexuality (Ristock et al., 2019). Resistance to ongoing settler colonialism is enabled through the Two-Spirit identity to reclaim traditional roles within Indigenous nations and Indigenous cultural frameworks rather than Settler colonial categories (Robinson, 2020).

As with gender, the concept of property must be understood within Indigenous cultural frameworks reflecting Indigenous ways of knowing and being and contrasting with settler colonial categories and perspectives in several ways. Indigenous societies in North America and elsewhere have a spiritual and sacred relationship with the land (Porter, 2014). In Indigenous perspectives, the land and all life surrounding them are viewed relationally as kin. For example,

Salmon (2000) studied the relationship between the Raramuri and nature using the concept of *iwigara*, the kinship of plants and people. Using the example of Indigenous traditional ecological conservation, he explains how "Raramuri land management represents a tradition of conservation that relies on a reciprocal relationship with nature in which the idea of iwigara becomes an affirmation of caretaking responsibilities and an assurance of sustainable subsistence and harvesting" (Salmon, 2000, p. 1330). To Indigenous peoples in North America, humans are in a kindred relationship with the rest of the natural world and believe that this complex interaction enhances and preserves the ecosystem (Salmon, 2000). As such, Indigenous land management practices reflect the kin-centric relationship that Indigenous peoples maintain with their natural environment. Therefore, the land plays an important role in establishing their relationship with nature and creating a sacred connection which informs a view of collective ownership (Porter, 2012).

In contrast, the Western colonial understanding of the land is informed by a capitalistic perspective and a view of private property ownership; a materialistic view that also shapes understandings of gender. From a materialistic perspective, the systematic stratification of gender and exploitation of labor started as societies evolved from egalitarian societies where every property was shared collectively to a capitalistic society where properties were unequally and privately owned (Mascia-Lees & Black, 2000). Sacks (1989) explains that this capitalistic shift subordinated women's roles to domestic labor and led the way to gender oppression. Further, the introduction of private property ownership is argued to be the reason for separating body, mind, and body from nature in the Western cultural framework (REF). In contrast, the approach toward gender in Indigenous societies in North America is said to be naturally inclusive due to its

egalitarian nature (Roscoe, 1998). The collective nature of these societies also seems to influence their inclusive perspective on gender-diverse identities.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

A society's economic policy can be understood by studying its mode of production. The shift in the mode of production from collective ownership to private ownership among various Indigenous societies in North America was explored to observe any associated changes in perspectives on gender diversity. As Indigenous communities in North America are diverse and reflect both sedentary or (semi) nomadic societies adapted to specific regions, I compared the Indigenous communities of the Northwest Coast cultural area that were more sedentary and the Indigenous communities in the Plains cultural area that were partially sedentary (agriculture-based cultures) or nomadic (hunting based cultures) in nature. By comparing these two different cultural areas, I reveal the shift in their property ownership practices and its influence on the Two-Spirit identities over the pre-colonial and colonial eras. The gradual change in the mode of production and gender relations from the pre-colonial era to the post-colonial influence on the Indigenous communities in North America was traced.

The systematic stratification of gender and exploitation of labor is considered to have emerged as the societies shifted from an egalitarian society where property was communally shared to a capitalistic society where properties were unequally owned (Brettell & Sargent, 2017, p. 334). Accompanying this shift to private ownership is an embedded relationship with patriarchy, leading to an associated decline in the status of women. Along with patriarchy came a cisheteronormative perspective on gender with an emphasis on a gender binary approach (REF). Therefore, through an ethnographic investigation, I explore the impact of a capitalist, private

property system with its embedded cisheteronormativity on gender diversity in Indigenous societies and the status of Two-Spirit individuals within the Northwest Coast and the Plain.

Pre-Colonial Era – The Plains

Before the colonial period, all the Indigenous people of the Plains had "subsistence-level economics that had not formed significant forms of wealth and ranks" (Blackwood, 1984, p. 28). Blackwood's (1984) study observed the gender relations among the Indigenous groups when these societies owned property collectively without unequal wealth distribution in the Plains. Before the Euro-American conquest, the Indigenous people in the Plains adapted to the environment by marking territories for hunting and developing horticultural activities in river valleys that were suitable for extensive agriculture (Benson, 2000). Various Indigenous groups in the Plains divide or acquire their territories for hunting and agriculture with marginal limits to the amount of land acquired by each tribe. So, the equilibrium in land acquisition among each of the tribes was maintained "costs and benefits associated with war and negotiation" (p. 36). Benson (2000) argues that

> "the change in the pattern of intertribal relations (e.g., from nonconfrontational to violent or vice versa) and property rights can occur if some change in technology (for the productive uses of the resource, for fighting or for negotiation), institutions (e.g., of governance), relative values (e.g., the trade value of a productive output), ecological conditions (e.g., sustained drought in some but not all areas), or degree of uncertainty occurs that changes at least one group's expected surplus from negotiation" (p. 36).

The tribes in the Plains had their ways of solving problems within other tribes without disturbing the equilibrium in land acquisition thereby maintaining communal living.

The egalitarian nature of property ownership is also reflected in their perspectives on gender variance. Their egalitarian relations of the sexes were based on equal access in controlling their productive activities and distributed the articles they produced (Blackwood, 1084, p. 32). The collective economic strategy gave everyone in the society a voice in matters affecting kin and community, causing a gender-diverse inclusive society. Transvestism, or cross-dressed, is one of the commonly noticed gender variant characteristics that is observed among the Indigenous societies in North America. Male gender variants adopted women's dresses and hairstyles partially or completely and the female gender variants adopted men's clothing (Nanda, 2000, p. 14). Both male and female gender variants had separate terms referring to them and these terms are different in each Indigenous society in North America. For example, the Cree terms *napêw iskwêwisêhot* and *iskwêw ka napêwayat* respectively reference men who dress like women and women who dress like men (Filice, 2023).

The occupation was also one of the central aspects of gender variance. As Nanda (2000) explains, in hunting societies (like the Plains), "female gender variance was signaled by a girl rejecting the domestic activities associated with women and participating in playing and hunting with boys" (p. 14). Various occupations were chosen by gender variants ranging from hunters to warriors, and through these diverse occupations, they were central rather than marginal in their societies (Nanda, 2000). Although gender-variant people were accepted and had special social roles, the way they were recognized by their culture differed among various Indigenous groups. Some groups identified the change through dreams that they had during childhood and identified based on undeveloped secondary sexual characteristics (Blackwood, 1984).

Blackwood (1984) argues that the acceptance of cross-gender roles arose from the collective economic strategies. People achieved their desired position in society with the required skill, wisdom,

and/or spiritual power. No gender roles or occupations were considered inferior or superior as all the occupations were considered necessary for the functioning of the group. Also, the division of labor as male and female tasks "established a system of reciprocity that assured the interdependence of the sexes" thereby not allowing the dominance of one sex in their society (Blackwood, 1984, p. 33). Further, it was acceptable for Two-Spirit individuals to engage in opposite-sex roles and occupations. Indigenous social systems did not allow the domination of one sex over the other and reflected more gender-equal societies. It is evident from Blackwood's study that egalitarian expressions among the Indigenous people are maintained until these Indigenous communities engage in a capitalist private property economy.

Pre-Colonial Era – The Northwest Coast

Unlike the Plains culture area, the concept of private property was evident in the Northwest Coast culture area before colonization (Cox, 1988). Many Indigenous communities in this region have permanent settlements and the traditional economy was widely based on fishing and hunting marine resources. Different occupational roles were assigned to men and women based on "the needs of the household, which was the fundamental social and economic unit of Northwest Coast" (Cox, 1988, p. 178). As Cox (1988) explains, property was recognized as both collective and privately owned entities (p. 178). Communal properties included food-producing areas such as beaches and hunting territories and tangible properties like songs, dances, and rituals. These properties were collectively owned and administered by the chiefs or Elders and inherited based on lineage rights. Items such as clothing, tools, ornaments, and other personal items were owned as private property. Traditionally, the social and political aspects of trade were expressed in their rituals and feastings in which women participated as they contributed to the marine trade (Cox, 1988, p. 179). While fur was the main motive for trade, food was another important trade good

that was primarily controlled by women. Women's contribution to the economy ensured the right to voice in matters affecting kin and community, causing a gender-diverse inclusive society. There is also evidence proving the existence of alternative gender roles among the Indigenous societies in North America cross-geographically, including the Northwest Coast (Tatonetti, 2014, p. xi). Thus, the status of the Two-Spirit people on the Northwest Coast was approached from the occupational role they played in their societies.

Cox (1988) concludes that "the transformation of communal property to private property may have increased the emphasis on gender-related ownership" (p. 183). The colonization of the Indigenous peoples of the Northwest Coast gradually displaced women from social production and subordinated women to men. The patriarchy inherent in the process of colonization "dislocates women as producers, undermines their social position, and discredits their abilities as public leaders and decision-makers" (Cox, 1988, p. 186). However, in pre-colonial gender relations, high esteem for all gender identities was prevalent as social equality was the cultural norm.

Colonial Era

As the influence of colonialism strengthened in the late 1800s, very few female gender-variant individuals were seen, while numerous male gender-variant individuals were observed (Blackwood, 1984). The reason identified by Blackwood was the differentiating historical conditions in the Plains culture area when compared to the Northwest Coast. Blackwood (1984) states, "The plains Indian culture of nomadic buffalo hunting and frequent warfare did not develop until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as tribes moved west in response to the expansion and development of colonial America" (p. 36). European colonialism divided Indigenous groups and created high competition in the fur trading economy in various parts of North America. For example, the European

trade divided the Iroquois and Huron in the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence region, into highly competitive groups. Furthermore, the Iroquois aggression took over the middleman position between the Europeans and the fur-producing tribes in the northwest for their survival as their traditional beaver hunting and foraging were interrupted due to the depletion of the beaver population' (Cox, 1988, p. 3). The dependence on European trade disturbed many Indigenous communities' sustainable traditional hunting practices. Defeated tribal populations gradually moved to the West, increasing competition among the tribes in the Plains and the Northwestern regions, changing their mode of production and gender relations (Benson, 2000, p. 52). With the displacement of the tribes from the east to the Plains due to the westward colonial expansion, the mode of production altered drastically from a sustainable level economy to wealth-obtaining trading and warfare societies (Blackwood, 1984, p. 36).

Gender can be controlled by the state as gender and sexual inequality, the emergence of class structures, and the rise of the state are viewed as interlinked entities in anthropological studies (Brettell & Sargent, 2017, p. 333). In his publication *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State,* Engels argues that the origin of the subordination of women emerges as an aspect of a capitalistic state formation (REF). Before the introduction of private property, gender relations were egalitarian, and all genders were free of exploitation. The emergence of private property lowered the social status of women by tying their social role to marital expectations, like producing children (labor), as the men took full control over the mode of production. Blackwood (1984) argues that individual males gained greater dominance over women, lessening women's social and economic autonomy (p. 36). Involvement with the fur trade with Euro-Americans in the early 1800s altered Indigenous women's traditional roles, tying women to tanning of hides and meeting the trading expectations, as well as other marital demands. The traditional gender balance between men and women was disrupted and

women's status declined as they lost control over trade and production. This economic shift also impacted the status of Two-Spirit people in the Plains and the Northwest Coast. The dominant Western ideological pressure and associated cisheteronormativity encouraged the Indigenous people "to reject the validity of the cross-dressed [Two-Spirit people's] role in the society and to invoke notions of 'proper' sexuality that supported men's possession of sexual rights to women" (Blackwood, 1984, p. 40). Thus, the Two-Spirit identities lost their social status as they were approached by their sexuality rather than the occupational role that they played in their society.

In the nineteenth century, ethnographers did not find much evidence of the female cross-gendered role (Blackwood, 1984, p. 38). The loss of data on female cross-gendered individuals explains the decrease in the acceptance of Two-Spirit women's identity after the change from a subsistence-level economy to a trading and warfare society. The demise of the female gender variant role was identified by Blackwood (1984) is related to the change in the construction of sexuality and gender in the tribes. The dominance of Western ideology with a strong emphasis on cisheteronormativity began to replace the traditional Indigenous gender systems in North America.

Conclusion

The relationship between Indigenous gender diversity, namely Two-Spirit identities, and the property-owning tendency was explored by understanding the land in Indigenous communities in North America. Although anthropologists have discussed the decline in the status of women with the introduction of private property and associated patriarchal values, discussion of how the concept of cisheteronormativity also accompanies the introduction of private property led to the erasure of Two-Spirit identities has not received the same attention. I explored the connections between the introduction of private property, cisheteronormativity, and the erasure of Two-Spirit identities by comparing changes in the modes of production of – the Plains and the Northwest Coast culture areas

due to colonization. According to the Indigenous worldviews, the land plays an important role in establishing a kindred relationship with nature, thereby creating sacred interconnections among people and the natural world. This view underlies collective ownership in Indigenous societies and an inclusive view of all gender identities. However, Western ideology views land as a property that is privately owned. This comes from the capitalistic perspective, which leads to cisheteronormative and patriarchal approaches towards gender. The Western ideological pressure on the Indigenous peoples in North America led to the rejection of Two-Spirit identities and associated occupations and invoked the notions of patriarchy and heteronormativity that supported men to exploit women in multiple ways – economically, physically, and sexually. The patriarchal suppression of Indigenous women leads to the cisheteronormative suppression of Two-Spirit identities. The change in modes of production from communal property to private property ownership changed the gender relations in Indigenous societies in North America from reflecting inclusive gender-diverse societies to those of unequal cisheteronormative societies.

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