

Facilitating Indigenous cultural safety and anti-racism training: Affect and the emergence
of new relationships and social change

by

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Bachelor of Arts, University of Victoria, 2016

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Abstract

While the uptake of cultural safety initiatives is increasing in professional environments, literature on cultural safety lacks reference to the lived experiences and demands of facilitating Indigenous cultural safety training. Using a qualitative and Indigenous approach, this study examined the various challenges and successes involved in facilitating Indigenous cultural safety and anti-racism training from the perspective of facilitators. The diverse sample comprised of 11 facilitators and included those who identified as Indigenous, non-Indigenous or mixed; those who identified as male or female; and those who have worked in post-secondary, healthcare and/or private sector environments. Findings indicate that facilitators, typically highly skilled and perceptive individuals grounded in their identity and critical race analyses, used affect and affective activities that challenge participants to interrogate the ways that power and privilege influence their everyday interpersonal and professional relationships. Affect theory describes the ways in which our bodies have the potential to be creative and respond in new ways; affect and affective activities in Indigenous cultural safety training increased the likelihood of a bodily emergence among participants, which is a necessary and critical turning point to create new relationships to land, others and self. Furthermore, the findings suggest that cultural safety training represents potentially risky spaces, as facilitators must constantly assess and manage the risks of harm, emotional distress and/or taxation for participants and themselves. Finally, the findings reveal possible supports necessary for facilitators to continue this important work. Overall, the findings demonstrate how affect and emergence is foundational to decolonialization and sustainable social change.

Keywords: Indigenous cultural safety facilitation, anti-racism facilitation, decolonization, relationship-building, affect theory, emergence, risky spaces, facilitator wellbeing.

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Chapter 1: The context

1.1 Introduction

I begin this research on Indigenous cultural safety with an introduction of myself and an explanation of my intentions. Absolon (2011) explains, “I begin by locating myself because positionality, storying and re-storying ourselves comes first” (p.13).

Furthermore, Wilson (2008) adds that a detailed explanation of oneself in the research process and background is part of Indigenous axiology and methodology of relational accountability. It is important that I begin in this way so that you, as my audience, may understand my motives, purpose and responsibilities. As I share part of my story, it is my hope that you can develop some level of relationship with me.

Nookum (my grandmother) Nellie Pans Trumbull was Moose Cree First Nation, born and raised in Moose Factory, which is a small and remote ministik (island) located on the Moosoo Sibi (Moose River) in northern Ontario. She spoke fluent Cree and, along with her siblings, attended Bishop Horden Residential School, which was run by the Anglican Church. After her marriage to my settler grandfather, she lost her status and was legally removed from community. All her children, including my dad Ken, were born away from community and no one in my family returned to live there. Because of the Indian Act, colonialism, and continued racism against Indigenous peoples, my family- as have so many other individuals, families and communities- experiences individual and intergenerational trauma and the combined losses of land, language, culture and connection to community, which are for me, immeasurable. That is, colonialism attempted to erase my family and its relations- an entire way of being and knowing. For

me, research is a journey toward learning more about Indigenous ways of knowing and contributing to community in a good way. I have an invested relationship to my research because the knowledge I seek is part of my process of new beginnings and personal growth; I am also invested by my accountability and responsibility to others and community.

I travelled to Moose Factory for the first time in August 2018. With two of my children, we took the VIA train from Vancouver, British Columbia to Toronto, Ontario. Once in Ontario, we flew from Toronto to Timmins, bused from Timmins to Cochrane, took the Polar Bear Express train from Cochrane to Moosonee, and finally a water taxi from Moosonee to Moose Factory. The journey took several days, which seems like a long time. However, in no way does it compare to the several decades and lifetimes my family has been separated from community.

When I went to Moose Factory, a community member named Paula Rickard brought me to a place called Fort Garry, which is on the east side of the island. Fort Garry is special to the Moose Cree for a few reasons, but the main being it is a key point of access and travel. For centuries, my ancestors have travelled from that point on the river to get to traditional hunting and ceremonial grounds. When the water freezes for months at a time in the winter, Fort Garry serves as the access point to the Winter Road, which is officially called Wetum Road, but I also heard someone refer to it as “Freedom”. Community members anticipate the formation of Wetum Road with high excitement because it connects the remote island of Moose Factory to areas in the south and to the provincial highway system. In fact, because this travel route via frozen water is so

important to the Moose Cree they, like other Cree who live near water, have six seasons, as opposed to the typical four seasons known in Canada (Rickard, 2019). As explained by Paula, the added seasons include the “freeze-up season”, which is when community members wait for the river to freeze so they can safely travel on it by vehicle, and then once the weather starts to warm up in the springtime, it is the “break-up season” as ice breaks up and clears away (Rickard, 2019). When I stood there, I felt it was a place where all directions came together- a centre that symbolized for me where north connects to south and east connects to west.

While on edge of the river at Fort Garry with Paula, I remember looking north. To the north you can see the expansive James Bay, which is a large body of water that connects to the Hudson Bay and North Atlantic Ocean. From there, one can look to the direction where the first European ship came down the James Bay. This is the story of contact for my people: the ‘establishment’ of Moose Factory, originally called Moose Fort, is documented as occurring in 1673 when it became the second and main Hudson Bay Company (HBC) post in North America (Ontario Heritage Foundation, 2002). Moose Fort then, being the second HBC post in North America, is literally one of places where colonization and “Canada” began. The place of first relationships between Indigenous and settler peoples. The fur-trading enterprise that started at Moose Fort later spanned across Canada and to parts of the United States. This history is written and accessible to anyone who wishes to learn it, so I turn to a different contact story I heard from community while I was there. When the first Europeans arrived, my Cree ancestors were frightened of the oncoming ship and hid. When the Europeans disembarked from their ship, they looked so sickly and unwell that the Cree came out from hiding and

offered assistance. I have heard similar contact stories from other communities, and I share this story for a reason. When I think of the very first contact between my nation and settlers, I do not associate it with the colonial violence and cultural genocide that followed. Instead, I see our first relations with one another as friendly and characterized by the generosity of Indigenous peoples. For me, this first relationship is important to remember as we try to move forward with Indigenous cultural safety and reconciliation. As one facilitator described, since colonialization is an assault on relationships, then by definition, cultural safety and decolonization is the restoration of relationships; that is, it is the restoration of *good relations* between others, the land, and ourselves (F08, paraphrased). While it is not possible to return to the moments of first contact when there were good relations between my Cree ancestors and settler ancestors, it is my hope that after the long and hard process of (un)learning and healing, we can restore the spirit of that first contact, which at its core demonstrated respect for humanity and all life.

1.2 Purpose of the research

Gwen Phillips, Ktunaxa Nations and member of the First Nations Health Council Interior Region, said, “You have to *transform relationships* before you can transform services or transform anything else” (Skelton & Erickson, 2019, emphasis added). I came to this research wanting to study cultural safety training because I believe it has the potential to transform relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada, making it one of the ways in which reconciliation can be realized. Originally, I was looking at cultural safety in specific healthcare environments that involved relationships between Indigenous Elders and healthcare professionals. While this an important topic of study, I changed my research focus to explore the lived experiences of facilitators of

Indigenous cultural safety after I assisted in a research study that created an impact assessment tool for cultural safety training. In this study, I worked with Indigenous leaders from multiple post-secondary institutions, all of whom were passionate about creating anti-racist spaces and perspectives. Through exploring literature and in discussions with these Indigenous leaders, we came to understand that being or learning to become a *good relative* include physical, mental, emotional and spiritual aspects. Engagement in this study was significant for me. It got me thinking about the process of showing others what it means to be a good relative. Exactly what is it that facilitators do? What is the extent of facilitator preparation for this role? How does what they do for work affect them physically, emotionally, mentally and spiritually?

Even after reading countless articles to complete a literature review on cultural safety, I realized that the stories I heard from facilitators, about what it was actually like to facilitate Indigenous cultural safety, were new to me. I began to have some serious concerns about what I had heard, such as instances of emotional taxation or distress, experienced by facilitators and participants, as well as facilitators' exposure to violence, and/or Indigenous facilitator re-traumatization. I had not come across them in my readings. I wondered about this absence when it seemed like such an important aspect of cultural safety training. Most of the literature focuses on the impact on those who participate in such trainings (important, yes), with little to no regard for the process behind facilitation and the impact on those who facilitate the trainings (also very important!). So - I engaged in further investigation of the process behind facilitation but could not find much. The dearth of such issues in the literature is concerning. If cultural safety facilitators dedicate their lives and work to the restoration of good relations

between others, the land, and ourselves, what are we, as a collective, giving back in return? What would an accountable and responsible relationship to facilitators mean and look like? This research aims to illuminate how we can better understand the importance of these spaces and be collectively accountable to the facilitators who hold these spaces.

1.3 Significance of the research

The Canadian government has promised to renew its relationship with Indigenous peoples through a recognition of rights, respect, cooperation and partnership (Government of Canada, 2017). In 2009, Canada established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to hear the truth about residential schools and develop a framework of reconciling Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations. The TRC defines reconciliation as relationship-based.

By establishing a new and respectful relationship, we restore what must be restored, repair what must be repaired, and return what must be returned (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015, p.6)...The Commission defines reconciliation as an ongoing process of establishing and maintaining respectful relationships. A critical part of this process involves...following through with concrete actions that demonstrate real societal change (p.16).

I believe an in-depth exploration of Indigenous cultural safety training can offer researchers and policy-makers insights into what cultural safety means for relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, as well as explain why its training is necessary in both professional and everyday environments. Most studies on cultural safety focus on the important impact its training has on participants, as well as the impact on relationships between participants and Indigenous peoples after the training. This study specifically examines the not-so-talked-about lived experience of facilitating cultural safety (what exactly is it they do?) and the impact it has on the wellbeing of

facilitators (how does what they do affect them?). I have heard many facilitators say that this work is not for everybody. The enormous task at hand and amount of responsibility facilitators have makes it very hard, taxing and exhausting work. If the majority of us could not do this work, then what can we do to support those that do it for us? This is crucial because, without the health and wellbeing of facilitators, there is no cultural safety.

While the uptake of cultural safety initiatives is increasing in professional environments, such as post-secondary and healthcare, the literature lacks reference to the lived experience and demands of facilitating cultural safety training. Using both an Indigenous and qualitative sociological approach, I examine the challenges and successes involved in facilitating Indigenous cultural safety training from the perspective of facilitators. Thus, a deeper understanding of the process behind cultural safety may help to: 1) identify resources needed to sustain Indigenous cultural safety training; 2) make visible and address potential risks to facilitators (for example, re-traumatization or emotional taxation); and 3) learn how to affect in others the desire to form new relationships and create social change.

1.4 Research Questions

Wanting to learn more about the work of facilitation, the research questions that guided this study include:

1) What are the lived experiences and demands of delivering Indigenous cultural safety training?

2) How do facilitators hold such spaces and affect social change when working with others in position of power and privilege?

3) What is the effectiveness and sustainability of Indigenous cultural safety training as an approach to anti-racism, reconciliation (i.e. relationship building) and/or decolonization?

4) What are the social and structural supports needed to continue this type of work?

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1. Colonialism

Absolon & Willet (2005) argue that “any illumination of past, present, and future First Nations conditions demands a complete deconstruction of the history and application of colonial and racist ideology... That is, we need to know how we got into the mess we’re in...we need to have an analysis of colonization” (p.111). Absolon (2011) further adds, “Critiques of colonialism in research, historically and currently, are paramount in contextualizing re-search today” (p. 98). For me, this means we cannot fully appreciate or understand a word like ‘resistance’ or ‘reconciliation’ without knowing why it exists as a response in the first place. Today, our resistance and reconciliation are about commitment to Indigenous knowledges and self-determination, which runs against the repressive colonial law of the Indian Act that disempowers and divides communities. The Indian Act assaults collective identity and relationships to the land by intentionally controlling Indigenous governance and Indigenous bodies. There are many examples of its punitive, militaristic and assimilative nature. To name a few examples, the government (not the community) has the authority to decide who is ‘Indian’ and who is ‘not Indian’. As demonstrated in my family, the Indian Act specifically targeted women’s bodies; it systematically discriminated by gender to dismantle the traditional Indigenous governance systems and bodies of matriarchal societies. The government controlled Indigenous bodies of land, including both traditional territories and the natural resources found on those territories. The government controlled and restricted bodily movement via a curfew and pass system, which made it difficult-to- near impossible to sustain hunter-

gatherer societies. Colonial law banned traditional dress, song, dance and ceremony like the potlatch, which were all forms of cultural expression and traditional governance bodies (Thomas & Green, 2007). The deadly experience of residential schools- a legacy of cultural imperialism, abuse, exploitation and trauma- meant compulsory incarceration and removal of Indigenous children from community and family. The TRC (2015) outlines the many ways in which these racist institutions were abusive and attempted forceful assimilation. The experiences of residential school were appalling: poor structure of buildings, inadequate training of staff, meagre and unsustainable diets, harsh discipline, language and cultural suppression, exploitation of child labor, widespread illness (e.g. tuberculosis) and high rates of mental, emotional, physical and sexual abuse.

In most cases, the children were denied access to their families for months on end [and] many children did not have contact with family and community for years. Countless children returned unable to speak their language and without knowledge of their traditions. They felt alienated from the family and community they had once depended upon for support (Middleton-Moz, 1999, p.123).

We need to acknowledge colonialism as we develop Indigenous cultural safety training frameworks. I want to make clear that although I say ‘we’, colonialism itself- and consequently the dismantling of it- is a *settler* project (Regan, 2010). As will be argued throughout this paper, Indigenous cultural safety training is about the emergence of new relationships, with a focus on the *settler’s* relationship to self, others and land. It is about interrogating, disrupting and facing how everyday acts of settler power and racism cause violence and harm on all Indigenous bodies (people, nations, lands, etc.). Therefore, this work of unlearning and learning, so that we can live in a respectful and equitable world, is for the most part the work of settlers and not of Indigenous peoples. First, it is crucial

settlers face history and consider the role it has played in shaping realities for Indigenous peoples. This component of Indigenous cultural safety training includes information, based on evidence, about historical violence and harm to Indigenous bodies. Some of this work includes filling in gaps in individual learning and in the broader state of knowledge (i.e. the ‘truth’ part of Truth and Reconciliation). It also includes addressing myths and stereotypes inherent in colonial narratives, as well as racist ideology that forms individual and collective consciousness reflected in mainstream institutions. Some of the teachings may be about the Indian Act, residential schools, Indian hospitals or the 60s Scoop. For example, the training may explain how the federal government estimates that at least 150,000 First Nation, Métis and Inuit students passed through residential schools (TRC 2015, p. 3) and how, through the reconciliation process, we have come to understand that “the abuses committed at residential school are ... unquestionably acts of genocide and crime” (Cote-Meek, 2014, p. 50).

People can also learn about the 60s Scoop, when child welfare agencies were repeatedly granted jurisdiction to remove Indigenous children from their homes, often placing them with European-settler families for reasons based on colonial norms, attitudes and assumptions. Not just a historical phenomenon in Canada, but also in the United States, this violence on family structure and relations continues today as Indigenous children still represent one third-to-half of all children in care (Lawrence 2004). Recent statistics from Statistics Canada indicate that Indigenous children account for more than half of all children in care nationally and in some provinces as high as 80-90% of children in care (Turner, 2016). As another example, people might learn about Indian hospitals. Geddes (2017) journeyed across Canada to interview Elders willing to

share their experiences within segregated Indian hospitals and residential schools. Based on the stories of Elders, he concluded that these hospital facilities, which were separate from public provincial facilities, were notorious sites of abuse and neglect, such as using Indigenous patients to “test” new drugs or tuberculosis interventions (Meijer Dress, 2013). Learning the colonial history of Canada can be a challenge for most settlers. For example, in the context of Indian hospitals, “many Canadians find it difficult to comprehend that deliberate medical experiments, abuse, and involuntary sterilizations could take place in a hospital environment, where care and healing are supposed to be the top priority” (Geddes, 2017, p. 43).

Taken together, the removal from land and denial of language, identity and social connection represents an attempt to “erase the worldviews of the Indigenous peoples” (Lawrence 2004, p.39). It is important for settlers to learn that both historical and present-day forms of colonialism and racism are a major factor in creating the disparities and inequities we see between Indigenous and settler peoples (Diffey & Lavalley, 2014). Ignorance about colonialism directly feeds into the myths and stereotypes about Indigenous people (e.g., as alcoholics, lazy, inferior etc.) and about Indigenous-specific socio-economic inequities in Canada (e.g., higher incarceration rates, poverty, etc.). The hope is that, learning about colonial history will help to loosen the grip that these myths and stereotypes have on settlers- an important first step before deeper or more transformational learning can happen.

As one participant explained, teaching about historical facts and then asking some basic questions can start a process of (un)learning that will continue to manifest and grow after the training.

I had raised questions that she had never thought about and... She was working on herself to think like what are the other assumptions or what are the other questions that I haven't thought about right... And so, she shared with me that that was something that sort of peeled something back for her to say oh you know there are assumptions we're making about where we are or we don't even know that we aren't thinking about the other stories of this place or things like that... I find that so having done this for however long, for me the success is when people come back to me months or years later and say I'm still thinking about or I'm still reflecting on that question that was raised in the session or things like that. So, it's more than people saying, oh well I'm glad I know this now. I think it's a success when people are still going through that process and they're- It's like peeling an onion that they ask that question about one part of their life and then they realize that they can ask that question about another part of their life and another part of their life (F01).

Grounded in addressing anti-Indigenous racism, a key aspect of Indigenous cultural safety training is to inform participants, not only about the impacts of colonialism and the myths and stereotypes of colonial narratives, but also to make settlers aware of *ongoing* colonialism and racism, which all settlers continue to witness and/or participate in on a daily basis. While the ugly facts of history can be difficult to accept, they are easier for settlers to acknowledge because such facts can feel removed from their responsibility. People can feel bad learning about them and at the same think, 'but it wasn't me' that committed such acts. It is much harder for people to come to terms with the fact that, through their own unearned power and privilege, they continue to benefit from colonialism, as well cause violence and harm without even knowing it.

Given my research questions, one main objective of this research is to learn more about exactly how facilitators invite settlers to interrogate, disrupt and face their power,

which often manifests in unconscious and invisible ways. That is, how do they unsettle and affect social change in settlers? Facilitators must demonstrate leadership, skill and awareness in these training spaces because asking people to implicate themselves in violence and harm causes discomfort and possible emotional outbreaks or ‘pushback’. Thus, the work of Indigenous cultural safety facilitators includes guiding and supporting settlers through this difficult process to ensure that new relationships between Indigenous peoples and settlers can become accountable, trusting and respectful, which is the basis of reconciliation. If we know that this work is challenging and exhausting, yet crucial to achieve equity and social change, then it is our responsibility to listen and respond to the needs of facilitators so that they can maintain their own health and wellbeing in the process.

2.2. Concepts of Indigenous Cultural Safety

The concept of cultural safety as we understand it, emerged within the doctoral dissertation of Irihapeti Ramsden, who was a Māori/Aotearoa New Zealand nurse, when she developed *Kawa Whakaruruhau* to explicitly address inequitable power relations, racism and other forms of discrimination, as well as the ongoing impacts of historical injustices (Ramsden, 2002; Browne, Varcoe, Ford-Gilboe & Wathen, 2015). Since then, the concept of cultural safety has grown and become a key component of Canada’s commitment to reconciliation, as supported by the Truth and Reconciliation Calls to Action released in 2015 (TRC) and the 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (UNDRIP) (FNHA, 2019). Established in 2009, the TRC spent six years travelling across Canada, gathering over 6,750 statements from survivors, family members and others at national and regional events as well as community hearings. The

TRC Calls to Action are important to consider when thinking of culturally safe practices because they demand that we examine our history and understand how history played a role in Indigenous realities. It also provides steps toward action. “The TRC outline the history of residential schools, a set of reconciliation principles, and 94 calls to action across a broad spectrum of sectors to catalyze a movement toward reconciliation” (O’Neil et al, 2016, p. 232). For example, the TRC Call the Action #23 is to provide cultural competency training for all healthcare professionals (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2012). In 2015, British Columbia committed to improving delivery of health care to the Indigenous population when all seven BC Health Authorities signed a declaration to advance cultural safety and humility within their health services (Gallagher, Mendes, & Kehoe, 2015). This commitment included the identification and implementation of actions at both the interpersonal and structural level (i.e. policy), as well the creation of plans and legal agreements with Indigenous partners. In March 2017, the College of Physicians and Surgeons of BC and 22 other health regulators signed a Declaration of Commitment; in March 2018, the Doctors of BC signed; and in April 2018, the Ministry of Mental Health and Addictions signed (FNHA, 2019).

The First Nations Health Authority (2016), a prominent leader in cultural safety development and delivery, defines cultural safety as caring, respectful and trusting relationships. The objectives of the ‘training’ is to propel the action of others; it is not only theoretical or historical learning, but action-based learning, and the action must come from within, both at a personal and institutional/structural level (Downing & Kowal, 2011). It differs from cultural competency in that it shifts the focus away from concepts to successful outcomes at both the individual and institutional level (Brascoupe

& Waters, 2009). That is, both the person and institution are responsible to learn about and address the everyday ways in which settlers participate in colonialism and racism, as well as create respectful and trusting partnerships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. At its roots, the ideology of Indigenous culturally safe practice is political and decolonizing because it is based on the understanding that current power structures create inequities that need to be addressed through education and system change (Health Council of Canada, 2012); it seeks to end racism and discrimination, and is arguably a social movement grounded in human rights. Therefore, cultural safety must go beyond learning about and ‘welcoming’ the culture of others; it must accompany the intent to decolonize and shift power imbalances, whereby Indigenous peoples are encountered on their own terms- as equals. “The unquestioned normalcy of the set of uninformed and fundamentally racist beliefs and assumptions held by non-Indigenous Canadians must be challenged for decolonization to begin in earnest” (Alfred, 2009, p. 47) and if Indigenous cultural safety training fails to unsettle both personal biases and participation in colonialism and racism, then it can become disingenuous. Cultural safety is a “continuous relation, not another policy, program or guideline that can be forgotten once implemented...it is also a mindset that propels us” (Kuokkanen, 2008, p. 73).

To date, the literature includes six major approaches to improving relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples: cultural awareness, cultural competence, transcultural care, cultural security, cultural respect and cultural safety. Evidence suggests that out of the six models, cultural safety is the most effective approach to addressing ethnocentricity and racism. For example, Downing, Kowal and Paradies (2011) reviewed and assessed multiple approaches to Indigenous cultural

training for health workers in Australia and concluded that cultural safety is the most effective because it challenges people to critically examine power imbalances and dominant discourses and exposes how power plays a role in shaping healthcare relationships. Moreover, cultural safety is “effective on the individual, institutional and professional levels, and encourages identification of the assumptions and preconceptions that structure practice” (Richardson, 2004, p. 36). The focus is not on learning about the ‘other’ - be it individual or culture. Instead, the training introduces people to the reflexivity needed to examine one’s own identity and beliefs, and shows how those might manifest in interactions with others (Downing et al., 2011). We all come into interactions with our own cultural knowledge and “cultural baggage” (Richardson, 2004, p.37); cultural safety training is designed to help us acknowledge and work through this. Furthermore, McGibbon & Etowa (2009) teach us that “cultural safety is not an endpoint, but a way of being and a life-long journey” (Mahara et al, 2009, p. 8). Ultimately, cultural safety is about the settler and settler relationships to self, others and the land.

There are many examples of cultural safety in practice. For instance, as promoted by the First Nations Health Authority (FNHA) report *Creating a Climate for Change* (2016), a popular initiative that encourages settlers to take personal responsibility for social change is the campaign “#ItStartsWithMe”. Another example is, the *San’yas Indigenous Cultural Safety Training* program, delivered by the Provincial Health Services Authority (PHSA) of British Columbia, which was a response to the *Transformative Change Accord First Nations Health Plan* to increase cultural competency through Action 19: *First Nations and the Province will develop a curriculum for cultural competency for health authorities* (PHSA, n.d.). This intensive and

interactive program aims to enhance self-awareness and strengthen interpersonal skills for those who work directly or indirectly with Indigenous people, which promotes partnerships and good relations between service providers and Indigenous people. Cheryl Ward and colleagues developed the learning model of *San'yas* ICS Program with five stages: unlearning, learning, resistance, integration-engagement, and praxis (Ward, 2018). Extended across many disciplines and professions, as well as taken up nationally, this model seems to be very successful in its impact and potential for social change. Finally, the initiative to create 'communities of practice' (CoPs) in various workplaces represents a collaborative inter-professional learning strategy that upholds cultural safety, as they have been very successful in their dedication to equity and anti-discrimination and increased ownership of a person's role in that success (Blanchet Garneau, Browne, & Varcoe, 2019).

2.3. Anti-Indigenous Racism Approach

Although the concept of cultural safety is political and action-based, the word "cultural" comes with the connotation that people need to learn about the culture of others to have accountable and good relations. There is an assumption that culture is associated with specific behaviours and practices common among a group of persons (Blanchet Garneau, Browne, & Varcoe, 2019), and when you have specific knowledge of a person's behaviours and practices, you can better appreciate them as "a person" and, therefore, interact in more equitable ways. The idea that we need to know about culture to create equity conflates power issues with culture, which upholds racial oppression by maintaining settler complicity about racism (Diffey & Lavalley, 2014). Furthermore, it

can keep settlers in a position of in-action because they can simply claim to not know about the ‘other’ culture. But when I am in the hospital and you kick the side of my bed to wake me up or fail to attend to me for hours- or even days- in the ER, that is not about insufficient knowledge of my language, nation or how and why I use tobacco- that is about racism and the abuse of unearned power. While “cultural” discourse has become a mainstay in education and health spheres, as evidenced by the increasing discussion around the need for culture-based programs and culturally appropriate services, St. Dennis points out that a ‘cultural difference’ approach does not address colonial power dynamics and racial violence to which Indigenous peoples are subjected (as cited in Cote-Meek, 2014). Therefore, the recognition of culture alone is not enough because “processes and strategies of recognition are always pre-determined by political relations that reinforce state sovereignty and dominant power relations” (Hunt, 2014, p. 29).

Given the conflation with culture difference and racism, many facilitators are critical of multicultural and/or diversity approaches, which gloss over dynamics of race and racism. Instead, some prefer to name their approach as anti-racism or anti-Indigenous racism training. Indeed, even the label anti-racism may hide critical aspects of facilitators’ work.

Critics of anti-racism theory and critical race theory (CRT) point out that, while the theories privilege the subject of race, explicitly examine power relations between races and are committed to social justice, they fail to adequately consider and integrate colonialism as the source of oppression (Ward, 2018). For this reason, some facilitators intentionally name the work anti-*Indigenous* racism or *Indigenous* cultural safety. Rather

than use the language of multiculturalism or diversity, having Indigenous in the naming keeps the focus on power relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples because settlers- whether recent or historic, white or of colour- benefit from colonialism. As well, the label of Indigenous brings focus to the unique and sovereign rights of Indigenous or First Peoples.

Increasingly, we ask professionals from diverse environments, such as healthcare or post-secondary, to confront racist expressions and interrupt systemic racism through Indigenous cultural safety practice. The critical dialogue common in anti-Indigenous racism training represents one avenue through which to address racist expressions and systems, as it looks at both the violent reality of interpersonal racial discrimination as well as how racism operates systemically and permeates social institutions and bodies (Diffey & Lavalley, 2014).

There is nothing natural or “invisible” about colonialism or racism to those on the receiving end of the stick. Indigenous peoples very much feel and see it everyday. Yet, the key to understanding the effects of racism is to understand that it is a hidden, insidious and “normal part of everyday life” for those who actually perpetrate it. Unwillingness to acknowledge racism, including unearned racial power and privilege, means that racist expressions remain obscured - often invisible – and that deeply entrenched forms of racist exclusion remain unaddressed (Varcoe, Browne, & Blanchet Garneau, 2019). In Indigenous cultural safety training spaces, facilitators talk about the importance of naming “whiteness”, “white privilege” and “settler privilege” because the

unearned privileges and domination of settlers, especially white settlers, are “cloaked in normativity and are structurally *invisible* to them” (Ward, 2018, p.16).

Ideology and idiosyncratic personality play a role in the unwillingness or inability to take responsibility for racist violence and harm. For example, liberal democratic racism in Canada means that Canadians can hold negative views of racialized people while at the same time espousing the liberal principle of equality and justice (Varcoe, Browne & Blanchet Garneau, 2019). Furthermore, the ideology of neoliberalism endorses the principle of individual freedom, as well as favours individual solutions to public issues like the higher poverty levels of racialized peoples, which effectively explains racism as strictly an individual-level issue rather than questioning the structural processes that produce and sustain it (Blanchet Garneau, Browne & Varcoe, 2019). Given that settlers have normalized colonialism and racism to the point that it is invisible and natural to them, it becomes difficult to challenge and Indigenous cultural safety facilitators face a lot of resistance, especially when they use words like “racism” and “white privilege”. The difficulty with anti-Indigenous racism work is: (a) the current systems of settler bodies are complicit in the denial of responsibility for how they affect Indigenous bodies; and (b) collective settler bodies fail to acknowledge and become conscious of the ways in which colonization and racism continue to benefit them. Please note, I use the term bodies to refer to not only individuals, but also bodies of communities, bodies of land, bodies of government, bodies of thought - all bodies.

Dialogue that interrogates and interrupts the ways that settler bodies affect Indigenous bodies are often seen by the settler as “uncomfortable and may even be

perceived as ‘unsafe’” (Diffey& Lavalley, 2014, p. 3). For that reason, this dialogue can create spaces of high settler resistance in the form of triggers, emotions, tension and discomfort. Sometimes the resistance is subtle and barely noticeable to those who are not Indigenous or racialized (e.g., diverting, deflecting, denying, hijacking) and at other times, it is overt (e.g. aggression, invalidations, silence, disengagement). Silence, for example, while seemingly neutral is by no means benign; one of the central manifestations of racism is “erasure” (Boler, 1999). As another example, some facilitators consider overt displays of emotion (e.g., crying) as well as verbal discomfort to be forms of resistance to learning and change because such displays can arrest critical dialogue when people seek out and receive comfort by self and others for ‘feeling bad’.

2.4 Facilitating Indigenous cultural safety and anti-racism training

After an exhaustive search for literature on cultural safety, I found only a few articles that measured and/or explored how facilitating Indigenous cultural safety or anti-racism training impacts the wellbeing of facilitators. Regardless of profession or environment, there is little research that posits and discusses these places as sites of risk for facilitators. As an Indigenous educator, Cheryl Ward wrote her dissertation, titled *Teaching about race and racism in the classroom: Managing the Indigenous elephant in the room* (2018), which is arguably the leading work in this field, as it clearly provides evidence that anti-racism facilitation is risky, particularly for Indigenous educators. Her work also illuminates ways to mitigate the harms that facilitators risk or experience.

Other research demonstrates that classrooms in general (e.g. elementary, secondary and post-secondary) can be similar sites of risk, as educators commonly risk or experience burnout, emotional exhaustion, and/or aggression from students. For example,

nursing educators discussed the troublesome and sometimes painful aspects of their role as educators, particularly when they experience aggression from students (Kolanko, Clark, Heinrich, Olive, Serembus & Sifford, 2006). Throughout academia, educators experience student aggression and other unwanted behaviour, which includes bullying, inattentiveness, high jacking, intimidation or hostility, as well as racism and racial slurs; when these experiences happen, nursing educators reported feeling that their wellbeing was threatened (Kolanko et al., 2006). In another study, Szigeti, Balázs, Bikfalvi & Urbán (2017) examined the validity of the Maslach Burnout Inventory-Educator Survey (1996), MBI-ES, which conceptualizes the dimensions of educator burnout as: a) emotional exhaustion as the core aspect, accompanied by chronic feelings of fatigue and lack of enthusiasm; b) experiences of depersonalization and psychological withdrawal; and c) feelings of low personal accomplishments. Szigeti et al. (2017) also note that there is a robust temporal and causal relationship between burnout and depression, as burnout that is job-related can lead to a subsequent increase in depressive symptoms that is context-free (i.e. affecting non-work areas of life). Burnout, whether it is emotional, physical, spiritual and/or mental, is a real and serious risk to educators and facilitators of anti-racism training.

It is important to recognize how incredibly taxing, both emotionally and physically, it can be to conduct anti-racism training. Because I plan to do this work for the rest of my days, I cannot afford to burnout prematurely (Ring, 2000, p. 80)

There are specific challenges to facilitating anti-racism training, many of which will threaten, in some way, a facilitator's sense of wellbeing. There are real risks in introducing and examining settler attitudes and beliefs about Indigenous people that are entrenched in hundreds of years of colonial violence. When these attitudes and beliefs

surface in anti-racism training, it has a powerful impact on how educators feel, which include confusion, discomfort, fear, anxiety, stress, sadness, irritation, regret and anger (Ward, 2018; Ring, 2000). As Ward (2018) describes, racist comments “stunned me... [Left me] feeling paralyzed and deeply unsettled... I also felt a deep sense of foreboding, of threat, and even fear” (p. 7).

For very different reasons, all facilitators- whether Indigenous, racialized or white- talk about experiencing attacks to their ‘credibility’, professional legitimacy, identity, and personal agenda. Certainly, these environments are not ‘safe’. However, many facilitators question if ‘safe’ environments are optional conditions for racial learning; what some see as safe (e.g. ‘let’s not get angry here’), others will see as an effort to squelch the anger felt because of one’s experiences with racism as well as arrest moves to learn and change (Ring, 2000; Ward 2018). Whenever possible, facilitators skillfully use attacks and resistance to their advantage - as ‘teachable moments’. Notably, this does not mean that such moments have no effect on them. This work is both incredibly triggering and utterly exhausting for facilitators precisely because they have to constantly manage the harms caused by expressions of racism (e.g. insults, jabs, silencing, hijacking, baiting, etc.) and being pulled into conflict, while at the same time provide learning opportunities to deconstruct the racism and conflict that surfaces (i.e. not back down or ignore them).

Indigenous, racialized and white educators acknowledged the relentless nature of challenges before them including the emotional load of racial micro aggressions, the anxiety and fear of consequences for addressing bias and anti-Indigenous racism, and the emotional labour and exhaustion involved in this work (Ward, 2018, p. 91) ... teaching anti-racism involves risk to the educator (p. 99).

To engage, guide, teach and move learners through perhaps unfamiliar, challenging, and emotionally charged content requires skill (Ward, 2018). Based on experience,

facilitators share some specific skills that help to mitigate the challenges and risks associated with facilitating anti-racism training. Foremost, it needs to be acknowledged that this type of work is intensely personal for anyone. “Racism is a very personal process; working with others to end racism is ultimately personal as well” (Ring, 2000, p. 80). Because this work is so personal, it means that a lot of self-assessment, self-reflection, self-awareness, and personal growth is involved. As an Indigenous educator, Ward (2018) comments, “[I] learned early in my career that I would need to address the ‘tender’ or sensitive places within me, so that I would no longer be hurt, wounded by, or over react to the experiences of racism” (p. 128). This work is particularly personal for Indigenous facilitators, who experience racist and colonial violence not only in the classroom or learning environment, but also in everyday life.

Building on the personal work involved, there is an immense amount of other preparation that goes into facilitating anti-racism training. The intense preparation necessary to become an anti-racism facilitator is “a journey that is both painful and rewarding” (Ring, 2000, p. 75). Without doubt, while both reading and formal training and/or coursework are important, they do not prepare one for the rigor of conducting anti-racism training; in fact, “the process of preparation for the work is... at times quite grueling” (Ring, 2000, p.78). Facilitators spend a great deal of time carefully creating content and evaluating the successes and challenges of its delivery. Indeed, facilitators dedicate a substantial amount of time during their working hours to dissect, review and process each exercise and component in terms of successful and problematic elements, as well as group dynamics and working relationships between co-facilitators (Ring, 2000). To minimize resistance and other negative outcomes like shutting down or pushback

from participants, facilitators strategically set the context (i.e. explain the ‘why’ of the learning), as well as frontload and ‘scaffold’ the learning (Ward, 2018). Other teaching strategies that achieve positive learning outcomes and help to protect facilitator wellbeing include using case studies, applying a systemic lens, clarifying and reframing, re-focusing, troubling anti-Indigenous narratives (i.e. using counter narratives) and knowing when to walk away (Ward, 2018). As facilitators, to be able to react appropriately and productively in anti-racism training spaces, it is also essential to have patience, respect, empathy, and listening and observational skills, as well as understandings of conflict resolution, the role of spirituality and healing, critical thought and group dynamics (Ring, 2000). Exactly how and where do facilitators develop the skills needed to do this important work? What do informal supports look like and why might they be necessary? What structural opportunities are available to facilitators for professional development? How can we better support facilitators in this difficult but necessary relationship-building work?

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

3.1. Affect Theory

Affect theory is not easy to define and is used differently by people. Deleuze (1970) was a key theorist in sociology to develop affect and he based his understanding of affect on his reading of Spinoza, the seventeenth century Dutch philosopher who rejected the Cartesian mind-body dualism and instead theorized that everything in nature is one substance governed by only one set of rules. Based on that understanding, the theory posits that if we cannot make a clear distinction between mind and body, then we can define a body as “capacity for affecting and being affected” (Deleuze 1970, p.123). For example, the differences between a plow horse and a racehorse is that they differ in their affects and capacity for being affected, or in other words, the differences are in “what moves it or is moved by it” (p.125).

Bodies are central to affect theory- and anything is a body. A person is a body, but so is a collective of people, sounds, lights, or knowledge. As Deleuze (1970) explains, affect refers to the forces and intensities that inhabit a body, which increases or decreases the capacity for action in the world, as well as the potentialities and openness of such bodies. “The body is radically open, absorbing impulses quicker than they can be perceived...will and consciousness are subtractive...which reduce a complexity too rich to be functionally expressed” (Massumi, 1995, p.89). Affect is openness that is always both in and out, it is both everything and differently: it is what we call world. Affect is the emerging outcome of all action and encounters; as we live and move in the world, our capacities for action is constantly affected and modified by the myriad encounters and

interactions between bodies (Lim, 2010). “It is because of this multiplicity and this constant modification that the virtual or potential field of affect guarantees an openness to difference and thus the momentum for change” (p.2398). Other concepts of the body include the virtual (or spiritual) and actual (i.e. materialized). All sensations and physical experiences are affectively experienced as intensity (unconsciously) with varying levels and it is intensity that gives access to the virtual (incorporeal/spiritual) dimension of the body. In other words, the virtual (or spiritual) is the realm of potential “where futurity combines, unmediated, with pastness...where what cannot be experienced cannot but be felt- albeit reduced and contained. For out of the pressing crowd an individual action or expression *will* emerge and be registered consciously...it is all a question of emergence” (Massumi, 1995, p.93). For this research, I consider how do the concepts of affect, bodies, potentiality, critical points and emergence fit into the context of Indigenous cultural safety spaces?

3.2. Role of Emotions

The role of emotions is important for affect theorist Ahmed, whose general approach to affect theory is more phenomenological than Massumi or others. She often writes about the subject, conscious experience and emotion, with an emphasis on hate, shame, fear, nationhood, and colonialism. Her “starting point is the messiness of the experiential, the unfolding of bodies into worlds...how we are touched by what comes near” (Ahmed, 2008, p.3). She seeks to understand how our perception of the world is grounded toward the objects around us, which become saturated with affect that then produce emotion. For Ahmed, emotions are social and cultural practices that produce, materialize, actualize and *move* bodies- emotions increase or decrease our capacity for action in the world, and they

can hold people in positions and place. She explains, “It matters how feelings are distributed. It matters who promises our conversion. Some bodies become sore points, points of trouble, where communication stops. Other bodies become bearers of the promise of happiness” (Ahmed, 2008, p. 12). When we consider emotions in this way, we can understand that “emotions are about something” (Boler, 1999, p.188).

Ahmed (2008) describes how the feminist or angry Black woman is a “kill joy” because she brings the feeling of ‘tension’ as she refuses to share an orientation towards certain things as being good. According to Ahmed, the angry Black woman does not find the objects that promise happiness to be promising; this ‘failure’ to be made happy is read as sabotaging the happiness of others. She makes others feel bad. Thus, maintaining public comfort requires that disruptive and kill joy bodies are kept out of view (Ahmed, 2008). As to not cause discomfort and bad feeling to settlers, Indigenous bodies were intentionally removed and displaced- just think of residential schools, the reserve system or the urban ghettoization of Indigenous peoples (Walks & Bourne, 2017). Indeed, history and present day show us that there is always a political struggle about good and bad feelings, for feelings do get stuck to both Indigenous and settler bodies. In this way, Indigenous cultural safety trainings try to ‘unstick’ what has stuck to the settler body over time, which is the false sense of power, privilege and entitlement, along with the expressed negative affects toward Indigenous bodies, such as hatred. Although there are countless overt examples of power and racism, such as a blatant racial slur, I believe that there are dangerous everyday acts of power that go unnoticed as settlers move through life and cause violence and harm. Part of this research looks at exactly how facilitators intentionally work with affect (i.e. the physical sensations of emotion, tension and

discomfort that surface and are managed within these training spaces) to disrupt and interrupt this sense of settler power. This is crucial to the learning. I also look at how working with affect in these spaces affects the facilitators themselves.

What do emotions, tensions and discomforts in Indigenous cultural safety training spaces look like? How do they manifest? Why are they there? Why are they important for learning? Using the theory of Ahmed's feminist or Black woman 'killjoy', we can understand that Indigenous bodies are 'kill joys' because they do not find happiness in colonialism. This failure (or refusal) of Indigenous bodies to find happiness in colonialism is a major source of contention for settlers who do find happiness in it. Thus, settlers feel that the Indigenous body is trying to sabotage their happiness about the nation we call Canada. Take for example the continued protests and heated dispute about the pipeline route on Wet'suwet'en land. This nation and its supporters are 'kill joys' to capitalism, which seeks to exploit the resources of Indigenous people with ongoing colonization. These 'kill joys' are then sabotaging the promise of happiness and economic prosperity for Canada. For supporters of something like the pipeline, or even a Canadian who has not given the pipeline much thought, the future is always unquestionably continued colonialization and capitalism.

Affect theory is useful to study the emotions, tensions and discomforts associated with overt forms of colonialism and Indigenous resistances to it, such as the Wet'suwet'en pipeline protest. For example, Protevi (2015) examines affect in the context of the Occupy Wall Street protest movement in 2011. Similar to other uprisings, this protest utilized the 'human microphone' technique, whereby persons gathered around

a speaker repeat what the speaker says, which amplifies the voice without the need for amplification equipment. The human microphone, along with other affective activities like drumming, singing, repetitive chanting, or using bodies to obstruct movement, introduce affective dimensions where people experience mutual entrainment with one another and their collective rhythms. Because of the tenacity of mutual entrainment and collective rhythms, Protevi (2015) argues that political resistance begins at the level of the body rather than through ideas and that it is bodily involvement that increases the body potential for acting in the world and affecting others. The body then is a starting point for social change.

While affect is important, relevant and useful when analyzing overt examples of colonialism, I want to explain how the affective dimensions we are witnessing during the Wet'suwet'en protests are different from the affective dimensions that are part of Indigenous cultural safety training spaces. Facilitators work hard to use their knowledge and training to disrupt and interrupt the *unconscious or unnoticed everyday* ways that settlers witness and participate in power that harms Indigenous people, which differs from interrogating power during times of protest. I am talking about disrupting the invisible, elusive and insidious power deeply embedded in all our social structures; I mean the power relations that reach down into the very structure of the self and body, and act to either increase responsiveness or impair capacity. Found deep in the body, such power relations are characterized by both ideologies and “emotional investments that by and large remain unexamined during our lifetimes, because they have been insidiously woven into the everyday fabric of common sense” (Boler, 1999, p.181). How is colonialism so invisible to settlers? A settler could ask, “What does the persistence of

such invisibility in the face of the living presence of survivors tell us about our relationship with Indigenous peoples?” (Regan, 2010, p.59). Also important, I ask what does the persistence of such invisibility say about their relationship to themselves?

When I am talking about the invisibility of history, power and racism, I am talking about 2008, when Brian Sinclair waited 34 hours in the emergency room with a bladder infection, “only to have the nurse *shrug it off*...[and security guard say] “I think he’s here to watch TV” (Global News, 2018). While I cannot make assumptions about what people were feeling and thinking in this everyday emergency room setting, it did appear that those involved lacked overt expressions of hatred, anger or other negatives feelings toward Brian. Indeed, by the accounts of other workers and available video footage, it appears that the nurses and security guard simply did not care. The testimony heard at the inquest, which took almost five years to happen, included:

Nurses on shift while Brian waited in the waiting room testified they did not see Mr. Sinclair. However, the hospital’s own video monitoring system showed many nurses walked right by him and looked directly into the patient waiting area where he was seated in his wheelchair (Gunn, p. 2) ... Clerical, security, and medical staff all ignored the same patient throughout several shift changes (p. 3).

How could all these people whose job it is to care be so unaffected by the cruelty and injustice of a man dying in front of them from an easily treatable bladder infection? How could they just not care? Certainly this ‘not seeing’ and lack of caring is not an example of cultural difference; this is an example of deep-seated (i.e. beyond conscious thought) and completely normalized expressions of power and racism. Normalized for settlers, but harmful and even deadly to Indigenous peoples. Brian was literally “*ignored to death*” (Global News, 2018).

Less obvious than the story of Brian, but I believe nonetheless telling in its own way, another example of completely normalized expressions of power and racism is when last week my twelve year old daughter asked me what her teacher meant by the repeated term “cradle of civilization” when referring to Mesopotamia. In this case, we see that teachers and curriculums continue to understand that ‘civilization’ emerged in the West and my own children are taught to not only privilege Western knowledge as the most civilized, but are also taught to not even consider Indigenous ways of knowing as ‘civilized’ at all. Again, this gap in teaching or curricula is not because of cultural difference; this is an everyday expression of power and racism not even noticed by perpetrators or bystanders, but certainly felt by Indigenous peoples. It is the intention of Indigenous cultural safety facilitators to disrupt and address these and other unnoticed everyday acts of power and racism. They work hard to get “you out of that denial of the fact of reality that we live in a racist society and there’s systemic dynamics that are in all non-Indigenous people and beliefs about colonial narratives. [It’s in] the air we breath, the water we drink, and it takes real effort to unlearn those. Interrupt them” (F11). In what ways is affect a factor in how facilitators manage this interruption- this unlearning and learning for settlers?

While the emotions of shame and guilt may be ‘appropriate responses’ felt by people who attend Indigenous cultural safety training, Ahmed (2005) warns us about the ‘politics of bad feelings’ and how shame can become not only a mode of recognition of injustices committed against Indigenous peoples, but in fact can also be a form of nation

building and self-forgiveness. She asks, “In allowing us to feel bad, does shame also allow the nation to *feel better*?” (p. 72). Is it possible that the national subject, by witnessing its own history of injustice towards others, can in its shame be reconciled to itself (Ahmed, 2005). This process of self-forgiveness and feeling better completely removes the question of ongoing colonization (i.e. how settlers continue to benefit from stolen land) and race dynamics (i.e. how settlers continue to benefit from power and privilege). It legitimizes the nation as a nation rather than recognizes that the nation is based on appropriation and theft, and therefore, is not in fact a legitimate power. Therefore, “the project of reconciliation and reparation are not about the ‘nation’ recovering...feeling better, whatever form it might take, is not about the overcoming of bad feeling, which are effects of histories of violence, but of finding a different relationship to them” (p. 83-84). As we heard in the TRC, “reconciliation is not about ‘closing a sad chapter of Canada’s past’, but about opening new healing pathways” (TRC, 2015, p. 12). Because emotions like shame can have harmful effects, such as reaffirming a nationhood that only repeats the forms of violence it seeks to address, Indigenous cultural safety facilitators must carefully and skillfully navigate the emotions that emerge over the course of the training.

The complexities of emotion, as conceived and enacted within educational settings of Indigenous cultural safety training, are important considerations. Ward (2018) states that in the context of race-based discussions, emotions are paramount. Particularly when educating about white power and privilege, the sensation and feeling of discomfort is certain to arise. In fact, many educators and facilitators speak of the need for discomfort to achieve transformational learning. Boler (1999) asks, “What do we- educators and

students- stand to gain by engaging in the discomfoting process of questioning cherished beliefs and assumptions?” (p. 176). Boler develops a pedagogy of discomfort as critical inquiry, a collective process that upholds our mutual responsibility to one another, with a central focus on how emotions and discomfort “define how and what one chooses to see, and conversely, not to see” (p. 176). Importantly, what is visible and invisible to us is always shaped by “specific cultural agendas... [and] particular political ways” (p. 180). In this regard, self-reflection is not enough for social change. We need to feel discomfort to become something other. It is in moments of discomfort that we are opened to a decision: there is the potentiality to better see or further retreat from the myriad ways in which we unconsciously and carelessly move in the world. What have I chosen to see and what have I not seen? Why does such a question surface discomfort? What does my discomfort teach me? Can it help me reconsider and possibly transform how I relate to others (i.e. how I affect and am affected)?

The aim of discomfort is for each person...to explore beliefs and values; to examine when visual “habits” and emotional selectivity have become rigid and immune to flexibility, and to identify when and how our habits harm ourselves and others (p. 185) ... In this process one acknowledges profound interconnections with others, and how emotions, beliefs, and actions are collaboratively co-implicated (p. 187)... A pedagogy of discomfort is about bodies, about particulars, about the ‘real’ material world we live in (p. 196).

That is, in the processes of discomfort we can better understand how we affect and are affected, which allows us to examine our dispositions and increases our capacity to act in new ways. There are ethical implications to the affect of discomfort. It can unsettle the settled.

3.3. Political and Ethical Implications of Affect

Affect theory is important for sociology because it can help us to theorize social processes and change because bodies are “constantly being altered, composed and recomposed” (Deleuze, 1970, p. 128). Indeed, Massumi’s affirmation that the virtuality and multiplicity of affect are guarantees for difference and openness has both political and ethical implications (Lim, 2010). Given that the ontology of bodies is potentialities and openness, then reality is literally the continuous process of emergence and becoming. As bodies, we have affects, and as such, we can both practice and produce conditions for affect, thought and action in the world; through affect, we become in relation to self and others (Lim, 2010). Importantly, in the moment of any event, “many things could potentially happen; [people] could affect each other in a multitude of different ways” (p. 2397). Deleuze and Guattari (1972, 1983) are most interested in the movement of life that desires to produce; this desire gives expression to our dynamism and creativity, which enables us to move to new places and differentiate ourselves within social environments. Why invest in limitations of the body? Why the preconceived ideas about the proper and possible limits of bodies and their relations (Lim, 2010)? Instead, we should focus on the possibilities of affective experience to increase the body’s potential for acting and for affecting others. This is exactly what facilitators are trying to achieve- settler potential for acting and affecting in the world in new ways.

3.4. Affect in the context of this research

In the context of this research, affect theory is useful to understand colonialism, racism and the impact of Indigenous cultural safety training to produce new positions of bodies within social environments. Although settlers are witness to and/or participants in countless instances of colonialism and racism in everyday life, I believe the power and

privilege associated with colonialism and racism is most often not expressed at the conscious level, even though the affects of such power are often physically noticeable at the conscious level in the form anger, resentment, disgust, etc. For Massumi (2002), biopower works and governs at the pre-individual and pre-personal level of life (i.e. incorporeal dimensions) to pull and move bodies into relations with other bodies. I see the workings of colonialism and racism at this pre-individual and pre-personal level- for it is in the body. One of my participants said it best, “I don’t think most people wake up and say I want to be a racist asshole. That’s what I want to be today” (F09). Indeed, for the most part settlers are unaware of the everyday ways in which they actualize power and racism. It is manifested and expressed through the body as one moves along a continuum between nature (body/material) and the social. It is actualized in ways that are sometimes noticed and obvious, but it can also be insidious and unnoticed. Because its manifestations can be hard to concretely pinpoint and name, it is easy to deflect making it incredibly challenging to address. Most often lacking the actualization of conscious hatred, anger, or the negative thoughts and feelings, power and racism is simply everyday, normalized and sometimes, shockingly, even *feelingless*. As cited in Williamson (1993), like Lee Maracle said, “To become a racist is painless” (p. 169). Having said that, while both embodied and actualized expression of power or racism can happen without the accompaniment of registered negative feelings, such as conscious hatred or anger, that is not to say that it does not inflict real and felt harm- acts of power and racism are very hurtful. They hurt everyone, even the racist. Racism is violent period.

Taking from affect theory, when we see everything in the world existing as assemblages and non-linear relationships, we begin to understand our body as part of a

web and network of relationships to self, land, and all others. It is through affect that we become in relation to all bodies, and “there are a multitude of ways in which bodies might connect with one another” (Lim, 2010, p. 2397). Key to this understanding is the movement of life and emergence: we are always and can be anything. I argue that Indigenous cultural safety trainings are intensely affective spaces with high potentiality for transformative learning and social change. Furthermore, a strength of these trainings is that the affectivity of its exercises, such as the blanket exercise, has the potential to reach many people in many ways, regardless of personal history, lived experience and racial background. Deleuze and Guattari (1980) offer the concept of *deterritorialization* to explain how assemblages, while constituting territory, are always open to new pathways and new territory. I ask then, how does Indigenous cultural safety training and its forms of affective activities de-territorialize settler colonialism and help settlers and persons with power and privilege transform and access new plots of territory? How do the affective means of Indigenous cultural safety translate to us virtuality (or spirituality) and critical points of emergence?

For this research, I interviewed facilitators to examine the interpersonal interactions and relationships between facilitator(s) and settler bodies during Indigenous cultural safety trainings (i.e. workshops) as way to understand how we can address the power imbalances inherent in colonialism and racism. However, before moving forward I want to note that Indigenous cultural safety training is also about addressing power at the systems level, which is equally important. For example, the intervention EQUIP (Research to Equip Primary Healthcare for Equity) demonstrates that initiatives that focus on the knowledge or practices of individuals alone are unlikely to have success

unless they consider the organizational or structural context because racism is a systemic issue and pervasive dominant social discourse (Browne, Varcoe, Ford-Gilboe & Wathen, 2015; Blanchet-Garneau, Browne & Varcoe, 2019). Thus, EQUIP develops staff education (e.g. workshops, interactive activities, personal learning) as one strategy that is accompanied with organizational integration and tailoring (e.g. structure, policy, operations) to create catalysts for social change. I agree that education strategies, such as Indigenous cultural safety training, alone are not enough to induce the social change needed by our society. However, I believe they do have a significant role to play as we attempt to address structural inequities between Indigenous people and settlers. This research explores exactly what that role looks like.

While we cannot know exactly how or why, we can ascertain that something has gone terribly wrong in the social collective body. If the basis of affect theory is a body's capacity to affect and be affected, and if settler colonial bodies are unable to witness their affect and are unaffected by Indigenous bodies, then by definition, settler colonial bodies are not part of the social body. They are not bodies. In the context of this research, I use affect theory and the lived experience of facilitators to argue that the interpersonal interactions and personal learnings that emerge in Indigenous cultural safety training spaces invite the settler colonial body back into the social collective body. Therefore, the problems Indigenous cultural safety training are trying to interrogate, interrupt and address include: 1) settler bodies fail to affect in accountable ways (i.e. are *unaware* of their harmful and violent affects); and 2) settler bodies fail to be affected by Indigenous bodies (i.e. are *unmoved* by the suffering of Indigenous bodies). By addressing these issues, facilitators hope to support settlers to bear witness to their affect and create new

relations to self, others and land. Notably, cultural safety training is about settlers and settler colonial bodies, which I argue have been removed from the social collective body. In other words, I believe that through their bodied power and racism, as well as through their actualized and expressed affects of hatred, anger or other negative feelings, they have dis-embodied themselves. One of the main purposes is to have settlers become aware of their bodily relations in the world and then learn to be more accountable to those relations. It hopes to *re-embodiment settlers back into the social collective body*. Affect is one of the ways this is accomplished. What does it mean for someone to affect social change in others at this level? What are the impacts on facilitators own bodies, specifically their health and wellness, to affect this social change? How are facilitators themselves affected in the process? Finally, what are the supports needed for them to continue this important work?

Chapter 4: Methodology and Methods

4.1. Qualitative and Indigenous Approaches

This research takes both an Indigenous and qualitative approach. Methodology is an outcome of the paradigm that guides the research and is based on values, beliefs and assumptions about the nature of reality and knowledge while methods are specific tools and techniques that a researcher uses to gather data; “as long as the methods fit the ontology, epistemology and axiology of the Indigenous paradigm, they can be borrowed from other suitable research paradigms” (Wilson, 2008, p.39). Similar to Indigenous worldviews, qualitative research can be characterised by its reflexivity, honouring of multiple truths, transformative approach, meaning-making processes, and interpretative understandings. There is some agreement then that qualitative research is an appropriate approach for explaining Indigenous topics because of its general focus on the identities and stories of people and their meaning-making processes; as well qualitative methods like interviews, focus groups and participant observation are relevant to oral traditions and importance of relationship-building (Kenny, 2004). Moreover, “Indigenous methodologies can be situated within the qualitative landscape because they encompass characteristics congruent with other relational qualitative approaches (e.g., feminist methodology, participatory action research) that in the research design value both process and content” (Kovach, 2009, p.25). Therefore, it is acceptable to have an Indigenous worldview and use methods from non-Indigenous methodologies, such as qualitative, as long as I understand my own epistemology and have a solid foundation in both (Thompson, 2008).

4.2. Indigenous worldviews and Affect

Indigenous worldviews are earth-centred, place-specific and connected to language. However, it is widely accepted that there are commonly held beliefs about the world among various Indigenous peoples (Kovach, 2009). These common and enduring concepts fundamentally inform and shape Indigenous research frameworks. Some core concepts that set Indigenous research apart include the principle of holism, Indigenous ways of knowing (i.e. relational), storytelling, accountability and sense of community. I incorporated an Indigenous worldview into my framework to help me conduct research in a good way and in collaboration with participants. The principle of holism compels us to see ourselves within a larger web of life, act with humility when seeking knowledge and direction, and value all life as sacred as we grow and change over the course of our work and lives (Wilson, 2008). To make the unknown known (i.e. epistemology- how we form knowledge and know what we know) is not only an intellectual process, but is also something highly interpretative because it is based on both empirical and non-empirical data, such as knowledge gained from traditional teachings, ceremony, prayer, dreams, and land (Lavallée, 2009). Storytelling is crucial for the transmission of knowledge in oral cultures, as stories teach us both personal biographies and collective narratives of knowledge systems and ways of being (Ewick & Silbey, 1995), and the inclusion of story in research aligns with an oral tradition that upholds relational accountability. Knowledge comes from all the relationships we form in life and when we form those relationships, we become accountable and responsible to those relationships and the knowledge that come out of them (Wilson, 2008). Accountable relationships and a strong sense of community necessarily involve relevance, respect, reciprocity, gratitude, purpose and

kindness (Absolon, 2011). As explained in the introduction, cultural safety is the restoration of relationships- with others, with land, and with ourselves. At its core, the concept and practice of cultural safety can teach us how to protect and honor both the relationship itself and the knowledge that comes with that relationship.

An Indigenous worldview has important and relevant connections to how I understand and use affect theory in this analysis. At its core, the theory is that we, as open bodies (bodies of people, bodies of nations, bodies of land, etc.), are able to affect and be affected. For me, affect theory is aligned with: 1) principles of holism 2) Indigenous epistemologies based on both empirical and non-empirical evidence and 3) understanding that we are always in relations and knowledge comes from our relations. In non-theoretical language and based on my Indigenous worldview, this is how I would explain affect to someone. I want you to think of someone who is a close friend. Then imagine how that friend makes you think, feel, hear, see or move in the world, and how you might do the same to that friend. I would say that you and that friend are in relations; you affect your friend and you are affected by your friend. Now think of others- your parents, your siblings, your co-workers- you are in relations with them too. I want you to think even bigger. Think of everything in the world- the trees, the four-legged ones, the winged ones, the finned ones, the waters, the stars, the air. I want you to think of everything in the world you could possibly see, hear, smell, taste and touch, as well as everything in the world you do not see, hear, smell, taste and touch. I want you to understand that you are in relations with all of that- with everything in the world. Who we are and what we know, how we move in the world, is “nested, created, and re-created within the context of relationships with other living beings [and everything is *living*]... elements are fluid and

they interact with each other in a weblike formation” (Kovach, 2009, p. 34). The world is entirely a web of connections and relationships: “every individual thing that you see around you is really just a huge knot- a point where thousands and millions of relationships come together” (Wilson, 2008, p. 76). We are in relations- we affect and are affected- with everything in the world. And everything that you are comes from those relations and affects. Furthermore, through these relations and affects, you are always who you are and at the same time you are always becoming. As described by Michael Anthony Hart (1999), we learn from the teachings of seeking *minopimatasiwini* (the good life) that connectedness, relationships and movement to wholeness is fundamental to all living things.

4.3 Participants

4.3.1. Recruitment

Based on my experience as a Research Assistant, I reached out to those facilitators who became part of my list of personal contacts of professional acquaintances (purposeful sampling). Even though I had a personal contact list from my work experience, I only reached out to people who had their email listed online as public information or attached to a public profile. To these people I sent a letter of invitation via email. Some of the potential participants were employees of Island Health Authority, First Nations Health Authority, Royal Roads University, Camosun College, University of Victoria, Vancouver Island University, Simon Fraser University, University of British Columbia and University of Northern British Columbia, as well as facilitators who were self-employed (independent contractors). As Indigenous cultural safety educators in healthcare,

educational and different professional environments, these people have far-reaching effects on individuals and social collectives.

I also relied on word of mouth (snowball sampling) and a brochure that described the research study with contact information was distributed. After each interview, I asked the participant to take a brochure and share the brochure with others who may want to participate in the study. The brochure was intended to encourage other possibly interested facilitators to inquire about participation in the study, as well indicated that those who were eligible should contact either the Principal Investigator or Principal Applicant for more information about the study. In total, I anticipated recruiting 8-12 facilitators. Recruitment proceeded according to order of reply. I closed recruitment at 11 participants because, given the research objective and questions, that number was sufficient to reach data saturation. Data saturation refers to the point in qualitative research where no new information or themes are collected from interviews (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls & Ormston, 2013). As outlined by Ritchie et al. (2013) qualitative samples are usually small because: 1) data saturation; 2) statements about prevalence are not the concern of qualitative research; 3) the type of information that qualitative studies yield is rich in detail; and 4) qualitative research can be highly intensive in terms of the research resources it requires. Given that this research is part of the requirement of a thesis, I had to stay within a scope that ensured I would be able to complete the project.

For those that did not reply to the invitation email, I sent one follow up email after one week. For those who responded with interest, I confirmed a day and time that was most convenient for them. There were a couple of pre-conversations with participants

about the process before an interview was set up. Pre-conversations happened over the phone, which included more details about myself (personal background, academic/professional background, interests in the subject, etc.) and expectations of participation. For the interview, I invited participants to come to the University of Victoria campus or pick a location of their choice, such as a park or coffee shop.

4.3.2. Sample

The criteria to participate in this study was any adult who has facilitated cultural safety training in a professional environment. The sample was purposefully diverse to try to capture salient themes across individuals and settings. Therefore, identifying as Indigenous was not a criterion of this study. Participants were neither asked to self-identify as Indigenous nor were there any questions about cultural heritage, cultural practices, artifacts, Indigenous or traditional knowledges, or distinct characteristics of Indigenous experience or reality. There are white settler and non-Indigenous facilitators of cultural safety training who teach intercultural competency, conflict resolution, human rights and anti-racism; and non-Indigenous facilitators were equally welcome to participate in this study. Indeed, it is widely recognized that the emotional work of facilitating cultural safety cannot be left only to Indigenous peoples. Indeed, settlers should be encouraged and even required to engage in facilitation as part of a way to acknowledge the position of privilege settlers have in colonialism and be accountable to Indigenous peoples, and as a way to model good relations. However, because of the topic and the knowledge that some participants may be Indigenous, I was aware that some participants might discuss how cultural teachings shape their practice. For this reason, and given my own Indigeneity, it was important to maintain relationship-models of

accountability at all times, such as acknowledging that research is collaborative, co-creative, reflective of community teachings, and embraces relational understanding. Throughout the project, I focus on respect (e.g. honor knowledge shared), responsibility (e.g. protect knowledge shared), and reciprocity (e.g. give back to participants and community).

I did not ask participants to self-identify in the interview because I had decided that to protect the privacy and anonymity of participants, I would remove all identifying markers such as racial identity or gender identity from my data analysis section. However, to contextualize their responses during the interview process, many participants choose to self-identify their race, gender and place of employment. When self-identity was disclosed, participant identities included Indigenous, non-Indigenous white settler and mixed ancestry; male and female; facilitating as part of their employment with a particular institution and as an independent contractor (had own business); and facilitating either in a post-secondary institution, healthcare points of care and/or in a professional environment in the private sector. No participants identified as non-Indigenous racialized. All participants received a pseudonym and, as mentioned, any identifying information (e.g. racial identity, gender identity, location, place of work, name of programs, etc.) was excluded in the dissemination of results. I made this decision for a few reasons. While the concept and practice of cultural safety has existed for a few decades, the uptake of cultural safety training in professional environments is relatively new. Given that many workplaces today are just building their cultural safety programs, there are not many people employed as Indigenous cultural safety facilitators. Therefore, if markers such a race, gender and/or place of work were included in the results, it could

be possible to identify participants. Although there are important racial and gender differences between facilitators that affects the lived experience of their work, in the case of this study to name and position participants was not appropriate, and even potentially harmful. Since participants shared, for example, experiences of structural violence from leadership and institutional policies, to both honor and respect the stories and knowledge shared with me, as well as to protect participants from potential harm if they were identifiable, all participants were anonymous and their confidentiality kept within the limits of the law. The issues around racial and gender differences, for example, the differences between Indigenous non-Indigenous facilitators, was acknowledged in the literature review and supported by the findings of other research.

4.3.3. Interviews and Data Collection

Each participant was asked to engage in a face to face, open-ended 45-60 minute interview. Open-ended questions achieve breadth of coverage across issues and depth of content within each issue by putting it on the participant to fully supply the answer (Ritchie et al., 2013). I always started the interview with a brief self-location (my own background and research interests), reasons for the interview (background to research questions) and territorial acknowledgement. After my own introduction, I reminded potential study participants about the study, the reasons I was doing the research, and what was required of them, should they decide to participate. They were reminded that their participation was entirely voluntary, and that if they decided to take part in the study, they would be free to withdraw at any time without giving any reasons for their decisions. I reminded them that their decision to participate would in no way affect their employment as a facilitator. Consent could be given either written or orally. Consent also

required that I ask permission to record the interviews for accuracy and all participants agreed to recording. In addition to recording, I took notes.

For the interview, I used a set interview guide with probes (Appendix D). The questions were open-ended and the probes, such as ‘can you think of any examples?’, further helped to expand, explain, explore, understand and/or clarify answers provided by participants. I used qualitative tools and techniques (i.e. interviews) to gather data because “as long as the methods fit the ontology, epistemology and axiology of the Indigenous paradigm, they can be borrowed from other suitable research paradigms” (Wilson, 2008, p. 39). For this reason, the interviews were intentionally flexible, relational and conversational. Roulston, deMarrais & Lewis (2003) also see the interview as a site in which interviewers and interviewees co-construct data. As stated by Kovach (2010), the conversation method aligns well with “a specific way of knowing based upon oral tradition of sharing knowledge” (p. 40), making this method congruent with Indigenous worldviews. Moreover, the interviews were relational and collaborative so I could honor what each participant felt was important for me to know and carry away. I gave space in a way that allowed people to share their own experience and knowledge, which respects multiple narratives and personal meaning making. A collaborative approach to interviews is also congruent with affect theory, in that it acknowledges that both the interviewer and interviewee affect and are affected during the interview process, and that the interviewer is not separate from the knowledge shared and created, but a part of the emergence of that knowledge. One challenge faced during the interview process was loud and public environments (e.g. busy coffee shops). This had a minimal effect on the clarity of recording, which resulted in the occasional missed word or name on the

transcript. The public settings also meant loss of privacy, which was a challenge because some participants shared sensitive and emotional experiences. Ideally, the best environment for qualitative interviews are somewhere private, quiet and comfortable.

4.4. Data Management and Analysis

With consent to record, all interviews were transcribed verbatim. A professional transcriber was paid to transcribe seven interviews and I transcribed four interviews. The professional transcriber signed an oath of confidentiality agreement witnessed by a third party (Appendix E). After transcription, I coded and thematically analyzed all interviews. Thematic analysis systematically works through all text and “involves discovering interpreting and reporting patterns and clusters of meaning within the data” (Ritchie et al., 2013). Following Kovach (2009), I present the data through the “thematic grouping or bundling of themes” (p. 53). The processes of thematic grouping and coding were completed using qualitative NVivo 12 software (QSR International Pty Ltd, 2012), as this is a useful tool that can organize large quantities of data, while at the same time not compromise the ontological or epistemological nature of Indigenous research. It is considered acceptable to use specific qualitative tools and techniques to gather data for Indigenous research if my methods are grounded in an Indigenous worldview.

After I familiarized myself with an interview by reading and note taking, using NVivo 12 I was able to highlight, label and sort blocks of data based on analytic concepts and themes. That is, I placed blocks of text in the most appropriate node (i.e. label or heading), based on its descriptive or conceptual meaning. After coding all the transcripts, I had several nodes based on coherent groupings of data that ‘belonged together’. I

grouped together nodes that were similar in content and meaning to create higher ordered themes or categories. For example, a participant may go into detail about the specific activities they ask participants to engage in, such as sharing circles, the physical timeline or blanket exercise. This block of text may go into the node physical activities and strategies. This node, along with other related nodes like physical changes, emotions expressed/surfaced, shutting down, emergence and non-affective strategies became the higher ordered theme of Affect. I named that higher ordered theme Affect because the participant descriptions of what they did, how they did it and the effect that it had all closely related my understanding of affect theory (described in my literature review). In the end, all higher ordered themes (6 in total) produced data summaries, categories and linkages that helped to explain patterns and address my overall research questions.

Data analysis and coding involves frequent checking for consistency and accuracy. Notably, analysis does not begin when the researcher has finished collecting data but is an ongoing journey and inherent part of the whole process of qualitative research (Ritchie et al., 2013). ‘Analysis’ should infuse all aspects of the research, including design, sampling, data collection, analysis, refinement, and reporting. Specifically, qualitative scholars Lincoln and Guba (1985) encourage repeated immersion in the data to develop adequate contextualization and conceptualization (Thorne et al, 1997, p. 175). I ensured repeated immersion in the data by: 1) familiarisation; 2) labelling and sorting; 3) iteration and review; 4) detailed note taking of analytical decisions; 5) summaries; 6) abstraction and interpretation; and 7) member checking.

4.5. Collaboration and Member Checking

Going back to research participants to confirm emerging themes is referred to as member checking in qualitative research and it considered a method of ensuring trustworthiness of themes (Lincoln & Guba, 2000, as cited in Lavallée, 2009). Member checking, or getting input and feedback from participants, is culturally appropriate because “much of the work accomplished by Indigenous people is communal and cooperative in nature. We could not, culturally-speaking, analyze our data without the input of the participants” (Brayboy & Deyhle, 2000, p. 168). Beyond the interview, participants were encouraged to be a part of the research stages and collaborate with me to co-construct this research. Further participation was voluntary and the extent to which each person participated varied. After transcription, participants received a copy of their transcript to audit and were given the opportunity to make additions or deletions, which ensured that my recording indeed captured what they meant to say. After data analysis was completed, participants received a copy of the analysis and had knowledge of their pseudonym. This was another opportunity for participants to make changes to their information shared, as well allowed for participants to confirm that I understood and represented their information in a good way. Finally, participants received the final thesis manuscript, which was one last chance to review my analysis and interpretation and make any changes they felt were necessary. Similar to the function of peer review in the academy, the process of participant review is “generally intended to ensure quality of the work, its relevance, and the appropriateness of interpretation” (Schnarch, 2004, p. 93). Member-checking and participant collaboration in research are validity checks that demonstrate accountability and credibility for the representations I make, which is part of my responsibility to protect Indigenous knowledge and be relational. Half of the participants in this study made minor

changes to their transcript. These changes included clarification of what they were trying to describe and the deletion of text they did not want analyzed, such as personal or sensitive information.

4.6. Gifts and honorariums

For participants, the opportunity to be a part of a study that focuses on their perspectives and voice can be empowering. In recognition of their time and expertise, each participant received an honorarium of a \$10 gift card and small gift, such as chocolate or tea.

Compensation is necessary because it acknowledges and recognizes the value of the participant's knowledge, experience and time. For any participant who travelled to UVic, I reimbursed the cost of parking. When we meet in a public location, such as a restaurant or coffee shop, I paid for the drink and/or snack that the participant ordered (unless already purchased before my arrival). For anyone who wanted to withdraw from the study, they were able to keep the gift/honorarium as full compensation for the time they gave.

4.7. Research Journal

Reflexivity and acknowledgement of my subjectivity was an important part of this research. A research journal helped me to log my own self-reflections in the meaning-making process and allowed me to express my own perspectives, ideas and beliefs. As Hart says in a conversation with Kovach (2009), knowledge may come from inside in the form of dreams or intuition but how you bring it to life is what matters- it's about what you make of it. The journal was useful in helping me work through what to do with the knowledge shared with me. When Kovach (2009) elected to record thoughts and

reflexivity in a research journal, she was able to reflect on feelings, observations, thoughts, relationships, dreams, anxieties and aspirations in a holistic way, which “offered a means for tracing personal analysis and discoveries of the research that were emerging in narrative. It became a tool for making meaning and showed evidence of process and content” (p. 50).

The research process requires of me to make “explicit reference to personal preparations involving motivations, purpose, inward knowing, observation, and the variety of ways that [I] can relate [my] own process undertaken in the research” (Kovach, 2009, p. 35). I weaved parts of my journal into this manuscript, as I am obligated to share enough of myself so that readers are aware of my identity, accountability and positionality. This process is another entry-point for a relationship to form between the readers and me. As Wilson (2008) suggests, “you have to be true to yourself and put your own true voice in there, and those stories that speak to you. That is retaining your integrity; it’s honoring the lessons you’ve learned through saying that they have become a part of who you are” (p. 123). Thus, the research journal helps to make others aware of my identity, community, and positionality, as well as shows what I have learned.

4.8. Ethics

4.8.1 Impact on Indigenous communities/peoples

It is important that Indigenous communities have control over and benefit from research with Indigenous peoples. Makley (2003) says that scholars have an immeasurable responsibility to the Indigenous communities they ‘study’. When appropriate, to acknowledge the importance of community permission and involvement is a form of

decolonization, as it returns to communities the political and discursive control over their stories (Ranco, 2006, p. 72). Furthermore, the right of communities to participate as partners in research that generates knowledge, which affects their culture, identity and wellbeing, is recognized by UVic's Faculty of Human and Social Development ethical guidelines (2003), by SSHRC's published position outlined in *Aboriginal research: Research of SSHRC's Dialogue on research and Aboriginal peoples* (Kenny, 2004), by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples RCAP (1999); and by the Canadian Constitution (Brant Castellano, 2004). Most recently the 2018 Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (Chapter 9) outlines the ethical conduct of research involving Indigenous peoples in Canada and provides a framework for respectful relationships, collaboration and engagement.

My research is grounded in Indigenous human rights and the relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. As well, I used both qualitative and Indigenous research methods, and some of the participants identified as Indigenous. However, I want to acknowledge that this study is not community-based research. The reason for this is because, although the interviews took place on the specific traditional and unceded territories of the Songhees, Esquimalt, WSÁNEC, K'ómoks, x^wməθkwəy'em (Musqueam), Skwxwú7mesh (Squamish), and Səlílwətaʔ/Selilwiltulh (Tsleil-Waututh), I knew from public profiles that possible participants were from different nations. During the interviews, when and if they self-identified as Indigenous, it confirmed that they were from multiple Indigenous nations and communities. Therefore, there was no one community to directly work with and engage. Furthermore, I knew some of the interviewees were non-Indigenous either by their public professional profile pages or by

self-disclosure in the interview. I quickly discovered through my interviews and talking with others that many cultural safety initiatives intentionally work with an ally-ship model because it recognizes that the emotional work of facilitating cultural safety cannot be left to only Indigenous peoples. It is not the responsibility of Indigenous people to teach non-Indigenous people to not be racist. In other words, ally-ships model the slogan #ItStartsWithMe. Indeed, settlers should be encouraged and even required to engage in facilitation as part of a way to acknowledge the position of privilege settlers have in colonialism and be accountable to Indigenous peoples. For these reasons, this research is not community-based. However, it is my hope that this work is reciprocal and gives back to others and community in general by: 1) improved work conditions for facilitators by making visible the structural and social supports needed; and 2) improved cultural safety initiatives that help to foster more respectful, trusting and accountable relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

4.8.2. Informed Consent

My research received a harmonized ethics approval from the University of British Columbia, University of Victoria, First Nations Health Authority and Island Health. At the time, Royal Roads University and Camosun College were not part of the harmonized process and I contacted those Research Ethics Boards separately to gain approval. I did not require a separate ethics approval for independent facilitators not employed by or associated with an institution.

I adhered to UVic ethics protocol and criteria for minimal risk research. For this research, there was the potential risk of confidentiality breach, emotional distress

recalling experiences of racism, discrimination, resistance, apathy, aggression or other such responses from those who take Indigenous cultural safety training, and fatigue from the interview process. We discussed the risks before conducting the interview and I made them known on the consent form. At the time of recruitment, in the invitation to participate letter, I told participants they could bring with them a support person, such as a friend, colleague, family member or Elder. For further detail on potential risks and I managed those risks, see 4.3.3. Level of Risk or Harm.

Given my topic, I anticipated that some of my participants could self-identify as Indigenous. In preparation of such self-disclosure, I reviewed the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996), CIHR Guidelines for Health Research Involving Aboriginal People (2007-2010), and the recent Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans [Chapter 9, Research Involving Indigenous peoples] (TCPS2: 2018) for ethical guidelines on how to design and conduct Indigenous research.

All participants were given time to read the consent form and decide if they wished to sign the informed consent form or give oral consent. It is acknowledged in the national research ethics policy (TCPS2) that verbal consent may be more appropriate and culturally acceptable in some research contexts in lieu of signed consent. Given that the focus of my research is cultural safety, verbal consent in place of signed consent was considered and assessed on a case by case basis. If they chose to proceed with the interview, I asked if they had any questions about the study. If they were to withdraw from the study, their information would not have been used in the analysis and destroyed.

4.8.3. Level of Risk or Harm

There was the possible risk of fatigue or stress from the interview process, as well as emotional discomfort if participants described or recalled incidences of aggression, defensiveness, racism and/or violence while facilitating trainings. I was conscious to keep the interviews at a pace that was comfortable for participants to prevent fatigue and/or stress. Participants could withdraw from the study at any point.

Given the potential risk of harm, I set in place some ways to support facilitators before, during and after the interview. At the time of recruitment, I offered to all potential participants the invitation to bring a support person to the interview, such as a colleague, friend, family member or Elder (who would also receive an honorarium). No participants in this study brought a support person to the interview. At the beginning of the interview, I reminded all participants that they can stop the interview at any point and decide not to answer any questions (or reframe a question) during the interview without providing a reason. I explained the safeguards protecting the confidentiality of the information they provide and the anonymity of their participation in the study. I confirmed that the information provided would not affect their employment status as a cultural safety facilitator. The above guarantees were included in the consent forms. Furthermore, to promote safety I focused on self-awareness and awareness of my environment. That is, I was present and tried to listen with my ears, body and spirit to notice any sign of distress from participants to minimize, mitigate and prevent risks. If signs of fatigue, stress, or emotional distress occurred, I stopped the interview to allow participants to compose themselves. I then asked if they wanted to take a break or terminate the interview and resume at a later time. I also asked if they wanted to call and talk with a support person.

If they showed signs of distress, I followed up with each interviewee within a day or two of the interview to check in, ask how they were doing and thank them again.

To protect participant anonymity and confidentiality, all paper documents, such as consent forms, were stored in a locked cabinet at the University of Victoria. All electronic records were stored on the UVic server protected by a firewall and part of a system that is maintained and monitored for security and performance 24 hours per day, 365 days per year. Only the research team had access to this information.

Chapter 5: Presentation and Discussion of Research Findings

There are various challenges in reporting qualitative data. For example, Ritchie et al. (2013) conclude it is a challenge to tell the story in an intelligible and coherent way that also does justice to the layered complexity of the participants' descriptions. In general, qualitative researchers identify that the key objective to qualitative reporting is to find a form of presentation that has an underlying and authentic narrative (Ritchie et al., 2013). For me, it was important to present a narrative that remained grounded in the data (i.e. participant voices). To have an authentic narrative that centered on participant voices and was true to my Indigenous worldview, I did not compartmentalize the presentation of findings from my discussion of those findings. That is, I did not distance my voice. Instead, I embedded my voice throughout this presentation because I felt the process to be a more intuitive and holistic approach to understanding the findings. The beginning-section *5.1 Facilitator background, education, training and learning*- contains descriptive information that does not require analysis or discussion. However, in section *5.2 Indigenous cultural safety and anti-racism training*, my voice and analysis are included throughout the rest of the presentation of findings.

5.1 Facilitator background, education, training and learning

5.1.1 Reasons to facilitate

There were various reasons given for why or how facilitators of Indigenous cultural safety training came to be facilitators. Not everyone self-identified in this study and I did not ask participants to do so. For those who did self-identify, their identity was an important factor in taking on this work. For Indigenous facilitators, some expressed that

they came into that role because of personal lived experiences like family experiences of trauma (e.g. residential school) and/or experiences of racism or internalized racism. They also came into that role based on relationships or responsibilities they had to community, to support self-determination and/or their strong connections to their culture/teachings. For non-Indigenous settler facilitators, reasons included learning and mentorship moments that resulted in curiosity and the feeling of responsibility to learn more. During their (un)learning, they experienced a shift in their perspective, which came with a profound sense of obligation to be accountable and role model good relationships to other settlers. They wanted to share with and make visible to other settlers the harm and violence of settler privilege.

Based on factors such as their identity (Indigenous or settler), skills, employment history and/or academic background, many facilitators had worked their way into that role because the community, organization, leadership or co-workers saw them as best fit for it. In all cases, facilitators had some form of mentorship, whether formal (i.e. leadership) or informal (i.e. peers, community), in their life that directed and/or prepared them for the role. Everyone shared a commitment to a different future. “I felt it was important to be a part of the journey of trying to do something about it [colonization] - decolonizing both within myself and in the world around me as well” (F08). While there are hardships that come with the work, many felt a strong sense of purpose and meaning in their commitment to support and create change. For example, some comments include “it’s pretty amazing to have the opportunity to do meaningful work that has the power to change the world... you know, that people want to make a difference. People want to be a part of change. And this is a way to do it” (F07); “realizing how critically important my

job was- how critically important my role was... it's about the future" (F09); "to be of service to reconciling this [Indigenous-settler] relationship... being driven to do this because it needs to be done" (F02); "I feel a responsibility to use the gifts I have for change" (F04); and "I'm so committed to try to see a different future... for society as a whole" (F06).

5.1.2. Experience

The participants in this study facilitated Indigenous cultural safety training in post-secondary, healthcare and/or different professional or corporate environments. Everyone identified their facilitator role as part of their official and current form of employment. A couple facilitators described their work as something they do all the time or even work that they have done their whole life. The official years of experience in this field ranged from two years to a few decades, which is longer than the term "cultural safety" has been in use.

5.1.3. Formal and informal learning

I am not aware of, and facilitators did not mention knowledge of, a formal credential in 'Indigenous cultural safety facilitation', as there is no specific degree, diploma or certificate offered where we live. Facilitators did talk about important transferable skills they had attained from other formal education, such as a degree in Social Work, Restorative Justice or Conflict Analysis & Management. There was mention of strong on-the-job training in a few organizations. One facilitator commented, "Lots of training, amazing, amazing amounts of training, which I'm incredibly appreciative of because it took my understanding and my approach of this work to a whole different level... It was

ongoing. It was daily, like honestly, it was daily” (F06). Another facilitator talked about the long and supportive process of training new facilitators by shadowing, “we’ll just do this all together so that you know, we can debrief and talk, so that we’re doing it in a really, really supportive, thoughtful, thorough way. Not just saying here you go” (F09). As well, a few facilitators offered, to educators or other people in teaching positions, formal training on how to integrate cultural safety into their curriculums.

In general, facilitators relied on many different forms of informal learning to develop the skills to facilitate Indigenous cultural safety training, such as webinars, reading, education workshops, social activism, racial caucusing, academic subscriptions or debriefing with others in similar work. Some facilitators spoke of building on previous related work experience. The role of mentorship and learning from mentors was important for many facilitators, especially following the work of leaders in the field. There was a significant amount of enthusiasm for self-learning, such as watching webinars, reading books or taking courses. For example, “I took out as many books as I could” (F10). Or,

Cultural safety webinars... UBC webinars...FNHA webinars... Courses- like literally anything that I can find that has it in its title I will take and participate in everything that I can...I take courses like you wouldn’t believe. I’m always educating myself... I’m just terribly curious (F02).

Consistently being on the cutting edge of research; always learning... I’ve always subscribed to feeds. I get academia.edu references and anything on the topic... I follow people on Twitter and Facebook and I get some of the best, leading edge material that’s out there (F07).

There was a sense of always carrying, in everyday life, an Indigenous cultural safety analysis or lens, such as the critique of how others present similar content or material, which contributed to learning on an ongoing basis.

I've learned facilitation in the multiple organizations that I've been in where I've had the opportunity to facilitate. And there was a lot. There's a lot of opportunity to learn sort of basic facilitation and presentation - presenting myself. Public talks, that kind of thing... soft training- not like formal training of facilitation- I have taken courses... But to be frank I was critiquing them... I thought, you're not dealing with power, and racism, and colonization, right? And so, a lot of my learning has been from being in spaces where I'm naming difficult things and learning how people respond and then how do I respond... I think a lot of my learning has been critiquing and creating new models, a lot of self-study, and working with other facilitators (F04).

This type of work came with endless opportunities to learn. For example, “my learning’s ongoing absolutely” (F11) and “I have opportunities to learn every single day when I do this work” (F06).

5.1.4. Level of training and preparedness

Facilitator opinions on prior training and level of preparedness to facilitate Indigenous cultural safety training varied. A few did not feel prepared at all. For example, “I just kind of jumped in” (F05). Or,

I honestly didn't know what I was getting into... I was aware of the concept of cultural safety but I wasn't really... I had no experience... though with this kind of workshop – facilitation; with workshop facilitation in general, let alone with something like cultural safety work (F01).

More than one facilitator commented on how this type of work is not- and should not be- for everyone.

You kind of have to be ready to do it... Yeah, cause like I said this work is not for everybody and you can only put so many safety mechanisms in place to

protect facilitators; but especially when like we're doing an intervention right like we're intervening in like racism and so like if you're not in a place where you can respond to that you can really put yourself in severe harm (F03).

There was some acknowledgement that some extensive training should be in place to qualify and prepare a person to be an Indigenous cultural safety facilitator. However, it was not certain what such a training would look like.

I don't know what happens in other provinces, but with the few programs I know about here is that people get hired and they might have - not have cultural safety background, but they have some transferable skills, maybe some background in working with Indigenous people, maybe some background in facilitation of some kind... Then there is training process on the job, and I think that that looks different in different places and I don't think there's any - and maybe it needs to because different organizations have different goals- but I think there does need to be a base also regardless of the organization... I don't know what it would look like and don't know if it needs a certificate. But there needs to be preparation and there needs to be - facilitators need really solid grounding in who they are and why they're doing this, what they bring to the work, and they need to know the risks. The risks to themselves and the risks to the participants in the room also. And how to deal with those risks. So, that's pretty big. I'd like to do facilitation training because I have a great deal of experience, but it would be - I don't know if it would be a certificate, I haven't thought that far. But that's not a bad idea, right? It's not a bad idea (F04).

Given the potential for harm to both facilitators and participants in Indigenous cultural safety training spaces, it may be beneficial to develop some formal local, regional or national theory of learning and curriculum around facilitation. I explore this topic more in discussion and recommendations.

5.2. Indigenous cultural safety and anti-racism training spaces

5.2.1. Structure of Indigenous cultural safety training: Who attends and what they do

The participants in this study facilitated Indigenous cultural safety training in post-secondary, healthcare and/or many different professional environments, such as corporate businesses, mental health sectors, child and family welfare services, legal and justice systems, youth groups, front-line services or even sports and recreation centres.

Consequently, there is significant variation in who attends Indigenous cultural safety training, reasons for their attendance and the structure of those trainings. Most facilitators expressed a degree of flexibility when designing a training session (number of people, length of training, activities, etc.). Often, it is about figuring out where an organization is with their Indigenous cultural safety and then meeting their needs to help embed it into the structural body and support change.

So, most of my stuff is in person whether that's going to organizations and companies and doing an audit. I don't like the word audit, but just seeing what's going on for them – listening to their stories of what's important to them, their history, their experiences and where they want to go and then collaborating with them designing something that is built on the concepts of cultural safety... My journey then becomes about trying to get as many people on board that can help push this forward (F08).

The range in size of the training varied from as small as two or three to over two hundred, depending on the activity (e.g. sharing circle versus lecture-based learning or online learning) and the objective of the training (e.g. experiential learning versus providing historical facts). Some are ad hoc sessions by invitation, while other sessions are regular or annual. Facilitators often implemented size restrictions because the size of the group will affect learning outcomes. One participant said about large groups, “sometimes it was manageable and other times, depending on how active the cohort was, sometimes it was just so hard to keep up” (F06). As well, “they're not in my opinion that effective to do training with that amount of people” (F04). Another participant explained,

To run a circle process in a way that supports the people that are in there and also stays within the time restraints...if we're forced we'll do bigger, but we really try hard not to because it doesn't provide the support for learning and connection that people need (F02).

Depending on the organizational policy, the training is either mandatory or voluntary for students, trainees and/or employees. Sometimes the organization used mandatory language but did not hold people accountable to attend. There were some mixed feelings around whether or not Indigenous cultural safety trainings should be mandatory. One participant implied that it might not be beneficial to "force" attendance on people that are not ready or willing to learn, especially without proper resources in place.

It says that it's mandatory...There's some sort of mandatory language around that. Because we're dealing with anti-racism there's an obligation to it, but we're not mandatory. Like I would not suggest that we are nor would I suggest that I necessarily would want it to be mandatory- and you can image my internal conflict over that conversation... If it was properly resourced, let me just say that, if it was properly resourced it absolutely should be mandatory (F02).

Another facilitator explained how resources and capacity factor into the question of whether to make it mandatory.

It is and it isn't [mandatory]. It's a complicated question. And you'll find that probably with all your ICS [Indigenous cultural safety] trainings...To discuss like should this be mandatory? And the obvious answer is yes, of course it should be mandatory because [for example] people are dying, and it shouldn't be an option anymore whether people- or Indigenous people are receiving culturally safe care or not. The challenge is- okay, so we make it mandatory. Who's going to teach it? Who's going to quality control it?...What are the accreditation standards?...Has funding been made available to do this? (F03).

The length of the training ranged from 2-3 hours, 1 day, 2 days, and up to a period of 18 months. Some facilitators felt 3 hours was sufficient to cover foundational knowledge, while others who wanted learning that was transformational, required more time. The

length of the training can be a source of stress for facilitators, again depending on objectives and expected learning outcomes.

I will do like 3-hour workshops...but it's exhausting. It's more *exhausting* for me to do it in 3 hours...To have a robust conversation in 3 hours with all that you have to cover and feel that you're leaving the group tangible learning- not just surface stuff...people can really just kind of sit back in a 3-hour workshop. And you can work with the cycles of a group in a much different way in a 2-day course. Just simply because you have time and you can approach it in a different way than you would in a 3-hour session (F04).

Many facilitators expressed that, to develop understanding and personal growth, these trainings need to be more than a one-time experience. To open up and unpack the learning, people should attend multiple sessions. "It should be a half-day session, but it should just be the first. We should then go back and do a 3-hour session on every one of those topics- just the topics. So, it should be mini-course [or] mini-credential" (F09). Moreover, for accountability purposes, there should be in place some sort of procedure for follow up- something that holds people accountable to continue the learning.

In general, the facilitators in this research did mostly face-to-face training, with some online components. Often the online pieces were a pre-requisite that provided some basic historical information so that they could attend the face-to-face portion and be ready to learn more. Learning in this setting is progressive and often builds on necessary background knowledge about the history of colonialization and Canadian policy (e.g. the Indian Act or residential schools), as well information on the national, international and local key drivers, such as UNDRIP, TRC or Jordan's Principle. "It's important to get this basic information out and then give people a chance to think about it or process it" (F01). The background knowledge helps to deconstruct colonial narratives and

myths/stereotypes before deeper learning can happen. For example, “I don’t like to facilitate a blanket exercise unless somebody has done some pre-learning first because I think the blanket exercise has more meaning for somebody when they know the history”

(F6). Another facilitator commented,

What we found after about a year of doing the workshops is that people were coming in and they did not have the foundational learning that they needed in order to have the conversation...the decolonizing conversation...the anti-racism conversation. [Foundational learning gets] people primed and ready for that discussion so that when we get into the space, they’re ready (F02).

Furthermore, pre-learning is also a safety concern.

In a room where people just came in without having to do, say an online training for example, the room was much less safe...that kind of prep [is important] so there’s a little bit more humility coming into the space (F11).

Some other common activities to expect in these spaces are readings, videos or links to the National Film Board site, individual reflection, and feedback opportunities. The more interactive activities and participatory educational methods include learning and practicing land acknowledgement, sharing circles, discussion forums or pair and shares, trouble shooting, popcorn style conversation, guest speakers, storytelling, song, physical timelines, blanket exercise, baggage exercise and racialized caucusing. The racialized caucusing is an advanced form of learning and practice that is “along the journey- it’s not the first step, like people have to do a whole bunch of learning before they come into that space” (F11). Other participants described the importance of staging the learning,

You’re not Caucasian- you’re white- say it!... [But] people aren’t always ready to hear that so it takes very careful describing using language so that people can hear it. So, you have to get through the resistance by taking people one step at a time to get to this and then you keep on them (F07).

So, there's exercises that we can do to build awareness personally and around our relationships but there's also exercises that can help us really look at the system and what's happening within the systems that you can see where colonization is embedded and racism is embedded throughout our systems. So, I like to do those, but it takes... People need to be at a certain place and be willing to be ready. Sorry not willing but be ready to have that systemic conversation first. And so usually those kind of systems, kind of exercises, won't happen until like a second workshop with people (F06).

Ward (2018) emphasises how staging the learning, also referred to as 'frontloading' and 'scaffolding', enables learners to see the development of the ideology of anti-Indigenous racism, which will enhance the learning outcomes. Typically, cognitive approaches (e.g. lessons about history) are used early in the journey and more affective approaches come later (e.g. blanket exercise). An explanation of the 'why' of the topic can help to respond and address high levels of resistance, denial and hostility (Ward, 2018).

Sometimes staging the learning is important because of the shock factor (i.e. affect) to the learning, and people may be only able to take in so much at a time or it would be too overwhelming (i.e. too much affect can be demotivating). You must create environments and spaces where people can be shocked and still hear and learn- a space where you are still motivated to try something different.

That's like the peeling of the onion too – that there are going to be people who have never heard about Indian hospitals who for the one thing they take from their very first session out of the two hours is there was a parallel health care system for status Indians run by the Federal Government. That would be their takeaway... they'll take it a second time and they'll go oh I came away from the first one learning one thing and now that I've heard these I can start making the connections or I can start hearing other things now that I've heard that one big shocking thing (F01).

It's important to talk about things like genocide and to tell the story of residential schools and the reserve system, the apartheid system here in Canada. It's important to do that... [but] it has to be done in the context of creating a place where people can actually hear. And that's when you can get people to

understand the system of power and privilege... the older story of colonization 1000 years ago and see what was happening in Europe that created the colonial system... So, if you can paint that picture people are shocked by that story just like Senator Sinclair said or you can shock people by talking about the Canadian context as an apartheid system and yet we normalize it... you can shock people into that if you've created that setting where they can hear it... People then can start to see themselves within that structure and then they can start to see their responsibility... I like that word 'responsibility' because I think if you break it down to 'response' 'ability', so if you can get them to notice the system and their piece in it, and then provide them with some skills and abilities and strategies of adjustment, then you've created 'responsibility'. They'll know what to do. That's why practice is so important in the workshop setting too. So, what would you do? How do you set a stage where that person can actually hear you? How do you set the tone for that person to actually hear?... Those are the kinds of things that we would try and practice (F08).

One facilitator went into depth about four stages to the learning. At each stage, the facilitator thoughtfully sets the stage for unlearning and learning to happen. Although the stages are specific, the process of learning is iterative and non-linear. There is flexibility and movement back and forth between stages. The stages have elements that include: information gathering and sharing, questioning, affective activities (learning through affect and the body, such as sitting in circle), making the unseen seen (exposing the harm and violence of colonialism), relationship building and new ways of being.

There is a flow to the way that I think about and do this work and it's based in 4 parts, 4 sections, and sometimes when you move to a different section you still kind of go back to the old section. The lines are kind of blurred. But there is... in general there is a flow. So, I see **the first part as setting the tone**; how you get people ready to delve into this work and how do you make sure that they know what the work is. How do you make sure that you're listening to them too – that their concerns, their thoughts, their ideas are part of the day as well. So, they feel really vested in the day. So, and it's fairly clear. Here's how our day will look and within that there's always flexibility right. Here's what it could look like. Let's see how it goes and we might have to adjust as we go depending on what comes up cause sometimes things come up and it's good to work with whatever comes up and not just push it aside. So, that's setting the tone. And then **the next part is there's about kind of hearing the stories** – providing space for people then to speak to what's in their heart, their own experiences, keep listening to each and so it's actually starting to practice some

skills around listening in a different way and interacting in a different way at a lot more personal and humanistic way. So, the circle is a really good process for that to engage people in a different way. And it's often uncomfortable but you know you let people know that that's what we're here to do is embrace some of the... Sitting in the circle yeah trying to- it's like exercising right. It's hard... [but I] help people practice a different way of listening, a different way of being... **The third stage is going deeper.** So, let's start asking some questions around what has come up – some of the themes. Let's start digging down into some of those and then asking why? Why is it like this? Let's look at some of the history of Canada or healthcare or whatever it may be. Let's look at some of those things and see if they've impacted the way that we are today or let's expose some of the secrets and things that we don't learn about in Canadian society or in our educational system. Let's delve into some of those things. So, I call that going deeper. Peeling back the layers in all of this and trying to figure out what has happened in our histories and what continues to happen in our current realities. So, spending time doing that. So, and then after doing those three stages **that's when you can move to what are we gonna do about this?** How are we gonna move forward with this? How are we gonna keep this increasing and growing... Actually, practice within the workshop setting... you know, let's look at a case study or let's do some scenarios here... You know, getting people to engage differently with one another, to listen for different things... like doing things differently is really important in all of this... art and music is also really important too (F08).

Although there is tremendous variation to Indigenous cultural safety training spaces, they are in general “a space where questions and activities facilitate conversation” (F03) in a way that people can both unlearn and learn, which is an ongoing process. Indeed, cultural humility and cultural safety involve humbly acknowledging oneself as a life-long learner when it comes to understanding oneself and another's experience (College of Dental Surgeons of British Columbia, 2017/2018). Therefore, to truly engage in Indigenous cultural safety training is to commit to a lifelong journey, where each step leads you to the next.

5.2.2. Roles and responsibilities of facilitators

The facilitators in this study were all currently active in their work and had experience as either facilitator, co-facilitator or both. A few had leadership roles, which involved

overseeing other facilitators and/or training new facilitators. Some were part of a team of facilitators that worked in a specific organization as part of their job description and others were independent contractors who freelanced. In some way, everyone had input into the design, creation or modification of sessions. The words used to describe their role included: facilitating, leading, moving, journeying, capacity building, supporting, holding up, engaging, coaching, mentoring, advising, consulting, partnering, role modeling, negotiating, monitoring, and strategy planning. The facilitators worked with both individuals and systems to form new relationships and create social change. “[I] support change at a systems level, which of course includes individuals, but also includes the larger barriers and helping people identifying those and recognizing them and use their power to shift them” (F11). One participant described the breadth and scope of the work,

I’m facilitating the organization...to increase its capacity to provide culturally safe engagements and environments. So that involves training, like actual in the room facilitation [with a group]...as well as coaching on a more one on one basis with people, advising/consulting type work in meetings with leadership with various colleagues that are working in a variety of departments to figure out what learning they need to do in order to embed cultural safety into their workplace.... [We also] look at leveraging high level places.... I take that really big picture view of the whole organization and figure out how we’re leveraging various pieces to move us ahead. So, it really was about system movement as a high priority in our work (F02).

An overarching role of the facilitator is to open and hold space for unlearning and learning. This involves some back and forth between facilitators and individuals or groups. As one participant demonstrates, the learning trajectory is not linear, but the hope is to get deeper with each interaction.

[I] provide some sort of feedback system to individuals and the group for where they’re kind of veering off course or where they’re on course, or then how to deepen it, how to maintain a critical analysis... My role is to create a space

where people will be challenged in a way they can take it...enough challenge to unsettle people in a way that they're like okay, oh I get it (F04).

Some facilitators are very direct about their role to address racism and colonization. "My role is to dismantle and address racism" (F05). Notably, white settler facilitators in particular felt a sense of obligation to support and be a part of settler identity development and anti-Indigenous racism training as to not overburden Indigenous people. Since anti-Indigenous racism is a settler project, and "actually about the dominant culture" (F05), it is important that settlers have structured opportunities to role model for other settlers how to be accountable and relational in the world.

In general, role modeling 'how to be' was a responsibility of all facilitators, whether settler or Indigenous. Facilitators talked about how a 'fighting approach' is not the right approach for this work and such an approach can be more harmful to both people and facilitators. The best approach is one that encourages people. Thus, facilitators do not 'fight' for change; they invite, guide, support, and encourage others to change by role modeling how we can be to one another- how we can affect and be affected. "We also work hard to make sure that the work that we're doing, we're modeling it. We're relational and we're modeling anti-racism and we're modeling humility" (F02). Also,

Really having to figure out how to respond respectfully... Respond really respectfully so that everyone can see you respond... Come in with a good mind and a good heart...a good spirit. I need to do that too. I just can't tell you to do that. I need to do that too... So, there's a part of this work that's role modeling how to be (F09).

As part of their front-line responder role, facilitators are responsible to acknowledge and address the ignorance and violence of anti-Indigenous racism. "There's just a wide array

of questions that would come forward and ignorant kind of statements that we'd have to address that would show up...a stereotype would be made on one of the discussion threads or a really violent comment about Indigenous people on the discussion thread" (F06). Racism is insidious and can manifest in different ways. In that regard, with care and skill facilitators will assess and re-assess their roles and the content they deliver on an ongoing basis. To compound the issue, the structure of the sessions (e.g. length or number of participants) also shapes what content to deliver and how people will understand it.

How could it reinforce stereotypes? Is there anything in here that's reinforcing stereotypes? Is there anything in here that's questionable? So, sweeping through and looking for the ways you use issues and how they're explored and discussed. So, I'm always watching for how what is said is viewed...ensure that it's read in a way that it's not going to create further harm for Indigenous cultural safety training... Knowledge is increasing all the time and as you know more you re-visit with more knowledge...activities and exercises will be revised (F07).

The roles and responsibilities of facilitators will vary depending on context, as well as change in response to the steps we take as a collective on our Indigenous cultural safety journey. Nonetheless, regardless of context and environment, to interrogate and address racism and colonialism, as your job, is a tremendous responsibility. Therefore, it is imperative we recognize both the gravity and importance of the work.

5.2.3. Concept and development of Indigenous cultural safety: What does it mean and look like in practice?

Cultural safety is not about learning culture or cultural differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Furthermore, it is not about "multiculturalism and respect for all non-white people, and making room for everyone...the specificity [is] important

for people to get because people... the resistance comes up as well- why are you making space for [only] Indigenous people?" (F07). Multicultural and diversity discourses embedded in Canadian society and policies are problematic because they fail to acknowledge Indigenous histories and experiences of racism and discrimination as different from other racialized peoples (Ghosh, 2018). Therefore, Indigenous cultural safety specifically addresses the harm and violence toward Indigenous peoples, as well as makes visible the sovereign rights of Indigenous peoples in the context of decolonization.

I'm talking about structural violence, structurally violent systems, to really shift that focus - we're not going to learn about culture here, we're not going to teach you about culture, we're going to talk about structure and power and colonization, decolonization - all of that... 'Oh, I need to know all these cultural things'. Actually, no you don't in order to provide a safe, equitable process and treat the person like a human being... when referred to as cultural difference, the race analysis gets missed, as does the power that enacts Western dominant views. It isn't just 'difference', it's the power that enacts it, and the power behind any negative view of Indigenous people (F04).

As outlined in the literature review, the concept of cultural safety has been in development for some decades. However, national and international key drivers have really propelled and given momentum to its development. Indeed, the findings and recommendations of both Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) and the TRC should be considered in the context of internal and external pressures to address Indigenous rights, and Canada's reversal of its opposition to the UNDRIP in 2016 is one example on an international level (Greenwood, Lindsay, King & Loewen, 2017). Many facilitators in this study commented on the importance of such policy to fuel their work. National and international key drivers mean that legislation, conversations and action plans that address Indigenous-specific racism are more and more not 'optional' for an organization. "We're playing catch up because of the TRC, and we finally have teeth

implementing these things right... We finally have- the rubber is hitting the road you know. So now we can finally start doing all these things” (F03). Also, “the TRC has really, and UNDRIP, but particularly the TRC Calls to Action, have really put the topic of engagement with Indigenous people really on the map” (F04) and “the TRC has shifted the environment in regards to learning about Indigenous peoples” (F10).

In general, the concept of Indigenous cultural safety is an umbrella term for anti-racism, anti-oppression, advocacy, activism, trauma-informed and self-healing (F08, paraphrased). The idea is “to show people a new way to be” (F03), which includes “not just the learning, but continually unlearning in everything you do” (F07). It is an opportunity to become aware, interrogate and disrupt- or “interrupt”-what we both know and do not know to become more accountable in all our relations.

I really believe in the power of storytelling. I talk about *everyday acts of racism* and how they play out... I will share everyday acts of racism... as a way of saying, you know, have you ever witnessed- and when I share these stories, I can see the look in people’s eyes, like hmm I think I’ve witnessed things like that. You know, you get that moment... It’s going to require us to reflect on how we know what we know. And I think that very rarely in our life are we given an opportunity to reflect on how we know what we know... To focus on how were we socialized and what have we internalized... When we were itsy-bitsy, before we were making our own decisions on how we wanted to view the world, we were being socialized... We don’t even know- but that’s kind of just become apart of who we are, and we don’t question it that. So, my focus... is how were you socialized? What have you internalized? (F09).

People need to examine what they have learned, and constantly question, what is the impact of this belief, this attitude, this action, on Indigenous people, from me, my organization, in this space? (F04).

Indigenous cultural safety facilitators seek justice for the hundreds of years of unacknowledged harm and violence against Indigenous peoples; they recognize that, the most profound injustice of colonialism is that so much has gone unheard and unseen.

Justice is when you've been listened to and you know that people have heard you because something has changed. It's been addressed. That's what justice is. But to me that's the difference between justice and injustice. And I think cultural safety is like that too... So, cultural safety is about being seen, being valued, being listened to, being honoured, all of those things of somebody that just is focusing on you and doing their best in creating a safe setting and that something appropriate that some action is being done so that you know and feel that I've been listened to. To me that's what cultural safety is (F08).

Conflict, identity crises, harm and violence are all inherently part of colonialism; yet, we can live our whole lives unaware of it. "We live in a society that's based in unresolved conflict... It's never been resolved. It's just been normalized how we engage with society to this day" (F08). The question for facilitators then is "how can we do this work with such care but also disrupt?" (F05). How can we be gentle while we interrupt the everyday and unconscious ways that settlers deny their harm and violence or move through the world unaffected by the injustice and cruelty of their harm and violence?

In the work that we do, we think about it in terms of learning more and acting skillfully based on the knowledge that we've gained. The knowledge that we've gained about Indigenous histories, knowledge that we've gained about the places where we are, knowledge that we've gained about our own assumptions and biases and then thinking about how we're going to act differently based on what we know. And so, we're really... I think about it in terms of the work we do as talking about Indigenous topics, but at the same time recognizing that the questions we're asking people to reflect on about socialization and internalization or biases, they can think about in terms of all the other differences and intersections. That they work across in their private life and in their professional life. And so, it's that sort of that piece of *being able to identify racism* or other forms of discrimination [and] about *developing skills to engage or to interrupt* those things when we observe them; *becoming more aware* of our own biases and assumptions.. It has to do with not just automatically or *unconsciously living* out our biases and assumptions. It's about having the skill and the knowledge to really sit down with ourselves... [Learn] how we can live and act differently (F01, emphasis added).

Although background knowledge is an important first step to the learning process, the concept of Indigenous cultural safety goes beyond knowledge and delegation. Learning

about history is necessary, but it does not require people to act; delegation acknowledges that something should be done, but deflects responsibilities to others and can be a form of resistance to change. One study found that it is common for non-Indigenous people in Canada to feel that it is someone else's responsibility to respond to Indigenous historical or contemporary inequality or injustice, be this First Nations, the government, the education system, or some unstated other (de Costa & Clark, 2016).

Building on knowledge and delegation, the concept of Indigenous cultural safety moves to personal action. It asks participants, "What are *you* going to do now?" It is "purposeful and intentional and really asking people to do something with the information" (F09). It is "knowledge plus action. Its skillful action based on knowledge...It has at its core the idea that we're gonna change what we do and who we are" (F01). The idea is to work with people and first-person experience to help support the emergence of new relationships to self, others and land, as well create social change on a system-wide and societal level. "This learning is about unfolding your whole lived learning experience" (F05) and "we talk about Indigenous cultural safety being about action and what the difference can be is that once more people know, [it] can be a part of any workplace... human rights and social justice can be a part of any workplace" (F07).

Action is about "where we are in the moment" (F11) and it can happen at any time, any day, and in any situation- even in a two-minute conversation. That is, we can bring these learning pieces into our everyday, all day lives. More and more inaction is not acceptable or tolerated. Legislation and basic humanity requires people to take this

journey. You have to *move* in some way- you have to be accountable to your affect and be affected.

The (un)learning process of Indigenous cultural safety is a journey that is challenging, and people must accept that the challenge is part of it.

They're like, "I'm not comfortable... It's not my place. It's not appropriate. I don't know how. I'm scared to get, you know, in trouble. I'm scared to say the wrong thing"...-We have to figure out a way to move through that...This has been a mess. It's gonna be messy and it is messy. And it's gonna be messy getting out of it and if it's not messy something is not right... People need to get comfortable being uncomfortable (F03).

[We] walk people through that red zone [i.e. the 'messy']...-It's moving from individualism to community and seeing Indigenous people in respectful whole communal cultural ways (F02).

Dealing with emotions that surface from participants of Indigenous cultural safety trainings are part of the 'messy' and 'red zone' work. So much guilt and shame (i.e. negative affect) can surface when we start to face the harm and violence of racism and colonialism. In this regard, when people take on the learning and commitment of Indigenous cultural safety, we all need to have a certain gentleness about it. To be gentle (while still interrogating and working with discomfort) encourages rather than discourages settler change, as well as acknowledges that the violence and harm inflicted in everyday life is not fully the fault of settlers. We are all born into an oppressive society and it is set up to stay that way. For those who benefit from the system (i.e. settlers), it is easy to conform and not be aware of it. However, on some level both Indigenous peoples and settlers are hurt by living this way. Therefore, while the system itself is no one person's fault, it is everyone's responsibility.

There's so many systemic things going on and there are so many structures in place that keep us confined in these silos and at each other and it's not our fault. And deep down as human beings we don't want to be like that; yet we're forced into these silos and into these understanding, these belief systems and we don't necessarily want them, but yet it's so hard for us to break out of them. And then you carry that as if something is wrong with me. It's a kind of shame-based understanding... Help people realize it's not your fault as an individual and then you can encourage people to then do something about it (F08).

Indigenous cultural safety is about application. That is, a main component of a workshop is “for them to figure out - so how are we gonna keep going with this? - How are we gonna strengthen our cultural safety journey cause it's not all about the workshop” (F08). How will you affect and be affected moving forward? What will your relationships look like after? For example, how will people “step out of their whiteness to do an acknowledgement or call someone on racism or add cultural safety to the agenda” (F05)? Or, exactly “how are you going to apply what you learned?” (F03) and “what are some skill-based things that you need to be thinking about moving forward?” (F06). Facilitators emphasize how this work is about far-reaching impact. “What are they going to do? Do they see themselves as part of the greater collective?” (F04).

One facilitator gave a great everyday example of what the application of Indigenous cultural safety could look like:

A patient, and they're an Indigenous person in the community, and the physician knows that they're Indigenous and the Indigenous patient sits there and doesn't speak and the physician asks questions and the Indigenous person maybe doesn't speak. And if that entire time is spent with the non-Indigenous physician sitting there and just being okay with meeting the patient wherever they're at, however they want to engage, if that 15-minute interaction is just about being in the same room together for the first time – maybe the patient has been to residential school and spent time in hospital so maybe it's the first time to a doctor. It may be something that they have to talk about that's really, really, serious and maybe it's not, but I know people who will not go to the doctor or they will not go to hospital because stories have been passed on that

it is not safe. You do not let white people touch you, look at you, you don't go there. There's a better chance of not going. So, if an interaction is just sitting there. If physicians could give up the authority and the power and the control to make the situation the way that they think it needs to be and just meeting patients where they're at, I mean that to me would be really admirable because I think a lot of the work that needs to be done is in relationship building... [It is] being aware of your facial expression, being aware of your tone, being aware of your body language... [Lack of awareness is a] massive barrier that is impeding our ability to build a relationship (F03).

Another facilitator recalled a memorable moment when Indigenous cultural safety manifested in practice with an organization that had asked the facilitator to help create a cultural safety work plan,

I got on this phone call with several people higher up in the structure and they were describing what they wanted and they wanted a grid that said here's what you're gonna do in the short-term, long-term, 5 years down the road and you know label them and apply red light, green light, yellow light, all these things right and from a colonial western mindset. So, I stopped the conversation after a while and I said I don't... I have to say I feel frustrated by this... I said I'm just really uncomfortable with this. And then it kind of went silent for a while and then one of the [leaders] he said something like "I just did it again. I'm a white guy in power... and I just told [you] what to do." And then he apologized and said "That's not culturally safe. And how would you see this happening?" So, then I described some things of what I thought I could do and I also said and I need some time to think about this too. And so, I hung up the phone and got off the phone and within two minutes another [person in leadership] called me and said "Can we get together? Can we have some coffee or sit down 'cause you said some things that I really want to understand?" And this guy was new to the position. It was his first or second day on the job and he was a [person in leadership] and so out of that... So, then we did and we met for coffee several times... And out of those conversation the [organization] that I working with they changed the way that they express their values and their principles to a circle and they had cultural safety on the outside and then they had their... values, but on the inside. But I thought that was so cool. I didn't ask them to do that. I didn't even know they were doing that, but they changed everything to be based on the circle with cultural safety and cultural humility kind of keeping it all together and then that kind of facilitates their values that they still felt were really important. So that's just one success story (F08).

Other everyday examples of Indigenous cultural safe practice include,

More consultation needs to happen with First Nations or Indigenous people on an ongoing basis. So, what I've seen happen more recently is that when manuals or guidelines or whatever it might be, policies, whenever they're written Indigenous people are more involved right from the beginning of the process through to the end... Yeah and so what I'd like to see is more collaboration with Indigenous people and anything that is meaningful and impacts Indigenous people that there be Indigenous people in those roles with organizations, so that this work is Indigenous led and implemented from beginning to end... I would like to see more organizations hiring Indigenous people to lead that work. I want to see improved outcomes. That's what I really want to see. I want to actually see people who talk about reconciliation actually really know what that really means and make an effort to see things differently. So, reconciliation is about non-Indigenous people finding a way to reconcile the ongoing inequities and harm that has happened and continues today. So, what does society need to do differently to shift those outcomes? And see a movement toward equity for Indigenous people...I just want to see more effort. I want to see more action (F06).

Indigenous cultural safety targets how individual experiences turn into racist and colonial bodies of knowledge, which then become a part of who we are as bodies of people. Over time, settler colonial bodies normalize oppression. While it is important to address overt expressions of racism and hatred, much of Indigenous cultural safety training is about targeting the group in the middle who do not feel they are racist or colonial. That is, interrogating the normalized forms of oppression that are not consciously or purposely understood to be oppressive. "I know there's people that are really violent and intentionally racist...very committed to what they're doing, and I don't care about them either. But it's the people in-between that I care about" (F02). Another facilitator shared,

I have a handful that are like, "oh my god get me out of this"... and then you have the group in the middle. For me, the group in the middle are the ones that I'm trying to say, "be curious enough to at least want to go this way and not go the other way" (F09).

In response to oppression, Indigenous cultural safety is ultimately about a learning journey that never ends, but with self-determination as a goal:

Oppression is continuous today. And really looking at what I call future visions is one way, but with that focus of self-determination, which is a big one... This one gets ignored I think the most- to understand that especially within the BC context, which is different from the rest of Canada in regards to treaties, reconciliation and of course now with UNDRIP with Bill 41, but that Indigenous peoples are nations that are wanting to be sovereign and wanting to be self-determining (F10).

Indigenous cultural safety is “self-determination taken to the body” (F02). That is, there is a deep and distinct bodily aspect to what it means and what it looks like. “Think about the question we keep asking clients... what would a culturally safe...system look and *feel* like? ...It is felt in the body” (F05).

Cultural safety is when *you feel* like you’ve been listened to, when *you feel* that you’ve been honored, when *you feel* like you’ve been valued, when *you feel* like you are part of your healthcare... *you feel it*... it’s so much *about the body* and what *you’re feeling* and that again has to do with your nervous system and all of that... so that’s what cultural safety is (F08, emphasis added).

5.2.4. Purpose of Indigenous cultural safety: Addressing everyday racism, racialization, power, privilege and other points of difference

“The topic of reconciliation is about reconciling colonial realities and exposing realities that have been actively *hidden* from society” (F07, emphasis added). Facilitators describe how contemporary Canadian discourses on multiculturalism, diversity and colorblindness serve to mask colonial realities and uphold those with power and privilege, so this is an important part of making the unseen seen.

We’re all human beings. If we were just nice to each other, everything would go away and everything would be fine. You know that colorblind racism kind of approach and I am standing there saying that’s not true. That’s not the truth. That’s not the reality of the situation and it’s ongoing and knowing that it’s ongoing and hearing children taken out of the hospital and these sorts of things or hearing people in the hospital having, you know being jumped over by a nurse that’s going for a coffee break and they’re lying on the floor (F02).

[It is] important for them to learn about whiteness, white privilege, settler privilege, which is separate from white privilege... It can be turned into multiculturalism, you know the mistaken idea that we want everyone to be treated the same... if we're gonna get rid of the privilege we all want to be the same, which doesn't make space for the reality that Indigenous people have a different starting place... Different rights; sovereign rights... Indigenous people don't have the same stakes, they legally have more... Sovereign rights and rights to the land that's been stolen. So, I think that we talk about is the socialization to see everyone the same is flawed, fundamentally flawed, and that it is an exit for white people to say oh I see; oh I believe everyone should be treated the same... [The] education process is to help racialize white people... [and] identify how that whiteness impacts in completely different ways than Indigenous people and settlers of colour. Settlers of colour are still granted access to Indigenous land and benefit from the resource extraction in Canada and they will not have the same access to the exalted benefits that white people have... You know how did Canada get to be a country where children could be stolen and women could be sterilized and where women could continue today to be murdered at unbelievable rates? Unbelievable only to people who are not Indigenous, because it's quite well known to Indigenous people. So, there was unpacking those pieces then knowing about whiteness, power and privilege, colonization as the context, this as a starting place and that it's still continuing today are parts of the educational process that are required. And then during that supporting a learner to stay engaged even through an unsettling emotional process (F07).

Indigenous cultural safety training is “designed to be challenging and racism is in the room- ‘cause it’s everywhere” (F04). Taking then the reality of colonialism and racism as a starting point, a key learning objective of Indigenous cultural safety training is to expose the power and privilege behind ongoing anti-Indigenous racism. This is no small feat. Sometimes just the word ‘racism’ alone is enough to unsettle and put people on defense. As one facilitator recalls, “I have been doing this work long enough that I remember when you couldn’t really say the word racism” (F04). Why do people feel immediate discomfort by even the word? How do you deconstruct and dismantle something you cannot even name? Although the word “racism” still causes immediate discomfort, in that regard it is now more widely accepted that we must start with an analysis of racism to create social change.

Indigenous people in the system were told that they can't use the "r" word doing cultural safety work. No, no. And also, well that's a thing in the past and it doesn't happen anymore. You know, there's a few different responses to it. And it's not like that doesn't come up still, but leadership is beginning to say, we need to say the "r" word, we need to learn to recognize it, and we need to learn to deal with it and create accountability around it. It feels pretty profound. So, that's something I see that's happening and I feel like it's happening for so many reasons, the TRC, the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls report... the work of hundreds and thousands of Indigenous people that are trying to raise awareness (F11).

Like you couldn't use the word racism when we first started doing the training because it just triggered too many people. But now there's a willingness to actually engage in these conversations and a recognition that that's really what this is about and there is racism yeah... help people take their analysis to a deeper level looking at structural racism and how colonization is still alive today and conversations around the land which is always a very contentious issue. Yeah so, and then the bystander to ally (F06).

In Canada, it is easy to become a racist and stay a racist. How is it so easy? Why is it so easy? Ask yourself, "Why are you more comfortable with the white settler over the Indigenous person?" (F05). As one facilitator said, "Systemic violence isn't only about violating people, it's about upholding other people and privileging other people- and those are systemic, we're just born into that" (F04). We are born into racism and we grow into racism. It is normalized. Although people have some awareness of racism around them, most have not often had a concentrated and critical look at their own involvement and responsibilities in the matter- what they know and do not know and why that may be. "Some people are really transparent if they've grown up in a racist family and how they know and don't know. And it's often the case- what they don't know" (F10). Without structured opportunities to interrogate, interrupt and address the ways in which you witness and participate in harm and violence, it is easy to live your life with little to no awareness about how you cause and perpetuate such harm and violence. Indeed, you

could live your whole life without knowing you are a settler or even knowing you are white. “Not to see race- that’s the settler idea” (F07).

You’re little, you’re socialized, you hear granny and gramps say something at the dinner table, you hear your mom and dad make comments, you watch TV unsupervised, you listen to music, you hear comments in the playground, and eventually you just think that’s how the world sees this particular person and you don’t judge it because you’re little and that’s what your hearing all around you. If everyone around you is giving you the same message, you start to think that’s how it is. So, she [Lee Maracle] said to become a racist is painless. It just happens (F09).

To understand how easy and painless it is to be a racist is a huge learning curve that can reach deep down into the core of a person. As facilitators, they are “breaking down the structures, the violence, the systems, and the only way we can do that is wake people up” (F05). More often than not, “people are stunned by what they don’t know” (F07). It can be a real shock for some, to realize that they have lived their whole life unaware of such harm and violence.

It’s like “oh my god, I’ve been participating in the world in this particular way and I had no idea of some of the impacts I might be having, or that I had in my job before”. And that part is kind of, especially for people who have worked with Indigenous people for many years, that’s probably one of the hardest parts of the workshop because I really hand it to the people who can make those shifts. There are some people who come into these workshops who’ve got lots of experience with Indigenous people and they haven’t done this work and it’s almost harder for them because they have to admit that they’ve had close proximity with Indigenous people and they have not maybe been equitable. They haven’t been considering racism or haven’t been considering structural racism etcetera, they may have caused harm (F04).

The work then becomes about “helping them turn that ‘I had no idea’ to what does that mean for how they show up in the world and how do they use their power and privilege” (F11). It is about moving forward.

Indigenous cultural safety training is about settlers learning about themselves and the ways in which they have benefitted and continue to benefit from their social position. These (un)learnings are for everyone because “any person living on Indigenous land is implicated in Indigenous cultural safety” (F07).

I like to really try to get people to locate themselves and understand their own history – how they came to be on these lands and to recognize that there was Colonial interference in their homelands as well... So, really helping people to see that and how they've come to be here. Bringing awareness to the “power over” that has existed for Indigenous people for generations. Helping people to recognize their own racial identity and how it's played into this power over dynamic and their own social positioning... so people actually start to identify their own privilege. And so, that takes the focus away from Indigenous people and moves away from pathologizing Indigenous people. It helps people to see the inequities that exist in society and really emphasizes self-reflection and awareness. Which is essentially what ICS training is designed to do, is help people take a critical look at themselves, their privilege and power they can carry as non-Indigenous people... Then people start to really see their own power and privilege that they carry with them... This isn't about Indigenous people. This is about non-Indigenous people building their knowledge and understanding. This is about settlers to these lands and really what you need to do is turn a mirror onto yourself and look at what is it that you need to do differently because we're not gonna make a difference in society until we all start trying to do something different... It's about all of us, but what role are *you* gonna play? (F06, emphasis added).

“Decolonizing is not a metaphor and it's not an event. It's ongoing... [We] always have to be learning and looking for [racism] because it's gonna manifest in so many different ways” (F07). Power imbalances will continually emerge, so we need to watch for it as a collective body. Indigenous cultural safety training teaches us that “there's always going to be other forms of difference that we're going to have to become aware of- that we're going to have to assess our own biases about and engage with intentionally” (F01). As bodies that have the potential to affect and be affected, we always have to be held accountable and take responsibility for how we move in the world with all our relations.

This means we must always be willing to articulate in a different way, think in a different way, see ourselves in a different way and show up differently (F05, paraphrased).

Settler colonialism and racism function to justify unequal power relations and organize a complex system of race relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Socializing practices are very embodied and exist at variable sites, such as family dynamics, media, law or curriculums. “Who we feel ourselves to be, how we see ourselves and want to see ourselves, is inextricably intertwined with others” (Boler, 1999, p. 178). Race becomes a means to organize bodily relations within the virtual field, what Protevi (2009) calls bodies politic, where you map out the power relations between bodies. Thus, race is the product of a complex system that incorporates the non-linear space of the virtual (i.e. incorporeal or spiritual dimensions) and potentialities across bodies. Presented to us at all times with varying intensities, the socializing practices that organize our bodily relations have created generations of emergent settler colonial bodies. The power associated with settler colonialism and racism exists at the embodied level, and the cognitive, emotional or ideological aspects are actualizations of that embodiment, just like depression or substance abuse can be actualizations of embodied trauma.

As mentioned, although settlers witness and/or participate in countless instances of colonialism and racism in their everyday lives, much of the power and privilege associated with colonialism and racism is not registered or expressed at the conscious level. As one facilitator said when referring to settlers or others with power in general, “how *unconscious* we are... how *blind* we are, you know, a lot of us. I mean there’s a lot of intentional harm, but a lot of it is just privilege, white privilege. Never had to look at

this, never had to do it a different way” (F05, emphasis added). In another study by Blanchet-Garneau et al. (2019), participants who expressed an understanding of the importance of continuously examining unconscious biases nonetheless demonstrated that dominant racialized (and harmful) discourses persisted unconsciously.

Colonialism and racism are embedded within social structures, and as our bodies participate daily in those structures, power becomes embedded into settler bodies in a way that is often undetected by the privileged individual or collective. It is just ‘normal’ and easy. One intention of cultural safety training is to bring to the surface that power, which is no small task. It is difficult to actualize at the conscious level.

Power operates through affect and the body, which is why Indigenous bodies were intentional targets of colonialism and racism in the form of capitalism (steal bodies of water and land), residential schools (remove bodies), reserves (contain bodies), compulsory enfranchisement (destroy governing bodies), Indian hospitals (experiment on bodies), or banning ceremony, dance and prayer (inhibit bodily expression). While colonialism and racism specifically target and control Indigenous bodies, over time, the result is settler *disembodiment*, whereby settler colonial bodies become removed from the collective social body. In settler colonialism, settlers may deny or be blind to their affect and lose the capacity to be affected by Indigenous bodies. In many ways, the settler body does not or cannot *move* or *be moved*. For example, there is an Indigenous man in the Emergency Room with a badly broken arm, but the healthcare staff do not see or hear him. He waits in the room for hours unattended. A nurse passes by to go for a coffee break. He does not receive appropriate pain medication. If he is examined, his arm is not

treated or moved with care and gentleness. Notably, this is not about differences in cultural background (or a lack of cultural awareness or sensitivity). This is simply the everyday act of racism: I do not see you; I do not hear you; I do not feel your suffering- I am not *affected*. What I mean to show is that the conditions of settler colonialism insidiously manifest in the engagement of Canadians in their daily lives, wherein Indigenous peoples are rendered invisible (Davis et al., 2016). Another example below given by a facilitator is about an imagined Indigenous person and settler who grow up as neighbours. This example really captures what I mean when I say settlers have been disembodied from the social collective because of their general failure to affect in accountable ways and be affected by Indigenous bodies:

I ask people to sit and to go through questions, so I say to them, in the community you were born and raised in, what were the local First Nations? What were the names of the reserves? What were the names of- do you know the names of any of the Chiefs our Counsellors? Are they in a land claims? Do you know where their traditional territory is? What would have been the closest Indian hospital? What would have been the closest Indian residential school? What percentage of children in your community that are in care are Indigenous? How many in your graduating class- what percentage of them are Indigenous? And I ask all these kind of everyday questions...I just want you to sit and talk about them. Then when they come back, I say I'm going to tell you a story, and it's not a real story, but I want you to just play with me. I'm going to pretend that I was born and raised here in Lekwungen territory and the language I speak is Lekwungen. All of the cultural traditional practices that guide and direct my life take place in a ... or "big house". If I get sick, I'm going to be sent to Nanaimo to the Indian hospital. If the Indian agents come and determine it, I'm going to go to Kuper Island residential school, or I might get sent to Port Alberni, depending on the availability of space or maybe they want to split up my family because my brother two years younger than me- they want to split the two of us up, so they might want to send us to different schools, depends what the Indian Agent feels like doing. My grandmother was born in downtown Victoria, nana, but now she's confined to this little tiny space on the corner of Admirals and Craigflower- so I go on and on and embellish this story of how I live and what my life may be like- and that when I step off the reserve, I know I'm in *Victoria*. I know most of the people speak English, I know Lisa Helps is the mayor, I know a number of the counsellors,

I know where the hospitals are, I know where the schools are, I know that there's churches, and I know there's Catholic and Pentecost, I know there's different nationalities, I know there's Sikh temples, and I just on and on. I know everything about you. And yet, we can grow up side by side- I know everything about you- and you can live right beside me and know nothing about me. What is even more tragic is you don't even have to be curious because we don't matter. That's how *invisible* we are. *You don't see me*. You don't care about me. I might piss you off if my yard is not clean enough for you, or you know, if you're afraid something might get stolen- those are things you might notice about me. And it's a time...when you see [people] go how come I don't know? And that's where I try and pull people right. And the whole thing about Canadian policy and practice- if you don't think you can enter into the lives cause you're afraid of appropriating or not knowing or not understanding- I understand that- but you can understand your policy. The Indian Act is your federal piece of legislation. Yours as a Canadian. Your responsibility. You vote, you pay taxes, you support the department of Indian Affairs. (F09)

If settler colonial bodies are detached from Indigenous suffering, when and how did this happen? How is it that settlers can be so unaffected by and disembodied from the everyday violence and harm they cause?

Our history in Canada is fraught with endless examples of how colonial and racist narratives have dehumanized Indigenous peoples to justify actions and behaviours of colonialism and racism- "they are savages", "they are not intelligent", "they are dirty", "they are less than human". What really has happened here? So much focus is on how settlers dehumanized Indigenous peoples, but I would like to change the narrative to ask, "How have settlers *dehumanized themselves*?"- a process arguably necessary to be able to commit such violence to the point where it is normal and not actually recognized as violence. A study by Kouchaki, Dobson, Waytz and Kteily (2018) demonstrates the vicious cycle of dehumanization and unethical behaviour. They conclude that, while Bandura's seminal work on moral disengagement identifies that dehumanization of other people is a means through which individuals justify immoral actions, the dehumanization

of oneself is also a mechanism of moral disengagement; furthermore, they observed that self-dehumanization significantly mediates the link between initial unethical behaviour and repeated unethicity (Kouchaki, Dobson, Waytz & Kteily, 2018). Settler bodies operate similarly in that they have dehumanized themselves from the social collective to initiate harm and violence toward Indigenous bodies, which subsequently leads to the continued harm and violence of colonialism.

Together colonialism and racism effectively ‘trump humanity’ (i.e. dehumanize), which is arguably a social disease of the highest order because it is rampant and yet invisible to so many people. Indeed, I think something is terribly wrong when people, as social bodies, simply cannot feel- when they are blind to their own affect and are unaffected by others- or when the only feelings they do have are hatred, fear, anger, etc. for reasons they do not know or understand. As one white participant candidly shared in the study of Ward (2018),

That it is hard for us to feel human feelings toward Indigenous people, so when there’s a racist comment that’s made, it somehow gets missed. It somehow gets dropped (p. 85) ... My own personal reflection and what I see in other white people is that these concerns about how I’m going to be seen or creating waves or being seen as a race traitor. These are the things that trump our humanity (p. 86).

In this context, it is not so much about settlers needing to see Indigenous peoples as human and part of humanity, but encouraging settlers to take responsibility for what has happened and continues to happen, so that they can re-humanize themselves and re-enter the social collective. The process is about regaining their own humanity: a settler re-embodiment. Fundamentally, Indigenous cultural safety is affective because it is about how we see, hear, feel and move in the world. Facilitators walk with settlers on this

learning journey as they work through finding a way back to humanity and being a good relative. This is reconciliation- this is new relationships to self, others and land.

5.2.5. Outcome of cultural safety: New relationships, relationship-building and other relational aspects

We are always in relations- we affect and are affected- with everything in the world. Who we are and what we know, how we move in the world, is all in the context of our relationships. The world is entirely relationships and their affects. Understandably, Indigenous cultural safety training is about relationships and the creation of new accountable relationships. “It’s about how do we transform relationships and transform the context so that we can be with and engage with each other in a different way that’s actually helpful and holistic and healing for everybody” (F08).

It’s really about... it’s about relationships and it’s also... the core of it is about autonomy and respect acknowledging that every person you know is the expert in their own experience... I think a lot of the work that needs to be done is in relationship building (F03).

A decolonized approach is to create and maintain relationships. Colonialism disembodies settlers because they go through life blind to or in denial of their affect (harm and violence) and are unaffected by the harm and violence to Indigenous bodies. One facilitator talked about the work of Dr. Joy DeGruy (2005) on Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome, which describes colonialism as an assault on relationships. I see this assault as the inability to be in relation- or in other words, to not affect and be affected in accountable ways. Thus, Indigenous cultural safety ‘re-affects’ settler bodies and invites them back into accountable relation.

Colonialism is about the attack on relationships and that it breaks those relationships that are natural and that are concerned about one another and their environment. It's broken those down right. It's an assault on those relationships. So, in my mind a decolonizing approach is about restoration of relationships with each other, with the world around us and within ourselves as well. So, that's kind of what I think cultural safety work is. It's about exposing that which has kept us separate and then encouraging people to reconnect and letting them experience what it means to reconnect with the circle process and to practice what it means to reconnect and then maybe even try on some new strategies of what it means to interact in a different way. That to me is what cultural safety is (F08).

Facilitators understand that both the structure of the training and where people are in their learning journey affects relationship building. Furthermore, they see the importance of staging the learning, so that they create environments for relationships building to happen. For instance, "scaffolding the learning... we don't start off a conversation with people about privilege, we kind of build up to that. So that's important" (F11). In another example, one facilitator does not include readings on white privilege, but instead discusses it when it feels like there is a relationship.

I don't include white privilege readings in my piece, but it doesn't mean I don't talk about it, because I'm trying to form a relationship with these people... What I teach is about building relationships... It's around wanting to build that rapport... So, I will speak to it, but I'll speak to it at times when I sense that the receptiveness is there (F10).

Relational practice is at the core of facilitator interactions with others, and they attribute much of the success of Indigenous cultural safety initiatives to relationship building and how certain conversations and activities help to nurture those relationships. Therefore, the work involves "not just didactic information... A supported learning relationship is required" (F07). As well, "It's about relationship building. That's what is going to help people stay engaged and get engaged- is relationships" (F11). Other facilitators commented,

So, we are very relational. We use relational practice at the core of absolutely everything we do... The relationship management actually gets people in the door and committed to this learning and coming back to ask us for support... People also need to recognize this is a learning journey and we're all in this together. And so, we do the circle as a part of that. We really believe that it's important to offer people a different way of being other than the colonial system... we really feel like the circle serves that way of connecting and honouring everybody's knowledge and wisdom that they bring... [It has] shifted the culture and maybe not the culture... yeah the culture, the climate, and the tone of the work that we do together. So that's real (F02).

We'll come in, build connections, try to crack them open... The opening circle is team building... It's asking these people that are like I'm Joe Blow and I'm the Director of this. I'm Joe, I'm actually from here. I have kids and I'm a dad and I'm a husband- like who are you, not what do you do?... So, the relationship building aspect of doing things differently (F05).

One facilitator gives a specific example of the learning in practice, and the emergence of new relationship that happens in the process,

A learner who was afraid to talk to Indigenous people because of the shame she felt. So, guilt and shame inhibited her from creating relationships with Indigenous people and she didn't know how to connect with Indigenous people. But saying that she was learning about Indigenous cultural safety created a bridge. So, she was able to say that when she went to a community and they talked about residential schools. They opened the door to conversations around colonization and it created... it built a relationship. So, it supported the two of them to speak more about that and to identify the needs of the children through colonization; that the needs were there because of colonization... So, the person was able to speak to that and learn about the specific impacts of colonization and the experience of colonization from that person and her own family. [Now the settler service provider says] they have a great relationship. She said she looks forward to going to community every time now (F07).

The affects of new relationships can be far-reaching. "When I see the system change... it feels like it is possible because of the relationships that have been built and that are being maintained" (F11). Our relationships are the very essence of life- they *move* us and give us life. When settlers develop new relationships to Indigenous people, built on accountability and respect, they learn a new way to be and re-enter the social body

collective we call humanity. One new relationship can lead to other relationships in both professional and interpersonal spheres, as well to new relationships in all spheres- all relations: self, others, land, world. This is reconciliation.

5.3. Affect

5.3.1. Affective activities and strategies

Indigenous cultural safety training uses affective methods to facilitate settler understanding and learning. As discussed in the literature review, affect theory is useful to better understand: 1) how and why colonialism intentionally targets Indigenous bodies; and 2) how people can learn and make transformative change through the body and emotion. I would like to make it clear that affective activities, affect or learning through the body, is not the only way to create social change. As mentioned, there are risks to affect, such as feelings or behaviours of paralysis, shutting down, helplessness, defensiveness, resistance and/or aggression. For these reasons, some facilitators intentionally take a less affective approach and focus more on the historical content in the hopes of sparking interest and curiosity to learn more, which can lead to change down the road with some success. For example,

I have colleagues whom I trust who have taken the blanket exercise and their concern has been that it goes too far to the empathic – that people come out with a lot of feelings but not a lot of understanding. And so recognizing that the blanket exercise does its thing, I've really thought of the work that we do as having been an opportunity to say now here's some facts and figures and some information and some historical stuff about Canadian colonial policies and practices that you're still going to have an affective response to right, but the goal is for you to come out of here thinking what am I going to do now right? And we talk about that in terms of we recognize that there are people who will feel guilt and shame but we know that guilt and shame are demotivating emotions. They're not motivating like you know and so we really

encourage people who experience that to do the work that they need to do to move past that so that we can do the work that needs to be done rather than just staying there (F01).

While less affective approaches are one way to create change, I argue that our bodies and emotions are powerful learning tools that many facilitators work with to help create new relationships and social change. For example, in the study by Campbell (2019), a program development project explored how dance/movement therapy (DMT) experiences created for the African American community brought forth methods of healing that addressed transgenerational trauma, more specifically Post-Traumatic Slave Syndrome (PTSS). The study demonstrated how DMT-informed approaches enriched participant experiences and created unity and group cohesion; that is, the power of the connection of movement helped to strengthen the connection of the cohort, which encouraged participants to create relationships outside the program using movement as a form of connection and expression (Campbell, 2019). In the context of PTSS, dance is an affective strategy that helps to heal trauma and create relationships.

Some affective activities in Indigenous cultural safety include song, storytelling, relational practice, practicing land acknowledgement, circles, videos, field trips, medicine walks, going out on the land, blanket exercise, physical timeline and baggage exercise. Sometimes these activities spark joy, curiosity and other pleasurable feelings. However, most of these activities draw on and ask people to lean into their discomfort and other such 'negative affects' (e.g. guilt and shame). It purposefully invites those affects into the room- for people to interrogate.

The circle process and protocol are common to many learning and sharing environments. In the context of Indigenous cultural safety training spaces, it offers bodies a new way to be in a space with others. It requires you to speak, listen and hold yourself in a different way. The circle process can make people more consciously aware of and accountable to their actions and behaviours.

It's incredibly supportive for people and also manages... Someone can't hide in a back corner with their cell phone right or ask really provocative or violent questions from the back because they're sitting in a circle with nothing between them... So, they still can ask those questions and in a circle process none of us are gonna respond to those questions. It's just gonna sit there and we talk about that what the rules of the circle are; the guidelines of the circle are. So, it's gonna sit there and they need to know that that's the case right (F02).

The blanket exercise physically moves and positions peoples' bodies, which can have a profound effect on peoples learning. There are variations to the blanket exercise, but in general "it's an interactive way of learning" (F10). A common way to do the exercise is the facilitator tells the story of first contact and as the story unfolds, participant blankets are made smaller; they must constantly re-position their feet and body to remain on the ever-shrinking blanket. Participants are asked to step off their blankets and exit, which symbolizes disease, war and erasure. To show how settlers appropriated and stole land, other blankets are removed or moved. At the end, only a few 'survivors' remain - left standing on small square of a blanket. Those left represent the small number of Indigenous people who remain on traditional territories after 500 years of colonialism. This participatory educational approach is interactive or 'inter-affective'- it is the physical enactment of Canadian history from an Indigenous perspective and the intention is to access potentiality and the emotional self to (re)learn colonialism through the body

and emotion. This interactive and experiential way to learn can also help to build relationships.

For affective activities to have more meaning, it is important to stage the learning (discussed in *sections 5.2.1. Structure of Indigenous cultural safety training* and *5.2.5. Outcome of cultural safety*). To do this, facilitators often ask or require some pre-learning from people, such as acquiring some background or foundational knowledge about colonial policy (e.g. residential schools, Indian hospitals, etc.) before participation in more advanced experiential learning like the blanket exercise.

So, I think that when I do any exercises at all if people can come in with some of that learning it's really valuable. I don't like to facilitate a blanket exercise unless somebody has done some pre-learning first because I think the blanket exercise has more meaning for somebody when they know the history. And then they start to understand all the historical pieces they have learned (F06).

Furthermore, the blanket exercise provides more context and meaning by localizing it.

Adding the dimension of proximity can increase learning.

When we do the blanket exercise, we also localize the training. So, looking at say in BC or on the Island what is still happening today that might have been seen as historical but it's still ongoing. And so, we'll talk about like the fight for fish farms. We'll talk about Trans Mountain pipeline. We'll talk about missing and murdered Indigenous women and how that's still happening. We'll talk about children in care and how it's still on the rise – Indigenous children in care... like I'll bring those kinds of things in and so for people to see that... it's still happening today, really heightens their awareness around what's going on around them (F06).

Some variations of the blanket exercise include more emphasis on role-playing,

A decolonizing workshop around... like the blanket exercise... you actually play roles and... walks you through the colonial history. It's quite a profound workshop and... really kind of a shock... you're embodying a residential school survivor. You're embodying an Indian agent. You know you're asked to play and walk through the history (F05).

The physical timeline and baggage exercise are two more affective participatory educational methods. As the name suggests, the physical timeline asks people to create a timeline with cards that they physically move around to better understand both historical and ongoing colonialism. Importantly, activities must include present day harm and violence because they implicate modern society. Otherwise, people will disassociate themselves from the harm and violence, which is a form of resistance. For example, in an interview following the release of the TRC Report, “it was telling to hear a media host begin questioning with the statement that many Canadians do not see a connection between themselves and Indian Residential Schools because that happened so long ago” (Davis, Hiller, James, Lloyd, Nasca & Taylor, 2016, p. 2). When people hear of past harm and violence, such as residential schools, the common go-to is to think that the harm and violence is all in the past. Therefore, people must be made to understand the ways in which the harm and violence is ongoing.

It was basically an experiential learning opportunity that- and it's changed in format a little now, but it's- you know, you sit in circle, there's a series of cards, timeline cards with- you've probably heard of that learning pedagogy-... on each card there's a piece of history of colonization leading up to present day and you engage with the people in the circle to figure out where those cards are placed on the colonial timeline.... They can get moved around... The facilitators hand out all the cards to the participants, one by one they stand up and they read the card and they place it where they think it goes on the timeline. People can help, the facilitator can help if they're struggling or if they're shy or having emotions or what have you. So, they place it on the timeline and the facilitator will bring their own- either some of their own story or context to the card to kind of contextualize it within reality, although it is reality, it's different when a person is speaking to it, especially from experience (F03).

It's a physical timeline. So, people have to put it together and they read it out, so it becomes visceral....Doing something with the body that is going to emit some kind of inner feeling and tangible visceral engagement. Then when we talk about scenarios, I provide some frameworks for how do you break those

down? How do you understand what's going on in these scenarios? And what's your goal? So, people just going through a lot of self-reflection individually and then in a group about okay, what is actually going on here? And so, people learn, especially over two days, they move from more of a surface level to really connecting the dots between history and current day. As I'm sure you know, a lot of people think everything is in the past, and so looking at history as connected to how is it continuing. How are these patterns continuing? So, that's where people - that's what emerges from people when they have to look at a kind of a realistic scenario of something that could happen in their workplace (F04).

There is concern that the affective experience of the baggage exercise may actually reinforce racism and colonialism, so facilitators are now reluctant to use it. As discussed in *section 5.2.2. Roles and responsibilities of facilitators*, facilitators are always assessing and reassessing the affect and impact of their facilitation and will make modifications according to new knowledge and understanding. Although there are variations to the exercise, one facilitator discusses how the baggage exercise could affect people in an undesired way,

You ask everybody to put their bags in the centre of the room. You ask for volunteers for somebody to be a mother and a father and then a child and so basically what you do is you go through the whole system of where a child is removed from the family and all of the impacts that has on the family and the community and the child. And then you put all these...So, every time somebody identifies what that means... what happens to the family as a result of their child being removed you put a bag on them and then they have to carry all these bags. And then... And then you ask them what it's like to walk through life carrying all this baggage and then you put it on the child. So, because you're impacted and then you're passing it onto the next generation. So, then your child is carrying it and this helps people somehow recognize the intergenerational trauma that can exist. But where I've come to with that exercise is that it really pathologizes Indigenous people and so there's so much danger in that. And then people want to then go over and above to try to "help" Indigenous people, but there is danger in this as well because it messages out that Indigenous people are not capable of supporting themselves (F06).

Another affective strategy is to role model and 'act out' for individuals and groups how you respond to racism and how to act as a good relative. Role modeling allows aggressive

or ignorant comments to be put back onto the individual or group for deconstruction.

Facilitators can use the affect of a ‘zinger’ as a learning tool (e.g. use the noticeable tension in the room for experiential learning), which takes skill and practice to facilitate.

Facilitators invite, guide, support, and encourage others to change by role modeling how we can be to one another.

You often get someone who says well my so and so was robbed by a- you know, things like that and just having to you know, respond really respectfully so that everyone can see you respond... So, as a facilitator just trying to be- the hardest thing for me is to stick true to my values and beliefs, but not foregoing answering a challenging question... Sometimes answering these questions is difficult because if I get bitchy and cranky, I’m not doing that with a good mind and a good heart. So, there’s a part of this work that’s role-modeling how to be. But there’s also a part of this work that needs to be really strong and stand up, so there’s those moments of being able to say that’s a really good question because I can see how complicated it is and I can see how passionate about it you are, however, I really want you to think about this. And that takes practice (F09).

I think we have to be role models and we have to be active in our own healing both within ourselves and within our relationships around us too... Individuals have come to me at coffee break, lunch break or at the end of a session and they’ve said things like I’m gonna call my mom. I’m gonna call my dad and talk about this trauma that our family carries because I see that now how I’ve been raised and how I’ve been led to believe based on the trauma that they experienced or they maybe come from a company or somewhere that’s experienced trauma and to realize that wow we’re carrying all of this. No wonder why I’m like this and no wonder why I’m a mess. And so, they’ve been working at trying to restore those relationships that have not been so good with their family as well. So, anyway and to realize their own... what they’re carrying. And so, I think as facilitators we have to be on that journey as well because I’ve never... peeling back the layers within ourselves and building relationships that are... Building relationships that play that role of encouraging you too cause that’s been my experience is my partner and myself and my children and friends and some other members of my family that are also on this journey of healing those serve to buoy you and to keep you healthy right... I think that that’s what we have to do cause I think if we’re not we will look to the system and what the system has created in us to do the work. So, we’ll use... and there’s that old saying about using the master’s tool to tear down the master’s house. That’s what we’ll end up doing. We’ll end up using the master’s tool to try to do cultural safety work and we’ll end up you know using

facts that are based in shame and in fear and sometimes being nasty towards one another. I've seen that is that we don't treat each other in cultural safety ways try to do this work. So, I think it almost boils down to for us as facilitators if we're talking about cultural safety encouraging cultural safety within the structures of organizations we have to operate in culturally safe ways with our family, our loved ones, our peers and our colleagues in this work and even in the workshop setting cause we have to model what it means to be culturally safe. That can be really hard... to enter into a workshop setting where you're going to practice being culturally safe with the folks who represent the colonizer. It's really hard. You have to be you know very kind of grounded and active in their journey of seeing the big picture of why it's important to treat people in those healthy ways to encourage them to actually listen to cause if you come in with guns blazing and pointing fingers they shut down. They literally can't hear you because stuff is going on within your body. The vagus nerve system that literally closes your ears... I think you can only create that setting is when you're on the journey and you have an understanding of what that means for you in your own body as far as healing goes (F08).

When there is actualized and expressed racism in any form, those moments are learning opportunities that provide ways to role model for others how to deal with expressions of racism and colonialism in everyday life.

Some individuals in the room try to challenge or pull the rug out from under my feet. There have been some real zingers thrown at me... The most powerful moments are when those zingers happen, it's kind of - it's not irrelevant but it's less important if that person gets the learning. And what's important is the other 19 people, and what they witness when that happens, and so what I could say is when zingers happen - and by zingers, I mean something is thrown at me that's trying to knock me down or make a comment about Indigenous people, trying to disrupt things or trying to make an accusation about the learning or whatever it is - what I've learned to do is really just stop and just be really calm. And pause. And be very deliberate about the pause... Oh my god the silence. And just... we have a learning moment here. What's that about? And put it back to that person or - but actually back to the group cause with conflict, the other 19 people are wondering what's going to happen? Ya, is [facilitator] going to like yell at him or is [facilitator] going- how's [facilitator] going to handle this or how's [facilitator] doing? Or oh my god I can't believe that guy said that or - all these things are going on in the room. And when they see that actually there's a process in place to deal with it, we're role modeling to those 19 other people how to deal with that same process in their organization. So, because - that's what I hang onto, I guess. I hang onto that, so I hang onto the bigger outcome and that person frankly becomes the tool. They just become a tool (F04).

An important consideration is how to remain accountable after an affective experience. How do people continue and stay committed to the learning? It may be necessary for people to engage in multiple sessions over time, which I discussed in *section 5.2.1. Structure of Indigenous cultural safety training*. As well, facilitators would like there to be more follow up after sessions because once people return to their everyday workplace, it is easy to slip back into racism and colonialism. For example, “I think I see lights coming on all the time in people. How long they stay on for I’m not sure” (F11). People share with facilitators how easy it is to return to being racist.

I find the... an experiential experience like the blanket exercise very impactful but in isolation I don’t think it shifts behaviour; ‘cause we’ll have people that have done... a one day blanket exercise, in person, heart based facilitation day, then go back and do [other Indigenous cultural safety] and say if I don’t have this accountability I go back to my whiteness (F05).

Exactly how far-reaching the affective activities are in Indigenous cultural safety spaces is unknown. However, because they offer the opportunity to be in a way that is markedly different from the everyday, they can serve as a powerful starting place that wakes people up. This wake up- or aha moment- are spaces of potentiality that can open the door for deeper learning and new relations.

5.3.2. Physical experiences and emotions

The body is a very important consideration in the design and delivery of Indigenous cultural safety training because we experience, remember, learn and communicate through affect and our body. For example, one facilitator was learning more about the powerful mechanism of our vagus nerve to help understand what is going on with

individuals at a workshop setting. The vagus nerve is the longest nerve in the nervous system, and it regulates many critical aspects of human physiology, such as heart rate, digestion, blood pressure, sweating and speaking (Fogoros, 2019). For this one facilitator, the vagus nerve helped to explain resistance to change, “They literally can’t hear you because stuff is going on within [their] body. The vagus nerve system that literally closes your ears” (F08). Rather than maintaining a focus on cognitive learning alone, this facilitator offers insight into the ways in which our bodies are sites of learning. Other research has identified that vagus nerve stimulation (VNS), a medical treatment that involves delivering electrical impulses to the vagus nerve, enhances learning and memory, as well as offers therapeutic effects for conditions like depression, arthritis, epilepsy and stroke (Sanders et al., 2019). For example, one study generated statistically significant results that people who were treatment resistant and continued to experience severe and chronic depression benefitted from vagus nerve stimulation compared with people in a treatment-as-usual group (Aaronson et al., 2017).

What is a body? What can a body do? In what ways do facilitators address the physical state of participants and purposefully work with the body to achieve the learning outcomes?

Not that I’m trying to diagnose them but I know that there’s things going on within their body that maybe my setting, the way that I set up the workshop can help to alleviate, to bring people into a little calmer state. So that they can actually hear what I have to say and the materials say and they can hear each other and that they can hear themselves and start to see and heal through their lenses, their understanding, and then their own experiences as well. Maybe the experiences of their ancestors you know, that are impacting at this very moment. How do I kind of provide the best setting where people can see that...? (F08)

This section explores, more in-depth, the ways that facilitators specifically use affect, especially physical states, emotions and feelings of discomfort, as they implicate settlers in everyday acts of colonial violence and systemic racism.

And we'd recognize that there are some people for whom that is the biggest work; is they were sort of blissfully ignorant. They were happy because they didn't know what they didn't know and now... something has changed for them physically and so they need to then do some of that work to process it however they do. And we're really frank about that, that everybody has their own process for dealing with it; just encourage people to do that work (F01).

These topics are often 'heated' in that they generate affect and/or emotions such as sadness, guilt, shame, fear and anger, especially for settlers who can usually go about everyday settler violence with a sense of complicity and normality (i.e. blind to or in denial of their affect and not affected by the suffering of Indigenous bodies). Before people even step into the training, they are out of the 'everyday' and in a place of heightened affect, which also means they are in a place of potentiality.

So, we front load tremendously into that space and by front loading I mean we work hard to prepare for people... to hold the space for people's resistance and reactions. People come to our workshops crying before they even get there and then they sit down and they're crying when they arrive. So, we really spend a lot of time thinking about how do we create a brave space for people where people are able to feel like they have the room to challenge us, to ask us deep and important questions that they have never had the opportunity to do and that they themselves are able to express their emotions and their feelings in the way that they need to (F02).

Facilitators are aware these topics will bring certain affects to the surface and they intentionally monitor, use and direct such affects to facilitate the necessary unlearning and learning, which creates opportunities for relationship-building and social change. For example, "they're accessing the learning through their own discomfort. It is transformative learning that they're doing" (F02). To become a racist is easy, but to

unbecome racist is painful and uncomfortable. “To unbecome is excruciatingly painful because it’s actually about going deep down inside and confronting those really painful thoughts that we have” (F09). In many ways, the affect and emotional response that emerges is appropriate given the context that they have gone about affectless and in denial of the harm and violence. “People start to feel some shame, but it’s not the kind of shame they feel like a bad person... It’s healthy shame. It’s shame that is actually kind of appropriate” (F04).

The work by Boudreau Morris (2016) argues for “the importance of listening to our discomforts, sitting with them and wading through them, and then deploying them towards decolonization” (p. 457). Although we associate discomfort with ‘feeling bad’ and something to avoid, feelings of discomfort are part of relational practice and an effective way to learn and create social bonds with others based on constant and uncomfortable engagement with difference (rather than ignoring and/or bypassing such difference). As discussed, multiculturalism, diversity and colorblindness discourses place everyone as equal and lacks a critical race lens (i.e. ignores power imbalance). In contrast to such discourses, Indigenous cultural safety training posits that engagement with power is necessary given that Indigenous peoples have unique historical, political and social experiences of racism and discrimination, as well as distinctive sovereign rights as First Peoples. Therefore, decolonization and relational practice “necessitate, and should in fact nurture, a practice of discomfort and questioning/listening, first with ourselves as a basis from which we can then engage in specific, contextualized, and contingent conversations with and listening to others” (p. 464). Discomfort arises when we listen to others and learn about ourselves because it can create uncertainty as it calls into question one’s own

identity. Who am I? What is my position in the world? How do I move in the world?
How do I affect? How am I affected?

Similarly, Indigenous cultural safety facilitators ask people to lean into the affect of discomfort. “Often this is not going to be comfortable. We invite people to challenge themselves... It’s very unsettling. And we actually want you to lean into, like not shy away from it, lean into it” (F04). Facilitators are courageous in these spaces and face the discomfort in others head on.

But there was a participant that really- you could tell- it was a surprise actually that it was going to have that impact on that particular person. I don’t think it’s a bad thing to be uncomfortable and I speak to that in regards to the learning that we’re doing, that it can be uncomfortable and unpleasant even... [and] I don’t care if it’s uncomfortable (F10).

Shame and guilt are particularly common affects of Indigenous cultural safety training. Facilitators try to work with feelings of shame and guilt by asking people to interrogate why they are reacting with those emotions in the first place. This exercise is very challenging for settlers. As a result, settlers will often try to deflect or dismiss the learning.

I think there’s a real challenge to keep the focus on Indigenous-specific racism because there is so much shame and guilt associated with, not just our history, but with the realities that we’re complicit in now. That we’re still benefiting from the land, that we’re still benefiting from stolen resources and land, and that we’re still standing by while Indigenous children are taken, while an Indigenous young girl is getting handcuffed while trying to open a bank account- the fact that we’re living in this reality now- Indigenous women and girls are going missing and murdered under our watch... The discomfort around that I think makes it so people want to talk about well racism to everyone is bad and to not look at the specific and unique realities Indigenous people face in this country and the unique and specific dynamics and privileges we have as settlers. I think that is a big challenge (F11).

Sometimes people shut down because they are not in a place to receive the learning.

There are also people who are going to disengage. And that used to really upset me giving sessions where people would fall asleep in the middle of the session. But then I spoke to one of the Elders about it and the Elder said you know that's not about the work we're doing. It could just be that that person's body is saying we can't... This isn't the time for us to hear this right now so they're just sort of powering down so that they're not overwhelmed or so they're not damaged by what they're hearing... They're not ready to hear it (F01).

As well, too much affect can demotivate or cause paralysis, shutting down or other unhelpful outcomes. How much affect is enough and how much is too much? The facilitators are highly skilled individuals and teams that are careful to work with the right amount of affect that supports and encourages learning.

...So, there's a tension between how much is enough challenge to unsettle people in a way that they're like okay, oh I get it, as opposed to them shutting down because they're too challenged, where it's too much (F04).

And then during that supporting a learner to stay engaged even through an unsettling emotional process... So, you support them. You acknowledge that... We make space for that to be a part of the process and say you know at the beginning of some of the workshops we'll say we are going to be talking about some difficult information and it would be expected for people to have some kind of an emotional response and we encourage you to stay engaged as you move along for non-Indigenous people... so it's done in a certain way to engage and support the learner. So yeah, I'd say there's some and teaching anyone anything you want to support the learner to stay engaged. And that's the goal is to keep the discussion going (F07).

How do the work in a good way, that walks alongside people, that keeps them in the conversation, because there's so many ways out, so many different ways to get out of the conversation because of the difficult emotions. I think that's one of the biggest challenges.... [Canadians] have these narratives about a peaceful country, peace-keeping people, you know we like to compare ourselves to the United States and say we're awesome and friendly and polite. So, we have to be willing to go through that cognitive dissonance that this work requires. And so, I think one of the challenges is making sure people don't run from you, that you walk alongside them (F11).

You being stuck in shame isn't support us, but you being stuck in action and wanting to learn and being more understanding is where we're going to benefit.

We try to leave people with an awareness, probably feeling guilty and ashamed, but not beat up... Not paralysed, but curious. Curious. And maybe angry. Like why the fuck don't I know this? Why don't I know this? (F09).

One thing that I'm really aware of when I facilitate is that we try to end with some optimism, something positive, because we know that this is hard work. Our history it's really, really horrible and tough and so if we're gonna focus on that all the time people are gonna walk away feeling like overwhelmed and depleted and just not really knowing how to move forward... and so I always try to balance it (F06).

The potentiality and heightened affect in these spaces can open a person to new understanding and a new way of being in the world. Openness is central to affect.

Those TRC videos, they're just short little clips of testimonies from different survivors... I don't know if it's shock or the first time they've heard that... but people's compassion and *openness can increase*... There are tears more often than not. There are tears... at some point. The short answer would be in regards to how I can tell [if there is change] is the level of emotion. It can be anger or sorrow or at least sadness in how they response to the material. They are *choosing to be open* and vulnerable and engaged (F10, emphasis added).

We need to create environments, affective environments, for something new to happen.

What can emerge from our relations to self, others and land when we are in the moment?

What can we create and achieve together when our relations are different? When we allow for emergence?

I think we have to kind of re-think the way that we think about planning and moving things forward and just creating those kind of holistic settings, where profound things can emerge out of there. So anyways, that's one of the ways that I think about all of this and it's hard to do, especially when for me and my experience of working with leaders, they're very tied to those plans and a lot of times that's their identity that they're good planners and they can stick to the plan and they can encourage people into the plan. And now, you're asking people to throw those plans away and just allow for in the moment settings of creating those settings that happen in the moment to hear, to learn, from one another and then see what's emerging out of that. It's a different... a whole different way of being. There's a story that my Haudenosaunee friend told me. He said a long time ago- I think it was during maybe around like Oka and what was going on in the nineties- and somebody was interviewing a leader from a

Haudenosaunee community and they were talking about what's going on, the protests, and all of that. The reporter made this comment, he said, "Why don't you just tell your people what to do?" and then this leader said, "If I told my people what to do I'd no longer be their leader." So, I think about that and I like that kind of understanding. I think a leader is somebody that listens to what's going on in their world and then is in the moment with them and helps to bring together what might be the best way forward, what makes the best sense for all of us here. And I think it's not just limited to the people that are gathered. It's about the knowledge of what's going on in the outside world as well and it's about also the knowledge of what's going on for you inside in your committed journey and kind of bringing all those pieces together and being present for the people that you're working with to help create a way forward that everybody feels they're on this way forward (F08).

5.3.3. Critical points and emergence: Re-embodied settlers

In our openness to affect and being affected, there are critical points when potentiality can be actualized. The settler body has lived in denial or become numb to its affect on Indigenous bodies and is unaffected by the suffering of Indigenous bodies. The affect that has 'stuck' to settlers- how settlers move in this world and are moved by it- is negative and in the form of hate, aggression, or fear. These affects have given the settler a sense of power over Indigenous bodies. Facilitators try to shake up these relations, and in some way 're-affect'. They use affect for its potentiality as a window, a turning point, a critical point for emergence. It is a point of movement and difference- when something that has not happened before can happen.

It's like if somebody is gonna come crying and they're willing to be here and cry then I want to do my best in that moment, in that opportunity, and not just that moment but I want to bring our wisest practices, the best we have to offer, *to move that because this window doesn't happen all the time...* and so, we need to do it the best we're able to do. And I keep using the word best but I don't necessarily mean the best. I mean I want to *see that it creates the changes* (F02, emphasis added).

The world is made up of bodies that affect and are affected. We learn, experience, understand, remember (feedback loop), create and act through bodies. Therefore, change begins with the body as new pathways and critical points lead to emergence. The training sessions offer a space to start this process- to change worldviews and change how we move and relate to other bodies in the world. When bodies change, the world changes. However, change of this magnitude takes time and learning must be ongoing. Indeed, the sessions only scratch the surface of what change can look like. It is a beginning. There must be opportunities after the workshop to keep it moving.

Yeah, I think the way that our brain works – with things like cognitive dissonance, with things like you know for me healing is about... We're kind of stuck in neural pathways that have us doing things a certain way. So, *healing is about creating new neural pathways within our brain to actually start doing things differently*. Because I think we do a lot of things out of habit, which to me that is attached to neuro pathways and those are pretty entrenched. So *we have to re-create new neuro-pathways* and that takes consistency and I think that that's a limitation in this work is that we often want a quick fix and we want a onetime workshop that's here it is ... you've done the one time workshop now go and do it completely different. When you've had one day, maybe a few hours, to think about it, to work with this. And that's not enough to change those neuro-pathways so... the way that we operate in Western systems is very fast paced, very with work always trying to be efficient so we don't put enough resources towards things. I think all of those are the limitations to all of this is that we try to use the structure of the Western world to incorporate cultural safety when it's the concept itself and the understanding come from a different world view right. We try to fit it into this world view and I don't think that that works very well and then you have to be able to come outside of that world view that really would live and incorporate this world view so that it gets better as those neuro-pathways change and then we could look at the system and say okay well there's a whole bunch of changes we need to make here. Let's create something that's based in this world view and not in a Western colonist world. (F08, emphasis added).

Power functions and governs at the incorporeal dimensions of life - to move bodies into relations with other bodies- bodies of people, bodies of communities, bodies of knowledge, and bodies of land. I see much of the workings of colonialism and racism at

this incorporeal level, where settlers inflict harm and violence without awareness. They just do not consciously think about it all that much- and they do not need to. The systems and structures are set up to facilitate ignorance. Thus, facilitators of Indigenous cultural safety training invite and support the unaware settler on a learning journey toward a critical point where a sense of awareness and responsibility to be different can emerge. For example, although facilitators have started to question the affect and outcome of the baggage exercise, when the learning does hit its mark, it hits hard. It is “very profound for people... when you witness people get that - boy do they get that! And to me the whole intention of the work that I do is to shift this gaze” (F02). Many facilitators talked in terms of hitting a critical point that can create transformational social change.

I tell myself that I’m wanting [people] of course to meet these learning objectives, but what I’m really wanting is transformation to happen. For [people] to have a transformative experience where their worldview shifts, and they want to go out and learn more after... People will share in regards to that transformation how they- sometimes it can be as simple as how they plan to work differently... They will share that they brought this up with a friend or a partner or my children, and sometimes they are sharing that relationships are being put at risk because they’re unpacking perhaps their own racism, and sometimes their self-proclaimed ignorance and racism with those people in their lives, and realizing that they’re learning and unpacking this although those around them aren’t. Sometimes they want to be a part of that process of helping them unpack that- some are and some aren’t. There is one participant in particular that I’m thinking of and wondering how that marriage is going? Because she would talk to me about that. I get touched when people talk about how they engage with people and wanting to share what they’re learning, even though they know they may be at risk of needing to defend that and being put on guard. Some of those types of sharing tell me that people are really invested in that learning. (F10).

There’s many layers to it and so and when people say you know I’ve never thought about like they’ve lived in two or three places in this country we call Canada and it never occurred to them to ask questions about it. Or when people say you know there were Indigenous children in my school and I never asked questions about why they rode a different bus or like when people start unpacking their own experiences and looking at their own experiences in

different ways. I think that's when I feel some contentment about the work that we're doing... that people might come out feeling overwhelmed and shitty and then take a little bit of time and something will come and go oh I see this differently now (F01).

Sitting in those rooms with those people and watching the change happen it's like seeing people come in not knowing, maybe we're having varying levels of knowledge and then going around in circle and hearing what they came in with and their biases- of what they were holding- and some people are really honest about the stereotypes that they would have about Indigenous people- and then saying I'm never going to look at this the same way again... It's really powerful change... Hearing those people say- will forever change- means something you know (F03).

Many facilitators remarked on the how significant the change could be.

When I'm in a workshop, there's lots of moments, there's lots of times absolutely. There's lots of times where it's either through body language or it's just through a recognition or through an overt statement from a participant who says, 'wow I had no idea'... There's a shift. They might say I came into this workshop with this idea- this often happens in a two day one as opposed to a three hour one- I came in with this idea and then at the end of it- or even on the morning of day two, well I can already see how I haven't been considering this, this and this. And saying it in a way that they don't feel blamed... The magnitude, the learning shift, the ability to - for them to be okay with themselves - it's a *huge* learning moment. And that they might have actually caused harm. They might have cause harm and being able to work through those learning stages and come out the other side. Ya, so I've seen all of that. I've seen in workshops people just really- I would say 80% of the people in a two-day workshop are like... there's some transformation by the end absolutely (F04).

That I can be moved to tears hearing leaders reflect on the mistakes they've made. It's profound cause I'm pretty sure they're not going to make them again, by the sounds of things (F11).

One of the most profound impacts of Indigenous cultural safety training is that people can leave those spaces with transformative change and emergence. At these critical moments, settlers can ask themselves, who can I be now? How do I want to move in this world? How do I affect? How am I affected? What are my relations? How am I accountable to my relations?

They share their feelings of being angry of not being taught this and why they haven't been taught and the disbelief. I think for many they're still sorting through it all and I think they're still trying to, I suppose, *trying to find who they are* within this new context of what they know now as Canada (F10, emphasis added).

A facilitator recalls a participant approaching sometime after taking a training to express the profoundness and extend of her learning and growth. Thus, the emergence in the training does have some potential to carry on after and keep growing. This person also clearly demonstrates new relationships to herself, others and the land.

She said it was probably one of the biggest teaching moments in my life. She said I want you to know that I have not stopped thinking about a number of things that you said since that day. The one thing I think about is how do I walk on the land that I'm on now? I haven't stopped thinking about that. Whose land is it? Who was here before us? Where are they from and what are their names? What are the names of the community? She had to just stop and say I want you to know. I think about that (F09).

When he analyzed how power operates in culture, affect theorist Massumi (1995) gave the example of President Regan to argue that affective means translate or actualize virtuality. That is, affective means can actualize (i.e. materialize) to us the non-material (or spiritual) dimensions of a body. In this regard, he says Regan's incoherent and discontinuous speech, along with the timbre of his voice, embodied the intensity of affect and translated virtuality- a critical point of emergence. Regan's speech made 'cuts' that opened things up; "at each jerk, at each cut into the movement, the potential is there for the movement to veer off in another direction, to become a different movement...his means were affective" (p.102).

The affective means of Indigenous cultural safety training also create 'cuts' and 'interruptions' that are pathways to virtuality (or spirituality), potentiality, critical points

and emergence, which explains why transformative learning and social change (i.e. new understandings of our position and movement in the world) may not happen through cognition alone. Change emerges out of embodied experiences and sensations. As described by facilitators, “they’ve been figuratively unsettled right and something has changed for them *physically*” (F01) or “doing something with the body that is going to emit some kind of inner feeling and tangible *visceral engagement*” (F04) or “help folks *move...come in, build connections, try to crack them open*” (F05).

In Indigenous cultural safety training, what happens during these physical experiences and sensations is the settler sense of power is interrupted and precariously displaced, which is often described by facilitators as overt discomfort. This discomfort is a ‘critical point’. One facilitator detailed the process of guiding people into the “red zone” or critical point to transformative learning and social change:

So, you have your comfort zone and then you have your red zone and we’re trying to get people on their learning edge...actually what we’re trying to do is take them through the red zone. We’re actually trying to support them through the red zone cause this work is red zone work and we cannot... we can’t get around it. We can try as much as we like but until people are like able to deal with their stuff and get really uncomfortable and see themselves, nothing is gonna happen. If we get them on their edge, that’s great, but it doesn’t motivate the movement we need (F02).

Once affect is expressed or actualized, it can feed back into the virtual field (i.e. unconscious, embodied or spiritual), reshaping it and giving it an incipient kind of organization (Lim, 2010). One of the objectives of Indigenous cultural safety training is to target the organization of the virtual and actual, to make people aware of and feel how their power affects others in the world in the form of harm and violence. The hope is that, after the training and this critical point, people can no longer inactively witness or

participate in power and racism at an unconscious level. “Essentially what ICS training is designed to do, is help people take a critical look at themselves, their privilege and power they can carry as non-Indigenous people...people *start to really see their own power* and privilege that they carry with them” (F06). Arguably, people start to not only see, but also *feel* the power imbalances embedded in our social structures. After the training, when there are moments of actualized colonialism and racism, they become perceptible moments of interruption and suspension. A jerk. A cut. In time. Some noticeable feeling in the gut that was not there a moment before. “They won’t even notice they’ve heard it or learned it [in training] and they’ll be in a situation and they’ll go, oh I’ve heard about this or something like that” (F01). Seen and felt, these moments can be consciously registered as discomfort or just even a recognition of some sort. A red zone. A red flag. A dismissive behaviour or racist comment does not as easily go past you unregistered. These moments are “crucibles of learning to happen and for the change to occur. And then it’s like a domino effect sometimes. It’s like you see that one more thing and go oh I see, and then you see it [the racism] everywhere” (F07). These moments are, in themselves, affect; they are high intensity and critical points where people are again activated and propelled into new ways that are then folded back into the body. They are relationships returning and creating- bodies re-embodied and becoming.

5.4. Challenges

5.4.1. Preparation

In their work, facilitators are intentional and purposeful, as well as thoughtful and careful. Given the stakes for real change or potential for further harm to either people or

themselves, it takes time and energy to prepare and facilitate these spaces. “The preparation. If people aren’t prepared- before they do a workshop- the amount of preparation for a workshop can be really more work than a workshop, depending on a lot of things” (F04). The time spent in preparation is not only important in terms of content (i.e. what to include or what not to include) and for best learning outcomes (i.e. personal and social change), it is also necessary for the physical, emotional, mental and spiritual wellness of facilitators. Colonialism and racism cause a great deal of harm and violence in everyday life. Within these spaces, there is the potential for even more harm and violence, so there is a lot at risk. Without considering the wellness of facilitators, the potential for harm and violence can be easily actualized.

It takes me time to prepare for this right...This isn't something that you can just slot in, in that two-hour break between other meetings right. For me to do it well and for me to be well doing it I need to be prepared and I also need to respect that there will be times that I'm also going to need a period of time to decompress after the session whether it goes well or not right. Because one of the things I notice is that there are many pieces of the presentation we do that affect me emotionally. I can never predict from day to day which one is going to be the one that has the biggest impact on me and so I also have done this enough and have learned the hard way about the kind of preparation that I need to do that I'm able to do what I need to do to prepare but there are still going to be times, especially if there are other things going on or I didn't sleep well the night before that well this is affecting me more than it usually does. So, I need to find a way to take care of myself and be gentle with myself... I have not felt harmed but I have felt attacked and this is part of the preparation and so there have definitely been times where I have dealt with defensiveness and aggression from participants, less so during the sessions, often people have a lot of things they want to say to me afterwards and... Well not often. There have been times and there have been even people have come up to me as much as a week after a session to say you know what I don't like what you're doing or I don't think you understand what you're doing or I don't think you're doing the right thing and that's part of that debrief with the Elder and that's part of my own preparation is being able to say this isn't actually about me.... The emotions this person is feeling, the reaction they're having is not actually about me. It's about there's something going on for them and this is why it's so

important for me to be prepared because if I'm not in a good space there's a chance I will make it about me and then escalate the situation right (F01).

We can only take people as far as we've been on our own journey – our own racial identity development if that's what you want to talk about it from a theoretical point of view, how we're doing emotionally and spiritually and all of those things and if we're ready for that workshop. So, we also hold ourselves as part of the preparation for those workshops too (F02).

5.4.2. Demand and capacity

Demand

This work comes with very high demands and to be well in it requires boundaries. Some facilitators are aware of the demands placed on them, which often comes with experience (e.g. already experienced burnout), and therefore, they are clear about the boundaries they must have to do this work well and maintain their own wellness.

I set boundaries around how often I'm willing to do it. I set boundaries around how big of a group I'm willing to do it with. I set boundaries on the frequency. So, if I know I have a busy week in my calendar and somebody emails and says can we have it this week, the answer has to be no (F01).

At other times, given the nature of the work, it can be difficult to create and maintain boundaries or to not feel overburdened by the demands.

There is no such thing as sitting back and relaxing in this work. If I'm in my office I am like absolutely inundated with everybody that wants to talk to me and there's a lot of emotional components that are associated with this... We don't have space and time to think. We're literally like way over capacity running from meeting to meeting, training to training, and so you need time to be able to think. You need time to be able to be mindful (F02).

Boundaries and limits can be hard to maintain because of feeling the need to do more.

One facilitator said, "I've had to [set boundaries] and I'm not good at it" (F07). Another commented,

So yes, I can do boundaries. I'm supported to do that. How strong those boundaries are from my point of view – probably not very good and yeah and I wouldn't sleep at night also if I didn't do some of this stuff so... (F02).

A certain amount of time is necessary when facilitating Indigenous cultural safety trainings and not enough time can severely hamper the depth of learning. Sometimes organizations or people want to bring in Indigenous cultural safety, but request the facilitator provide a condensed - or “Coles Notes” version - of the training. This demand is a challenge because facilitators can struggle with what content to keep in and what to take out and yet, still create the opportunity for tangible learning.

Like we constantly get resistance around... like yesterday I got an email. Oh, that blanket exercise looks great but we don't have 3 hours. Can you come in and do an hour? It's like sure. (*Sighs and laughs*) (F05).

I might have a framework that I will use, but different organizations have different requests, they have different needs... There's a basic structure for sure, like that timeline, right? But even that, well if somebody says well, we only want you to be here for 4 hours. How am I going to do that?... And do I do it? Or how long do I do it? In what way do I do it? And what are the other links to attach to it within that short amount of time? (F04).

Capacity

Facilitators caution that this work is not for everyone. Whether Indigenous or settler, facilitators should be far enough along on their own healing journey and racial identity development. As well, there are certain attributes required, which can come from multiple sources such as personality, lived or work experience, academic background and relationships (e.g. connection to community/mentors). Given this, even though capacity is growing with increased resources allocation and policy implementation, there may be a lack of facilitators. “I feel we're positioned for a huge change. Finding people to do... actually do this work is really hard. You know, there are not a lot of people with the skill

set to do, like system wide transformation, you know” (F03). Because of the shortage of facilitators, there are waitlists and some programs are running over capacity, which further risks overburdening facilitators. “Training is hard to get into right now. We don’t have as many seats as we’d wished” (F05). Another facilitator expressed how unsupported they feel - to be so overworked.

The interest to participate in the training was growing... It was really, really, challenging to keep up. We could not keep up with the work. We were above capacity. We were having to overload facilitators all the time... And so, we try to have conversations with leadership around that and say you know we need to figure out a better process here because we’re overworking our facilitators... We’re all working really late hours and we were basically told suck it up. If we can do it, you can do it (F06).

An important consideration when thinking of future Indigenous cultural safety initiatives is that, while the short answer to “should these trainings be made mandatory?” is yes, the logistics of institutional readiness and resources must be taken into account or we will put people at risk for harm and violence.

If you’re forcing people to come into these learning opportunities and it’s surfacing all this unsettledness that exists in this conversation - you know the shame, the guilt, the blame, the... you know that really reactive white fragility... and outright hostility it would send that organization into a bit of a tailspin unless the workspace is ready, unless the leadership was ready, unless our performance management system was handling that, our managers were ready for that, the consequences are quite significant and we could create more backlash than we need (F02).

5.4.3. Potential for harm and violence: Risky Spaces

I argue that a significant part of Indigenous cultural safety facilitation is about opening settlers’ bodies up to affect and being affected by Indigenous bodies in new accountable ways. As demonstrated, in order to commit violence against Indigenous bodies, settlers

have either blocked or lost the ability to affect and be affected. The experiences and sensations of Indigenous cultural safety training can be defined in terms of its intensity, which is carefully monitored and controlled by facilitators because too little intensity has limited affect and too much intensity can have unwanted and even harmful effects. Facilitators are aware that, too much affect and intensity can overwhelm people and cause a paralysis that shuts people down and prevents movement and change. It only returns settlers to a state of 'affectlessness'- the inability to affect and be affected by Indigenous bodies in good ways, which is precisely the problem they are trying to address. It is no small feat to manage the right amount of affect and intensity in these spaces- to engage but not overwhelm. Facilitation requires practice, skill, thoughtfulness, awareness and care because these spaces are 'risky'.

Aware that racism will be 'out in the open', participants enter these spaces 'on edge' and with high levels of intensity:

There's group dynamics, group cycles, there's interpersonal cliques maybe, there's resistance, just endless things. But in this particular topic, it's really heightened. And people are already activated. I really believe that. I believe that when people know they're coming to a cultural safety workshop or Indigenous specific anti-racist workshop...they're already on some level they're getting activated in their thoughts and their hearts and their bodies. And there's a little bit of that feeling of being on edge when they get in the room (F04).

While affective training methods are necessary for healing and transformative learning, they nonetheless can be risky. First, inviting racism out of the body and into the open is risky because, if the facilitator is unprepared, untrained and/or unwell, more harm can come to the facilitator or participants. As F02 stated, some activities like the baggage exercise can further pathologize Indigenous peoples, especially when "introducing that

too early [in the learning]” (F02). This also speaks to the importance of staging the learning. Moreover, F01 pointed out that affective activities run the risk of engaging in ‘trauma porn’, whereby participants may seek to engage with the trauma of others, rather than critically reflect on themselves and engage in transformative learning. According to a 2017 NBC news article, when we witness disaster and death, or the trauma of others, it triggers our emotions, survival tactics and memory. If we perceive no personal threat from the event, we continue to engage with it because it allows us to face our fears while feeling some level of safety; furthermore, evidence suggests that, in comparison to positive events, our brains are more activated when we bear witness to negative events (Page, 2017).

I don’t know how I feel about the concept of trauma porn or the idea that certain things... people expect certain things to be shared for their gratification... One of the ways that colonialism works- and this is linked to that sort of trauma porn- is that there are always going to be more people who want to have an opportunity to consume these experiences (F01).

Resistance is a common way to avoid affect in these spaces. Dealing with resistance and ‘refusal to know’ in any form, is an essential and persistent aspect of teaching and facilitating education around race and racism (Ward, 2018). However, dealing with intentional or unintentional acts of resistance does take its toll on facilitators, no matter their level of preparedness or experience. As demonstrated in studies such as that undertaken by Ward (2018), in comparison to non-Indigenous facilitators, dealing with resistance has a greater impact on the health and wellbeing of Indigenous facilitators because they are highly scrutinized, exposed as a direct target of resistance, and have personal lived experience with the violence of colonialism and racism.

Multiple facilitators talked about the common resistance around having cultural safety training that is ‘Indigenous specific’. Within multicultural, diversity and colorblind discourses, we understand that all racism is bad, so people ask, “Why focus on anti-Indigenous racism only?” This is especially true for racialized people, who have lived experience with the harm and violence of racialization and racism, and do not see the ways in which they benefit as a settler.

There are always going to be people who don’t understand why we’re doing this work. So, we’ll hear from people saying well I’m from a group that was discriminated against as well. When do I get my session to talk about my community’s struggles? (F01).

The resistance comes up as well why are you making space for Indigenous people? They already get ‘free stuff’. They already get ‘special treatment’. You know why are you focusing on them when you know we have maybe say you’re in Vancouver and you have a huge Asian population... It’s really hard for them to see that when they’ve struggled and you hear resistance in ways people saying that well I came here. My parents came here. We really struggled and we’re now okay. What’s wrong with them? (F07).

There was a lot of resistance to like, why are learning about this? There’s huge diversity in Canada, why aren’t we learning about all the other different people- in the multicultural nation and that?... So, when- and I still feel a bit of that but far, far less- where I feel like I’m teaching something- I’m not only teaching the content but I’m... needing to convince them that this is important and relevant information... I think that the challenges might be lack of engagement sometimes and resistance. I love it at least when people ask, like why are we- now I will put this out to the group... I ask why do you think there is a course on Indigenous [cultural safety] ... and not Chinese... or whatever? I ask this... where there was some resistance and a [person] put up their hand right away and was like, because of where we are. I always say because we are always on someone’s traditional territory (F10)

Harm and violence can result from resistance or ignorance, especially as the content moves past historical information to the everyday reality of ongoing racism and colonialism. This is particularly hard for people because it implicates them directly, so there are many ways to dismiss, deflect or disengage from the learning.

How are these patterns continuing? So, that's where people - that's what emerges from people when they have to look at a kind of a realistic scenario of something that could happen in their workplace. And that they are responsible for addressing, that's when people kind of - their resistance can come out or just simply their naivety or their lack of information (F04).

Because of resistance, facilitators shared they are exposed to attacks or criticism as part of their role,

People have come to me and criticized the work that we do. People have come to me and told they don't like it... People have said you need to talk about this. This is worthless unless you talk about what I'm interested in (F01).

Dealing with resistance can be exhausting and the potential for harm and violence can be severe.

Resistance - it's always a challenge. I understand it now. I understand resistance as a way of managing discomfort for the learner and it can be exhausting to work in it day in and day out and then seeing... also the ignorance. (F07)

And I have a pretty relational approach; like I can step into these conversations with people but there were times where I felt like my... like I was at risk... Like verbal, like verbal violence right and I felt like my back was against the wall... [It] can awry so quickly if one person makes a racist comment and then somebody agrees and then it just compounds after that... I just remember shutting down and I was in tears and I just called my co-facilitator... I said I can't do this anymore, I cannot expose myself to this anymore. I am on edge (F06).

I was quite devastated... There was some real deep-seated racism starting to come up in the small groups and I was really quite devastated... I said you really should read these threads because there's some deep-seated racism bubbling to the top around, you know "my friend had this experience", "my friend had that experience". I was just like no, we're not talking about the same things. I was a little concerned. I do have that concern about- if you're going to do lots of online, you need to have someone there reading, immediately, all the time (F09).

Much of the harm and violence can be unnoticed by perpetrators and/or bystanders.

When you think about the sheer magnitude of the harm and violence, it is truly

astounding that it can remain so hidden from consciousness. Addressing the insidious nature of racism and colonialism is one the purposes of Indigenous cultural safety.

Colonialism and racism and all of the sexism and all those things, and it's important to keep on that journey of exposing what's inside you cause I think there's a tendency to shut that off and say no, no, no (F08).

It's not a lot different than the whole Holocaust situation except that it's extensive. It goes inter-generationally, and it's quiet and it's subtle and people just don't get it (F02).

It's the pure ignorance that people will say things without... Without recognition of the absolute violence; that what they're saying is violence. I've heard people say that talking about those myths it's like a belch. You know chewing food that's unprocessed and it coming up. So, you haven't thought about it. You just spew out comments that you've heard but you have no understanding or recognition where it came from. So, the hearsay becomes you know people believe the stereotypes to be true because they've consumed them so often it's just a matter of fact. It's the way it is so... and accepted and we process day in and day out so that's what we're up against (F07).

Our social structures are harmful and violent because they are racist and colonial. As we move through the social structures of everyday life, they pull our bodies into certain ways of being that upholds the structure of power and privilege for some. These types of social structures are resistant to change, which makes it a challenge for bodies of people to change, especially if they are the ones who benefit from the system.

I think any system is trying to create homeostasis. It's trying to create this balance based on its world view. So, the systems that we're trying to change they don't want to change right. Again, if it would be better if it would change but it still doesn't want to change 'cause it wants to maintain... and that's the purpose of racism too is to keep things the same. Even though it can change the way it looks a little bit, it still wants the same thing. It wants to make sure that there's a structure where people that benefit from it the most stay at the top... That system is always going to morph and adapt to keep everything the same way. So, the more that you're in that system and the more that you're working and your building allies and all of that the more the system is gonna adapt and try to bring you into conformity (F08).

Harm and violence can also come from leadership. When those who are in positions of power within an organization lack understanding or fail to support facilitators, including the failure to adequately resource them, it hurts facilitators and can put them at greater risk for more harm and violence.

So, I have some sadness about that and yeah, I can be quite emotional about that because we haven't had the support that we've needed. **Is emotional** Surprised that I'm emotional about that. It's been painful to deal with trying to increase your leadership's understanding and knowledge of what it is that we're dealing with and what it is that we need in terms of support... but when you have big reactions like I've had a [person of leadership] in the middle of a workshop walk across the room and stand face to face with me and say this is not happening. This is not okay. This is stopping. You're going to stop doing this right now and I have a room full of people that I'm facilitating that include Indigenous people in that space so there's all this violence and vulnerability that's happening in this room and I have to negotiate that all by myself, cause I used to facilitate by myself and I have to negotiate that all by myself. And then the repercussions that come from that, cause that person has power, and that person then went after me saying that I was incompetent, and that I wasn't qualified, and blah, blah, blah, which impacts my own insecurities – not true. And then also the program; attacks the program as well... And we're not resourced. That actually feels painful. That's the structural violence; that I feel the structural violence. The lack of leadership is particularly painful (F02).

Both Indigenous and settler facilitators acknowledged that the potential for harm and violence is greater for Indigenous facilitators because of who they are; as well, their family and community are direct targets of the harm and violence- it becomes personal. Countering and responding to harm directed at you personally in a way that is respectful, educational, diplomatic and informative is a challenge. Furthermore, experiencing and addressing harm, violence and resistance (e.g. deflecting, dismissing, etc.), because you are an Indigenous person, takes a significant toll on facilitators, especially because that exposure to harm and violence is not just part of their job, it is also part of everyday life.

It should be noted that, although there are countless forms of resistance, there are people who are willing to work through their discomfort and not only (un)learn, but also try to support facilitators in their work and speak out against instances of harm and violence.

And just a couple of times you know just really ignorant comments people make when you're facilitating. But I'm pretty good. When people will say something and/or ask a question I'll turn it right back on them... What do you think about it? And it's often enough to shut them down and but then other people in the room will actually quite often jump in and support you as the facilitator... For the most part now, I think most people are pretty on board with this learning and when an ignorant comment is made I just kind of have to compose myself for a minute... It's intense and you can feel it in the room right, like instantly it's like... (F06).

5.4.4. Facilitator burnout, emotional taxation and hardships

To be, in many ways, a front-line responder to harm and violence can cause facilitator burnout, emotional taxation and hardships. There are so many challenges to the work, it can be hard for facilitators to describe, sum up or even name them. For example, "I'm finding it difficult to name a particular something that's challenging- it's *all* challenging. It's all very challenging" (F04) or "Ah it's just red zoning all over the place" (F02).

Those that have been doing the work for some time try to mentor newer facilitators about burnout because it can creep up.

Well and wellness... yeah maintaining your wellness and your relationships [is hard]. Like I mean I've been warned about every step because my mentors are further along and then it hits you... This other lead facilitator would be like can you feel it yet? Like you know, how bad...just like waiting for me to get it (F05).

The high demands of the work, and its toll on physical, mental, emotional and spiritual wellbeing, can result in facilitator burnout and/or emotional taxation.

It's very hard work. Very emotionally exhausting (F11).

I carry this work and I can't carry this work all the time. It's really painful, it's really hard, it's really tiring. Unless I'm really consciously taking care of myself, I would struggle with that... I think the work is important and I think it needs to carry on, but I think those of us doing this work need to really make sure we don't burn ourselves out (F09).

It's really hard and emotionally taxing work. Lots of people do not want to sit in a room with uneducated, uninformed, non-Indigenous people holding really harsh stereotypes (F03).

It really takes a toll... I've left an organization because I felt like it was just so toxic and unhealthy and I felt like I was getting to that point where work was really taking its toll on me. I mean I was driving down the road and I was having panic attacks. I was having nightmares about my platform, not being caught up, and about the comments that were coming up... I was just... I couldn't escape it. I was overworked and I just like I remember at one point I'd had a dream and I woke up in a panic because I had so much work to do and our platform was... the cohort was shutting down and I woke up in a panic and I was like oh my God I can't even sleep without thinking about work. But when I was driving daily I was having chest pains... It was taking a toll on me physically with my own health and I saw my own colleague being treated badly. And so, I just left. But it should never get to that point so what I... and I don't share that story really with anybody. But what I do try and say is that I've been in situations where my work has really taken a toll on me physically with my health, intellectually, emotionally, and in order to prevent that from happening anymore I had to set really clear boundaries... It does take a huge toll on you. It's the hardest work I've ever done my whole life. But it's up to that person to decide if that's the work they want to do (F06).

The burnout experienced by facilitators can increase the risks of even more harm and violence because it can compromise their ability to be mindful, watchful and fully engaged. They are not able to respond as needed if burned out.

I think that - I have been in workshops where I've been so tired, burned out, and been in workshops and I'm thinking to myself there's so much risk right now because I got to make sure I'm listening to every single word and watching

every single thing that's going on in this space, which takes an *incredible* amount of energy. And if you're burnt out or over-tired, it's a recipe for a problem. For harm (F04).

Facilitators must manage the demands placed on them with an emphasis on self-care that is also part of the work. This involves balance and boundaries. For example, frequency of training sessions (i.e. limiting how many) and adequate spacing between them is important to prevent burnout.

Through trial and error found that doing more than... Well doing more than one a week is taxing. I once did two in one day, which in retrospect was a terrible idea. And so, we try to keep it to once a week at most... [I experienced emotional taxation] in the beginning much more so than now because I hadn't figured out what I needed to do to take care of myself (F01).

We talked about doing a workshop every 3 weeks. That was enough time for us to... 'cause it is quite emotionally impacting. And then also with follow-up and things like that... about every 3 weeks doing a workshop seems like kind of the most we should do (F08).

It's exhausting facilitating any group, any time, any way... I would actually say to prevent burn out altogether - not to get there. I don't mean when you are just tired one day, and you and your co-facilitator can support each other, I mean actual burn out from being too immersed in the work, without proper breaks and care. That kind of tiredness is different, and requires recovery time. That's how I would say it now. And this is after going through burn out. So, I would say if somebody has control over their work hours to try and prevent burn out. Both by the amount of hours worked, but also how many workshops people do. There is a certain degree of violence or harm in every workshop room, even if you are highly skilled, you can't be immersed in this too often all at once... like the physical, emotional, spiritual, intellectual energy that goes into one day with a group of people is intense. Even if it's successful, even if it's successful... the amount of output of energy is intense (F04).

Another part of balance and boundaries includes limiting one's output while facilitating training sessions. For example, practicing balance and boundaries regarding how much one is willing to give in moments of facilitation- being mindful about openness.

There is that piece that I found the most challenging in the work- my self imposed, society imposed as well, need to moderate my emotions, whether that's rage or sorrow, when I'm presenting material that causes me rage or sorrow. So, I feel like it's- what I'm choosing to do more of is being mindful of the amount of energy that I give.... I don't think I'm aware of how much it impacts me until I step back from that stress. That I'm in that constant state of protection or compartmentalizing my life because there's a need to be. When I'm on holidays I'm away from it, I just don't have that- I'm not using the energy to do that... being mindful that if I'm always being really open then I'm depleting myself. Then I can't continue to do the work (F10).

Regular and frequent time off and away from harm and violence is necessary to protect facilitators from burnout. Time spent off work is necessary because it is difficult to gauge your true state of wellness while immersed in the work.

I would actually add that to my thing of resources is a regular reprieve from it. If you're doing this year after year, you're just going to normalize and be in that- it will show up different for different people, you can't feel yourself breathing or you're in a constant state of heart palpitations, like these things are real and you normalize them. If I think of the impact on sleep and physical health- it's there but it's normalized. I've heard myself tell people I'm fine when I'm in it. But when I'm in it I feel like I'm fine because I've normalized it. When I'm outside of it, I'm like whoa, I haven't thought about oppression this whole entire week, like whoa... Whenever I go away and I'm away from it, I get how much it impacts me until I'm back in it (F10).

It can be a challenge to accept that there are limits to what you can do as a facilitator. In that regard, sometimes it is not only leaders or the organization that imposes demands on facilitators, but facilitators who push themselves to do more. As people who are passionate about and committed to helping create a better future, facilitators can feel they should be doing more. In this type of work, it is hard to just check in and check out. It can be hard to maintain balance and boundaries.

We're all doing our part the best that we're able to but sometimes I feel guilty that I'm not doing enough. So, that's always in the conversation for me and so my work has been focused on the system like the high-level points like to work and I don't like that saying like work smarter rather than harder but what I'm

trying to do is use myself and to hit the high level points the best that I'm able to and I have permission and support to do that. But also, that then expands the job. It's almost like everything I do makes more work... And you think you're not doing enough. You're actually not doing enough or maybe you know the other part is like what else can I do to do it different or to do it better right and if we're taking all these people time including our own and our emotional, spiritual efforts, we want to make sure we're doing a good job and we don't know right. I think we are and I think you know all of those sorts of things but those are the things that plague me (F02).

A lot of the things that come up as you peel back the layers is conflict. People just treating each other really nastily as a result of colonial experience, but that can be wearing on the work that I do- is when you're sitting with people and hearing and it's sitting in that energy and then it's a struggle for myself... that I want to fix things for people and then I realize that that's not healthy... learning how to not to own cause as a facilitator and as a consultant you build these relationships with people within these organizations that are often struggling and trying to figure out what's going on in terms of their relationship with Indigenous people and that sort of things. That's why they called me in. But you end up developing relationships with these people and then you realize that you do have to set those boundaries of here's what you've asked me to do so I'm gonna stay within those boundaries and it becomes your own then too where you have to realize that it's not you... I should have fixed them. I should have been able to fix this. You know they called me in and they gave me awhile to come in and do this work and why didn't I fix this? ... Yeah so, setting those boundaries both before the... what's that called... interpersonal boundaries and then the intrapersonal within yourself too because you have to have respective boundaries for yourself as well (F08).

As mentioned, whether Indigenous or settler, all facilitators acknowledge that the physical, emotional, mental and spiritual toll on Indigenous facilitators is greater than it is for settler facilitators. Indigenous facilitators are more likely to experience emotional taxation because the work is personal.

[The] importance of reminding people that asking Indigenous people, asking people who are racialized into non-majority categories to do this work is to ask them to share their trauma with people. And so, to think about that idea that this is not an intellectual exercise for the facilitators doing it. That it's based on lived experience.... That it's not abstract... Whereas other people who are racialized differently or have different family experiences are able to... a lot of them will see this as simply an intellectual exercise and be surprised about the preparation and the impact or the preparation required and the impact that it

has right... And so, that's one of things that I think that people, both participants and policy makers, need to be made aware of is that this work is intensely personal (F01).

While there is clearly a role for both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in facilitating Indigenous cultural safety training, it can be a challenge to find a model where Indigenous and non-Indigenous people share roles and responsibilities in a balanced way. Davis et al. (2016) explains how such a balance is a challenge.

Experiential learning that involves being in relationship with Indigenous peoples, entering Indigenous spaces, and participating in ceremonies, teachings and on-land activities, is an undeniably rich source of learning and decentering for non-Indigenous Canadians... Yet, a tension exists in knowing how big a role Indigenous peoples should play in settler education, and in striking a balance between, on the one hand, learning from Indigenous peoples, knowledge and pedagogies, and on the other, settlers taking responsibility for their own education and unlearning of dominant narratives and histories. Finding ways to include Indigenous voices and perspectives respectfully without burdening Indigenous peoples is a balance to be considered (p.10).

5.5. Resources and sustainability

5.5.1. Concept of resources

Resources are an important consideration for facilitator wellness and wellbeing, as well as the success and sustainability of future Indigenous cultural safety initiatives. Resources in the material and structural sense, like the allocation of funding and policy implementation, are primary to support the ongoing efforts of this work. While this research argues for the importance of working with individuals at the affective level for new relationships and social change, it must be stressed that structural change is also part of the work, especially regarding resources. Bodies are not only individuals- anything can be a body. An organization is a body. We have bodies of thought and bodies of policy.

Facilitators move bodies- individuals, groups, organizations, policy, and so on- and they work to embed cultural safety into *all bodies*. Therefore, part of the work will involve targeting the system in a material and structural sense, such as allocation of funding and policy implementation, to support the work facilitators do on the ground and help create social change. Therefore, “the support at that level, at the institutional level, makes a difference” (F10).

Facilitators spoke frankly about a lack of resources. “The truth of the matter is Indigenous anything is under-resourced period” (F03). An example of poor resources is the lack of communication at the organizational level. Facilitators work to embed Indigenous cultural safety into different spaces and work areas of an organization and there is an element of ‘translation’ required to achieve this successfully. The problem is that this ‘translation’ piece means extra work for facilitators. A properly resourced team has diverse people with different strengths and educational/professional backgrounds to ensure good communication and understanding between all bodies of the organization. A large and diverse team offers facilitators extra support.

We’re forever trying to understand what other people are doing in order to support them to invent this into their work. So, how I would talk about that is we bring people through this trajectory with the intention of them bringing their skills and their knowledge to the conversation to imbed this into the organization. But we sit in so many meetings where we don’t understand the conversations. And so, having some people that have that expertise would be very helpful for us because we’re working to contextualize the information into conversations for people so that they can understand that and that’s a lot of work for us. So, we would really need a real team, a substantial team in order to do that, this work, in terms of the training in a way that’s meaningful and moves it into the organization. So, it’s structural what I’m talking about rather than the training itself and if we had those resources we also could be more tailored into the various spaces and places... We’re not resources to embed cultural safety further into the organization (F02).

Resources and sustainability of Indigenous cultural safety initiatives is about more than hiring and training more facilitators. The organization needs to show its support in other ways.

In terms of sustainability, I don't know the answer to that question. It's not as simple as just saying resources. It's saying it's something about people, but we know that not everybody... This work isn't right for everybody right... So, I really don't have an answer for that on an institutional level... But yeah, I think that it's about an ongoing commitment to it and also a recognition that organizations... You know what organizations show they value things in certain ways by allocating resources to it right. So, that move away from just lip service that we value this to saying well we know that when you value other things you dedicate resources to it so are you dedicated (F01).

In thinking of the bigger picture of social change, we need to expand our concept of resources beyond material and structure, and instead think about them as relationships. We need to link the concept of resources to the idea of emergence (to affect and being affected) and to the possibilities of what can emerge out of our relationships to self, others and land.

I think we have to change the way that we think about resources and kind of like what do we need to put into place 'cause I think we still think about it in terms of that kind of 5-year planning. But I have started to realize the importance of emergence. How do you bring people together that are like-minded to share and to learn from one another and then how do you allow for networks to come out of that? How do you maintain those connections and then bring people back together again as they try these new things that they've learned from similar minded people. And I think out of that can emerge some really powerful things that you don't know when you sit together before you even do anything (F08).

5.5.2. Institutional support and readiness

Despite the lack of resources, facilitators discussed the many ways in which they felt that there is organizational readiness for change. Simply having paid facilitator positions

within the organization was a start to taking responsibility to address harm and violence. For example, “this became part of the job description. So that’s the main way that [the institution] supports it right; it’s part of my job” (F01) or “well I guess to be fair to the organization they have cultural safety... they have us there” (F02).

Leadership and others in organizations are also promoting engagement with the work, which shows support for facilitators and social change. “You have to have people within the organization being seen as taking on responsibility and that sort of thing. So that’s not something that happens only when [the facilitator] is around” (F08).

Collaboration, especially with leadership, is a major component of this work- people cannot create change on their own.

At a time, even 20 years ago, how many people would be sitting here? Maybe two or three? It’s promoted by leadership, it’s promoted by participants who’ve taken the course and tell others, but it’s- and there has been more formalized policy and initiatives across the [organization] to support the work of Indigenization (F10).

I think the commitment we hear from [leadership]... you know, the fact that [leadership is] talking about racism now and the need to address it is very profound and powerful- to have the leadership at our organization, some of the leadership actually bringing and talking to their teams about the importance of this work. Committing to it and leaning into it is very profound (F11).

Over the years, facilitators have worked hard to move people and organizations in this direction. National and international drivers like the TRC Calls to Action and UNDRIP have also pushed organization to tangible change. Indeed, “there is a lot more appetite now” (F04). As a result, it is often the case that the readiness exceeds the capacity. Now it is about playing catch up to all the drivers and building the necessary capacity to embed Indigenous cultural safety.

At this point in the game where we're at is people- there's so much readiness and I have to say that there's so much readiness in our organization right now. We've spent the last 5 years sort of really encouraging that and motivating that and getting that going that we cannot keep up to the demand (F02).

In terms of like general, the institution can always do more... They can always give more resources but I think and maybe this is being optimistic but I trust my gut most of the time is that I think... what I have experienced is that I'm hoping that it's not so much about resources anymore. It's just about getting the proposals together and presenting them and getting sign off and then building capacity. So, it's really like we're racing against the clock – like that's how I feel... I feel we're positioned for a huge change (F03).

There are specific and structural moves an organizational body can make to address racism and colonialism. For example, some people in leadership positions within the institution should have both a comprehensive understanding and lived experience of Indigenous cultural safety training. Leadership needs to be in strong support of this work because “those are the people that hold the resources and those are the people that deal with the difficulties of the system” (F02). Moreover, Indigenous people need to be in positions of leadership- and that means more than just one person at the table. When leadership is Indigenous and/or can demonstrate some understanding and experience with the work, then facilitators feel more encouraged and supported.

We presented to [leadership] ... and it is was very, very interesting when we were done because they all thanked us for this work and had lots of questions. But we spend more time them talking to us how do you take care of yourself, so they did see the impact. They thanked us for the stories... There was a lot of concern about how do you guys take care of yourself. They did ask us that. And I felt rather good that they had noticed that and they asked us that (F09).

While self-care measures are important for facilitators to be well in this work, the organization has a significant role in caring for them. That is, the system itself and the people within it are responsible to create environments that promote wellness. If facilitators are feeling strained from interrogating and addressing racism and colonialism,

it speaks less to the need for them to take yoga classes or find a hobby, and more to the system and people within in it, who are resisting change or not doing their part in creating change. Self-care measures promote wellness, yes, but we cannot bypass the source of the harm and violence. That is what needs to change.

Taking care of ourselves is critical in this work and I also think the system needs to be created around to also take of sort of speak. Not exactly take care of us, but be supportive. Create a supportive environment... I don't think the care should be put on the self because I think the systems need to be responsible for making sure that facilitators are looked after... The system is violent and harmful and do something about *that* as opposed to 'you need to go to yoga' (F11).

Policy is an important part of structure and organizations are responsible for this type of change. This includes not only the implementation of new policy, but also a systematic review of all existing policies to ensure they meet an Indigenous cultural safety standard. For example, "all of the policies are reviewed for cultural safety and whether they line up and how cultural safety can be embedded into those policies. So, I think that's key" (F02). Although there are definite instances of a lack of leadership and structural violence, facilitators did have some positive examples about support from leadership. Some comments included, "able to support us... amazing leader... provides emotional and psychological support" (F02); "very intelligent... very strategic" (F06); and "actually checks in on me" (F10).

5.5.3. Co-facilitation

Inter-racial facilitation and an understanding of one's own racial standpoint are important considerations for educators when addressing anti-Indigenous racism (Ward, 2018). The co-facilitator model of 'Indigenous and non-Indigenous (white) co-facilitator' is

intentional and used for a few reasons. Ward (2018) explains that while white educators challenge anti-Indigenous racism, there is an awareness that they can do so with the benefit of racial privilege and protected status with learners.

From this place of privilege, [white educators] were able to challenge racism and white supremacy in ways that Indigenous and racialized educators cannot (p. 83) ... I know well from my own experience that as an Indigenous person I can only take a discussion about some race-based topics so far. I know that white (and sometimes racialized) people may not accept certain perspectives or teachings from me because I am Indigenous... students are more likely to accept teachings and challenges related to their whiteness and their privilege (including settler privilege) from a white educator (p. 141).

White facilitators are also able to role model for others what accountable relationships look like. Ring (2000) wrote in-depth about his personal experiences as a white man who teaches experiential anti-racism courses while grappling with an awareness of his own white privilege. We learn from his work that being an active ally involves ongoing learning, commitment, and responsibility.

[There was] the recognition that, despite my best efforts to engage others as respectfully as I can, the nature of my white, male upbringing will very likely betray my intentions [however] ... so too I am capable of learning from [social breeches], minimizing their occurrence, and seeking to repair whatever damage and distance I may create between myself and others. What is important is the process of dialogue and taking responsibility for one's actions... To accept that I harbored feelings of fear toward others who were different was not easy... slowly, though, I learned that my silence around scorching issues of racism was in fact a manifestation of my own white privilege- that, for others, racist violence is an everyday matter of life and survival, from which they cannot just back away (p.76).

When a white settler role models accountability, they can help to dispel fear and resistance in others who are beginning their journey with Indigenous cultural safety. It is a form of encouragement. Furthermore, as Ward (2018) discussed, although it should not be the case, it is a fact that currently people will hear and engage in learning differently

when the facilitator is specifically white- there is sometimes more openness to the experience and learning. Importantly, the intent behind a white co-facilitator model is not to normalize white supremacy or place white people as the ‘all knower’, but rather to role model good relations. The white co-facilitator can role model to others when not to take the lead (i.e. when it is appropriate to be still, remain quiet and listen), as well as when it is their responsibility to step in and take action. For example, white co-facilitators talked about how they would never speak about or lead discussions around the lived experience of colonialism, but would step in to address and unpack with the group a racist comment, because it is not the responsibility of Indigenous people to teach non-Indigenous people to not be racist. *Section 5.2.2. Roles and responsibilities of facilitators* also discusses how role modeling is an affective learning tool that shows how to hold accountable relations with Indigenous peoples.

Training the non-Indigenous facilitator- like how do you show up for your Indigenous facilitators in an appropriate way? What is your role? Like how can you support creating cultural safety for everybody?... This cannot rest on the backs of Indigenous people. Non-Indigenous people need to be taking responsibility to be educated and to be educating other non-Indigenous people about the history of colonization and what continues to go on and learning on how they can demonstrate behaviours to their non-Indigenous friends, colleagues, facilitators, teachers – you know community... At some point, everybody needs to be engaging and practicing... And take responsibility and so that does mean non-Indigenous engagement at like a really... at all levels really (F03).

People are going to hear somethings differently from a white facilitator. A non-Indigenous facilitator also role models the role and responsibility needed from non-Indigenous people... [They] act as a role model to non-Indigenous people about being an active and critical ally (F04).

Indigenous cultural safety training should have the inclusion of non-Indigenous facilitators who contribute to the work, but at the same time always be led by Indigenous

facilitators, because only they can speak to the lived experience of colonialism, as well as ensure quality control of the learning objectives. Indigenous leadership shows us how to do this work and take this journey in a good way.

Co-facilitation models and having a diverse team of facilitators to debrief with, whether Indigenous or non-Indigenous, is essential for facilitator wellbeing, the success of current trainings and the continued improvement of future trainings. Co-facilitation at sessions is also a protective factor against negative effects like facilitator burnout and/or emotional taxation. Facilitators can hold each other up, whether that means encouraging new facilitators or showing appreciation for those with more experience. For example, “the impact on mental health and the relationships that I have in the work are the saving grace for sure” (F07). Other comments include,

We realize how important it is to prepare and then do the workshops and then debrief. Debriefing is so important. We would spend hours on it after sessions that we would co-facilitate. Co-facilitation is ideal I would say and then I think also modeling diversity as best you can too (F08).

Our connection with our co-facilitator is *significantly* important because we’re in that space together and we often can be challenged or triggered, not often, but we can be. And so, we need the person that we’re walking alongside of with that day to also have a trusting and safe relationship with that person and so make sure that they’re good too (F02).

Checking in yeah. And then after the same thing –how does that feel for you? Are you okay? What are you going to do today? Do you need extra support? And so, the facilitator network like in having people for those facilitators to be able to go and debrief and then also like safety mechanisms in place – if you need to talk to somebody, if you’re not feeling like you can facilitate for awhile or don’t want to at all you know... And then the big piece having that strong network of people that you de-brief with like regardless of what it is. Like maybe it’s a logistical thing that happened in training that was really frustrating, but like it’s not being alone, like you need to have a network (F03).

There's days when I have to hold [co-facilitator] up and there's days when [co-facilitator] has to hold me up... If I find myself starting to go down and I might kind of cut it short, and [co-facilitator] will pick it up... I do really appreciate the co-facilitation model. We can walk each other through it, we can pick up each other, we can bounce off each other, and to me that's been really useful... I can reflect and go what did you think of that question because that really bothered me. And sometimes, you know, [co-facilitator] will say oh I didn't even hear it that way, this is what I heard and I'm like, okay... So, it's good to have the two of you to bounce that off. When I look shocked, [co-facilitator] will answer and when [co-facilitator] looks shocked, I'll try answer (F09).

I do debriefing, we do so much debriefing and we have to, to be well. So, debriefing is a real- you know, set up a debrief buddy and ask about advice, make sure you debrief after. You got to laugh and cry and debrief (F11).

Because of the built-in safety and protective factors, many facilitators highly recommend a co-facilitator model and/or will only work in that model.

If you bring on a cultural safety position on, bring on two positions cause yeah, I mean I think everything works out better when you work... when you collaborate as a team, but yeah- it can be really challenging to do this work on your own... It would be wonderful if more organizations had cultural safety positions but I think every cultural safety role, department, whatever you want to call it needs to have a minimum of two people. It's really hard for one person to take on this role. And I know there's many organizations who want to hire one person. I think it needs two people cause somebody... We need somebody to kind of debrief with all the time and we need somebody to step into these spaces with as well because it can be really challenging some days... But just trying to do everything; like I think being out there as a facilitator on your own is something that should never happen. You know you're training to gauge the room at all times. You're trying to watch body language. You're trying to facilitate an educational conversation and one that's like heartfelt – it hits you here... And so, I don't ever recommend that anybody do it by themselves (F06).

We're so very much like on this emergent sort of edge on everything that we're doing and I just remember thinking okay, I'm not gonna do this anymore like by myself and I didn't want to anyway (F02).

Co-facilitation and facilitator teams are also important for debriefing and professional development as facilitators constantly learn from each other's experience, knowledge and wisdom on how to affect social change.

There has to be a team and there has to be room for like reciprocal learning with the curriculum team and the facilitators. And so, facilitators I think need to have a place in being able to share what is and isn't working – what they feel isn't working for them (F03).

A lot of my learning has been critiquing and creating new models, a lot of self-study, and working with other facilitators... Engaging with other facilitators- having creative brainstorms about what should we do to highlight this principle of the work and coming up with our own creative ideas (F04).

I am continually deepening my own analysis and my co-facilitators we work with also note that this happens for them as well on a regular basis. We're always debriefing everything. Looking at situations from different perspectives. Hearing the learning, awareness and perspective each other got from different workshops or learning... you know whatever it might be. We're continually analyzing everything and restructuring our own approaches, our own exercises, conversations we bring forward and learning opportunities we bring into each workshop. As we enhance our own learning, our workshops are continually evolving to bring that learning forward for others (F06).

I would say that ideally there is some place for facilitators to debrief with one another- with others who are doing similar work. And I know it's kind of those pro/cons things because you know, who wants another meeting sort of thing. But I think that that would be really positive... That peer support with people doing similar work would be really beneficial... to just share- could be sharing resources or sharing strategies, or just hearing that... I find one of the biggest supports is connecting with peers (F10).

5.5.4. Factors affecting facilitator wellness and wellbeing

Personal self-measures are different for everyone and can include lifestyle activities such as getting adequate sleep and healthy eating, physical activities such as hiking, swimming, or running, as well more creative activities like journaling, painting or beading. Spiritual and emotional practices include ceremony, prayer, healing salves, socializing or other cultural/personal activities that promote wellness. Whether addressing physical, emotional, mental or spiritual wellness, the important thing is to carve out space for yourself- “making space to check in with yourself, ground yourself, and be present” (F03) - whatever that may look like. Without facilitator wellness, the

work cannot be done in a good way. Wellness must be at the table at all times. “If you’re not grounded and caring for your wellness, you’re not able to walk alongside” (F05).

The organization must also be supportive of whatever each facilitator needs to do to maintain wellness. “It’s hard work and if you’re isolated in the work, I think it’s really easy for people to leave unless they’re supported by the organization and have services in place to support the facilitator” (F07). Some structural supports offered include racial caucusing, access to an Elder, and Indigenous counsellor/psychologist as part of the team. Elders are highly respected for their knowledge, experience, and wisdom, which can really ground the work in a good way. Elders teach us to encourage one another and uplift one another (F08, paraphrased). It is important that any persons of support have an anti-Indigenous racism lens. Otherwise, it turns into more work for the facilitators to be educating the support person rather than receiving support for themselves.

Other structural aspects include having a blended model, with both online and in-person components. The blended models can offer some readings or videos (for example, on residential schools) that people watch before coming together, which means the facilitators themselves do not have to repeatedly watch those videos as part of their facilitation.

Because it’s a blended [model], I’m not having to present that information... when it’s presented online, what I’m doing is I’m holding space for two hours to listen to participants responses to what they’ve learned. That makes a huge, huge difference in my wellbeing... It’s mostly them just sharing than me presenting. And it will still take energy to hold that space, but not as much energy as when I’m having to present that material over and over again (F10).

Due to the risks of harm and violence, as well as the high potential for burnout, organizations should have a team of facilitators and not ask facilitators to facilitate alone. As outlined in *section 5.1.3. Co-facilitation*, co-facilitation models are key to the success of initiatives and facilitator wellness.

Limits on the frequency (how much in a week, month and year) of facilitation and taking regular or extended time away from facilitation is important for facilitator wellness. As one facilitator commented, we live in “kind of a workaholic culture and I don’t advocate that at all. It is a risk to the work” (F04). Many facilitators expressed they would not facilitate more than two sessions a week, and even two a week was a lot of work. Some felt one every three weeks was enough. As well, facilitators emphasized time away and reprieve from it, which sometimes included changing one’s roles and responsibilities.

So, I think you know I really... when I’m here I really struggle to have down time because of my responsibilities but I’ll often just escape or you know I just find that if I don’t take care of myself, I’m not sleeping well, physically I’m not doing well so you know I’ll make sure that I exercise, try and get some sleep, try and have a bath and just have a half hour to myself... Or I’ll just leave town because it’s the only way I’m gonna get a break... I just really work hard to disconnect from it all. I think it’s the only way that you’re gonna survive... Ensuring that you put really clear boundaries up for yourself because otherwise it will take a toll (F06).

So, it’s still looking at the same thing over and over and over again. That’s why I had to take a leave to do anti-Indigenous racism work in a different way. Collaboration with colleagues in this work is imperative for survival (F07).

Boundaries include not just frequency and time away from work, but also limits to what you give during sessions. If you are too open, it can drain you. Self-awareness of one’s own boundaries and limits is key.

That would be around boundaries in regards to being mindful in how much of your energy you're taking up. How open and vulnerable you're being. To just be mindful. And everyone is different right. Some people might be able to do that. I believe they do it for a certain time before they feel the impacts of that, but maybe not... My instinct is to be open and authentic... Now I'm mindful of how I share... with my self-care at the centre of that... I think that is a place of growth anyway... I'm still presenting the energy in regards to the space, but I'm not open as much (F10).

I do think like basic self-care that like knowing your own boundaries about what... to have an internal barometer of hey what is my capacity to share? Am I sharing too much- like do I have the capacity for that now? Do I need to?... So, it's really gauging what you can and cannot manage and it's going to change day to day, week to week. That's what I've witnessed (F03).

Flexibility in the schedule can also help to minimize potential for harm and violence, as well as prevent burnout or emotional taxation while increasing the chances of learning.

When you are in the moment, the learning can be richer, and emergence can happen.

And then it's also important not to be stuck to your workshop schedule. At times... if you notice that something is going on in the room attend to that as best you can or close the workshop early that day 'cause you can see that everybody is tired and you can feel that everybody is exhausted. They're not gonna be hearing you anyway if you keep on going so it's okay to say "hey it's three o'clock why don't we quit for the day and we can pick this up tomorrow?" That's taking the time to look after yourself that's better in the long-run... And being in the moment is so important too. Being aware of what's happening because really you know if people aren't responding or reacting to you and your material there's a good chance that other stuff is going on or has gone and it's not been resolved. So, it's often, in terms of building trust, it's often it's better to say so what's going on here? What's happening? And then it allows for that piece around justice about people being heard and tell their story and then you can figure out a way of responding in such a way that they know that you've heard them (F08).

Notably, an increase in work experience leads to an increase in wellness as facilitators learn, often the hard way, what it takes to be well and that wellness is not an option- you have to be well to do the work. For example, "[it] took me about three years to really learn because you cannot facilitate if you're not well" (F02).

It has become less unpredictable for me that I'm able... And I'm able to recognize... I'm able to look at this work in the context of all the other work I'm doing and have a better ability to predict what I'm going to need beforehand and what I'm going to need afterwards... It took me maybe a year and a half to figure out how to take care of myself emotionally and spiritually while doing this work (F01).

This speaks to the importance of mentors and leaders who have experience in this work because they can help newer facilitators learn about their boundaries and limits.

Furthermore, they have the experience and knowledge to notice creeping signs of burnout or emotional taxation.

Facilitators challenge and unsettle the settled-settler, and affect is one of ways in which this can be achieved. Such methods can be risky, even 'unsafe', because potentialities and actualizations to come cannot be known. Facilitators spoke in depth about how taxing their work is. They hold themselves accountable to Indigenous people and communities to maintain affect in settlers, so that people can cognitively and emotionally actualize the ways in which they participate in the harms of colonialism, while at the same time not cause more harm (i.e. too much affect can overwhelm and have a negative effect). Facilitators share how, at all times, they carefully and thoughtfully manage these affective spaces- but it is exhausting. They do this work to help create a better future, but if they are unsuccessful for whatever reason, it is Indigenous peoples who ultimately bear the consequences. That is a lot of responsibility to carry. As one facilitator advised,

I would say be prepared. It's going to be transformational and challenging. You're going to lose relationships and you're going to build more relationships, more meaningful relationships. Pace yourself. Remember we're building on work of many people who have come before us and many people will come after us. Remember who is impacted from our successes and our failures (F11).

Despite the potential for harm and violence - for facilitator burnout and emotional taxation - the work of affecting social change in others and society is rewarding. Many facilitators spoke passionately about their lifelong commitment to this work and its benefits. For example, “the positive benefits of seeing that change, they outweigh or at least equals that I guess damage or the wear” (F03) and “This work is deeply rewarding too... feeling like you can actually do something” (F07). Facilitators feel they belong in this work and have something to give to it.

So, I have to take care of myself because I know my work isn't done yet. Not that I'm the only one that can do this work... there's pockets everywhere- but we're all taking it up in a different way. Right now, this is where I think I'm meant to be, so it's important that I keep myself strong. My old buddy would say, strong up (F09).

It is important to share memorable moments and successes because it encourages other facilitators who need to feel encouraged in this work and know the rewarding aspects too.

This is part of maintaining wellness.

We need to feel encouraged in this work otherwise we're going to be working with a kind of defeatist mindset and it's gonna show up in our bodies as well. We're going to get sick if we're always simply fighting the enemy right (F08).

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1. Final thoughts

Affect theory is politically transformative. We must “think of affect in terms of potentiality to repeat functional arrangement of bodies and the potentiality to do something new- to disorganize and disorder the body and its relations in order that they may be reordered- then the emergence of affect becomes a political problem to be interrogated...the question of how to actualize variation from functionality in a fashion that creates new ways of relating that are less oppressive, less exclusive, and less unitary” (Lim, 2010, p. 2400). Protevi (2015) argues that political change or resistance begins at the level of the body rather than ideas; affect increases bodily involvement in the world and increases body potential for acting and for affecting others. Thus, politics of reconciliation requires a new understanding of the body and its relation to affect and incorporeal or spiritual dimensions. It would be helpful to use philosophies of affect and potentialities to understand how to move toward decolonization and social change.

I think the hope of affect here is that people have some awakening of *bodily governance* that holds them accountable for their actions and behaviours in new ways. This bodily governance is about relationships and reconciliation. Rather than an intellectual and cognitive approach, the intention of Indigenous cultural safety is to first *feel* rather than understand, for it is through the body that we can be opened up to new ways of being with others and ourselves. “Cultural safety... is felt in the body” (F05). Therefore, it is less a question about what does cultural safety look like and more a question of what would the practice of cultural safety *feel* like?

While participating in affective activities, such as the blanket exercise or physical timelines, those with power and privilege are more open to the rich complexity of bodily reactions that are not dependent on will and consciousness, which is normally ‘sticky’ with actualized and unnoticed patterns of racism. In Indigenous cultural safety, settlers have space to experience the necessary feelings of discomfort, shame, guilt or fear, but then move past that to reach a new understanding of their bodily actions in the world, which can create a desire to change how they move in relation to other bodies.

Specifically, I mean change their relation to the bodies of Indigenous people, Indigenous nations, Indigenous knowledge, Indigenous water, Indigenous land...*all* Indigenous bodies. “Imagine the learning non-Indigenous people can embark upon, when they finally begin to recognize the violence attached to harmful beliefs and attitudes” (F06).

Indigenous cultural safety is ultimately productive. It does not step over the harms of colonialism and racism but works through the body and uses the affect of those harms to produce and create. “This work is *life giving*” (F05). I hope for us to move and create life together.

“The function of Aboriginal values and customs is to maintain the relationships that hold creation together” (Leroy Little Bear, 2000, p. 81). How we move in the world- how we affect and are affected- create relationships and the sum of all those relationships is the whole world. Facilitators put forward their body, mind, heart and spirit into work that courageously walks with settlers on a journey toward new relationships and social change. It is our collective responsibility to hold them up with respect and gratitude. In this research, I sought to listen to their lived experience and learn what their work meant to them. I hope this research contributes in a meaningful way an appreciation for their

accomplishments, what it takes to do this work and their contribution to reconciliation. Before I started this research, I believed in the potential of Indigenous cultural safety to foster new relationships. However, thinking about it mostly as a concept and practice, I failed to acknowledge the hard work of so many people who give the work life and meaning. Because of this research, I have learned so much more about both Indigenous cultural safety training and what it means to hold those spaces. I hope you have learned with me.

With my deepest respect and gratitude, I thank all facilitators who are using their gifts to create a better future.

7.2. Recommendations

- Large-scale study (either provincial or national) of the impact of this work on facilitator wellness. Include facilitator demographics (racial identity, gender identity, field of work e.g., post-secondary, health or private sector) without compromising participant anonymity. The study of differences in lived experiences and demands *between* groups could better detail the ways in which colonialism and racism, power and privilege, manifest in these spaces and how such manifestations impacts the wellness of diverse facilitators.
- Further development of training, curriculum and supports for facilitators. This could include unique local and place-based aspects, but there should be a decolonized theory of learning developed to prepare facilitators for their role and responsibilities. This education should achieve a deep understanding of conflict

with an emphasis on all aspects of trauma, including individual, intergenerational, historical and epigenetics. This can also help to serve as a preventative measure for potential harm to facilitators, such as facilitator burnout and emotional taxation. Formal education and training can offer facilitators structured opportunities to critically analyze their own racial standpoint, hear stories and strategies from experienced facilitators (i.e. receive mentorship), role play and act out different challenging scenarios (i.e. build a toolkit), and build a supportive network that consists of other facilitators.

- Facilitators at any organization/institution should have frequent access to debriefing with other facilitators, as well as counsellors who have experience with colonialism and racialization. Institutions and organizations should avoid having a facilitator work on their own. The benefit of having a team of facilitators is that they have others to talk with about the resistance they experience, as well receive support for trauma that may have surfaced, particularly for Indigenous facilitators, during the course of their work. Teams bring together people with shared experience and understanding, which helps to maintain health and wellbeing. More research can look at the team aspect of facilitation.
- The ally-ship model of co-facilitation is important. That relationship could be further explored. What does it look like? How do you hold each other in the work?

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APPENDIX

Appendix A: Ethics Approval

Board of Record
University of Victoria

Certificate of Ethical Approval for Harmonized
Minimal Risk Study

Human Research Ethics Board (HREB)
Administrative Services Building
Room B202
PO Box 1700 STN CSC
Victoria, BC V8V 2Y2

Also reviewed and approved by:

Island Health
First Nations Health Authority
UBC



Principal Investigators:
André Smith

Primary Appointment:
University of Victoria

Board of Record Approval Reference #:
BC19-0356

Study Title: **The process behind cultural safety training and our collective responsibility to cultural safety facilitators**

Study Approved: **16-Oct-2019**

Expiry Date: **15-Oct-2020**

Research Team Members: **Tara Erb (Principal Applicant, UVic),
Charlotte Loppie (Co-investigator, UVic)
Aileen Chong (Graduate student, UVic)**

Sponsoring Agencies: SSHRC (at UVic)

Documents included in this approval:

Document Name	Approved version date
Human research ethics application – V4	October 7, 2019
Consent form cultural safety facilitators – V2	September 24, 2019
Letter of Invitation to Participate in Research Study – V2	September 24, 2019
Invitation brochure_Staff – V2	September 24, 2019
Cultural safety facilitators Interview Guide – V1	September 24, 2019

This ethics approval applies to research ethics issues only and does not include provision for any administrative approvals required from individual institutions before research activities can commence.

The Board of Record (as noted above) has reviewed and approved this study in accordance with the requirements of the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2, 2014).

The "Board of Record" is the Research Ethics board designated on behalf of the participating REBs involved in a harmonized study to facilitate the ethics review and approval process. In the event that there are any changes or amendments to this approved protocol, please notify the Board of Record.

Board of Record Research Ethics Board Representative

Name: Dr. Rachael Scarth

Signature: 

Title: Associate VP Research Operations

Date: 16-Oct-2019

Appendix B: Invitation to Participate

Email Letter of Invitation to Participate in Research Study

Dear [Name]

You are invited to participate in a research study about facilitating cultural safety called *The process behind cultural safety training and our collective responsibility to cultural safety facilitators*. We would like to conduct a 45-60 minute face-to-face interview to ask questions on your experiences with facilitating cultural safety training. The study intends to examine the challenges and successes involved in facilitating cultural safety training from your personal perspective. Our focus is your lived experience so that researchers and policy makers can learn what supports are necessary to continue this important work. A deeper understanding of the process behind cultural safety may help researchers and policy makers identify resources needed to sustain cultural safety training, as well make visible any unrecognized risks that need to be addressed.

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary and deciding not to participate has absolutely no consequences in relation to your employment as a cultural safety facilitator. If you choose to participate, your confidentiality will be protected within the limits of the law.

This research is being conducted by Tara Erb as part of the requirement for an MA degree, under the supervision of Dr. André Smith, who is Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Victoria and Dr. Charlotte Loppie, who is Professor in the School of Public Health and Social Policy at the University of Victoria. André can be reached at (250) 721-7583 or at apsmith@uvic.ca and Charlotte can be reached at loppie@uvic.ca. Tara Erb, MA Candidate, can be reached at (250)882-6818 or at taralise@uvic.ca. You may verify the ethics approval of this study or raise any concerns you may have by contacting the Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (250) (250) 472-4545

There is no direct benefit to you as a result of the study. However, the results of this study could help researchers and policy makers understand the lived experience of cultural safety facilitation in the hope to establish what resources are necessary to continue this type of work. This study will offer you an opportunity to express your concerns around cultural safety training and have your perspective included in the literature on cultural safety. As well, the results might help establish an understanding of how to sustain and improve future cultural safety initiatives. You will receive a \$10 gift certificate in acknowledgment of the value of your knowledge, experience, and time. You can keep this certificate if you withdraw from the study at a later time. If you conduct the interview at the University of Victoria, you will be reimbursed for your parking.

Thank you for your consideration,

Appendix C: Consent Form



Consent Form- Facilitators

The process behind cultural safety training and our collective responsibility to cultural safety facilitators

Principal Investigators: André Smith, PhD
 Department of Sociology and Institute on Aging & Lifelong Health
 University of Victoria
 Victoria, British Columbia
 Tel: (250) 721-7583
 Email: apsmith@uvic.ca

Charlotte Loppie, PhD
 School of Public Health and Social Policy
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 Victoria, British Columbia
[Email: loppie@uvic.ca](mailto:loppie@uvic.ca)

Co-Investigators: Tara Erb, MA (Candidate)
 Department of Sociology
 University of Victoria
 Victoria, British Columbia
 Tel: (250) 882-6818
taralise@uvic.ca

Invitation to be involved

You are being invited to participate in a research study. Your participation must be free and voluntary. You are free to withdraw at any time. We invite you to take part in this research study because you are involved in facilitating cultural safety training/workshops. We would like to conduct a face-to-face interview to ask questions on your experiences with facilitating cultural safety training.

Background on the research questions

Literature suggests there is an increasing uptake of cultural safety training/workshops in professional environments, such as post-secondary institutions or healthcare environments. However, the literature lacks reference to the lived experience and demands of facilitating cultural safety training/workshops. Using an Indigenous and qualitative research approach, we intend to examine the challenges and successes involved in facilitating cultural safety training/workshops from the perspective of cultural safety facilitators. Our focus is on the lived experience of cultural safety facilitators to learn what supports are necessary to continue this important work. A deeper understanding of the process behind cultural safety may help researchers and policy makers identify resources needed to sustain cultural safety training and possible unrecognized risks (e.g. emotional fatigue) that need to be addressed.

Your participation is voluntary

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary and deciding not to participate has absolutely no consequences in relation to your employment as a cultural safety facilitator. This consent form tells you about the study, why this research is being done, what will happen to you during the study, and the possible benefits and risks or discomforts from participation. Please read this consent form carefully and take your time to decide whether or not you would like to volunteer. Please keep in mind that you can withdraw from the study at any time and without consequences and you do not have to tell us why.

Who is conducting the study?

This research is being conducted by Tara Erb as part of the requirement for her MA degree, under the supervision of Dr. André Smith, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, and Research Affiliate, Institute on Aging & Lifelong Health, at the University of Victoria, and Dr. Charlotte Loppie, Professor, School of Public Health and Social Policy at the University of Victoria. André can be reached at the University of Victoria at (250) 721-7583 or at apsmith@uvic.ca and Charlotte can be reached at loppie@uvic.ca. The research project will be posted on the UVic Library website “UVic Space”.

You may verify the ethics approval of this study or raise any concerns you may have by contacting the Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (250) 472-4545.

Who can participate in the study?

You can join the study if you are an adult and have ever been involved in facilitating cultural safety training/workshops.

What does participation in the study involve?

You will take part in a face-to-face interview of approximately 45-60 minutes in duration. You also have the option of participating in the interview with a co-worker if the co-worker also facilitates cultural safety and this is agreeable to both you. During this interview we will ask questions about your experiences with facilitating cultural safety,

which includes topics like designing activities, personal training, structural supports/resources, successes and challenges, addressing racism and emotional taxation/fatigue. We please ask you to limit your comments to your own facilitation and to not speak directly about the practice of other facilitators.

What are the possible risks of participating in the study?

There may be some stress and tiredness caused by the interview, as much as possible, we do the interview at a pace that is most comfortable. Please also note that that information disclosed during the interview will not result in any changes to your employment as a cultural safety facilitator.

What are the benefits of participating in the study?

There is no direct benefit to you as a result of the study. However, the results of this study could help researchers and policy makers understand the lived experience of cultural safety facilitation in the hope to establish what resources are necessary to continue this type of work. This study will offer you an opportunity to express your concerns around cultural safety training and have your perspective included in the literature on cultural safety. As well, the results might help establish an understanding of how to sustain and improve future cultural safety initiatives. You will receive a \$10 gift certificate in acknowledgment of the value of your knowledge, experience, and time. You can keep this certificate if you withdraw from the study at a later time.

What happens if I decide to withdraw my consent?

Your involvement in the study is voluntary. If you join the study, you can withdraw for any reason at any time and by whatever means you find easiest. When you leave, your information will be destroyed although non-identifying aggregate results may appear in publications. If you want to withdraw from the study, we ask that you contact the Co-Investigator (250) 882-6818.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

Your confidentiality will be protected within the limits of the law. Each participant is assigned a unique study number and only this number is used on any research related materials. Only approved study personnel have access to personal information and only after they have submitted a signed oath of confidentiality. Your personal information and study number will be stored separately. Paper records will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in a locked office under the control of the PI in the Cornett Building at the University of Victoria. All electronic records will be stored on a University of Victoria server protected by a firewall and part of a system that is maintained and monitored for security and performance 24 hours per day, 365 days per year. Please note that your information will not be shared with your employer.

The only limitation to your confidentiality may be that some colleagues will become aware of your participation if the interview takes place at a location where your colleagues see us.

In April 2020, we will have a summary report of our findings available. These findings will be shared with professionals in the field, at conferences, in journal publications, and with students. No personal information will be included in any of these publications. Our files will be stored for seven years as required by University policy. Afterwards, electronic records will be deleted and paper documents will be shredded and destroyed.

CONSENT

Please ✓ check this box if you consent to participate in the “*The process behind cultural safety training and our collective responsibility to cultural safety facilitators*” study.

By checking this box, you are agreeing that:

- You have read and understood the study information.
- You had sufficient time to consider the information and seek advice as necessary.
- You have to opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to your satisfaction.
- You understand that the information we collect is confidential.
- You understand that the researchers will use aggregate results for scientific objectives such as research and publications.
- You understand that your participation is voluntary and you are free to refuse to participate, withdraw, or answer specific questions at any time.
- You understand that your participation or withdrawing from the study will not impact your employment as a cultural safety facilitator.
- You understand that you are not waiving any of your legal rights as a result of signing this consent form.
- You have read this form and freely consent to participating in the study.

With your permission, we would like to record the interview so as to not to disrupt the interview process by taking notes while you are talking. However, recording is entirely optional and you can indicate your preference here.

I do ___/do not ___ agree to have the interview audio recorded.

CONSENT SIGNATURE PAGE

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understood this consent form, that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers, and that you give your consent to participate in the “*The process behind cultural safety training and our collective responsibility to cultural safety facilitators*” study.

First and Last Name (please print):

Signature:

Date Signed:

Researcher signature:

Date signed:

COPY OF REPORT

In April 2020 we will have a summary of our findings available. Please indicate if you would like a copy of these findings mailed to you.

- Yes, mail or email a copy of the findings
- No, do not mail a copy of the findings

Please write your mailing address or email address if you indicated you want a copy of the report.

Appendix D: Interview Guide

The process behind cultural safety and our collective responsibility to cultural safety facilitators

Cultural Safety Facilitators- Interview Guide

Personal Background:

I would like to start with some background information about your work as a cultural safety facilitator.

- How long have you worked as a cultural safety facilitator?
- Can you describe to me your main responsibilities?
- Why do you choose to facilitate cultural safety training/workshops? What brought you to do that work?

The setting/structure:

I am interested in some descriptions about the setting/structure of the training/workshop.

- Are the workshops in person or online or both?
- How large or small are the sessions?
- How frequently do you offer sessions?
- How long are the workshops? (1 hour, a day, ongoing)?
- Do participants volunteer to participate or is it required by their employer?
- Based on your experience, what do you think would be the ideal structure (length, frequency, etc.) and why?

Activities:

I would like to now talk about some of the activities and techniques used during the sessions

- What are some of the different activities participants do? (Online reading, sharing circles, role-playing, etc.)
- What are the types of things that you take into consideration when designing or delivering activities?
- In your experience, what activities are the most popular or elicit the most response?
- Do other people from the community participate in the sessions (in collaboration with you)? If so, what does their involvement look like?

Training:

Training can either be training you received through your education or training you learned formally or informally as a facilitator.

- Are there any workshops that you attended to learn about cultural safety facilitation? If yes, can you describe what you learned?
- How does the institution in which you work support your role as a facilitator?

Cultural Safety

Based on your own experiences, I would like to talk about the concepts of cultural safety and what they mean to you.

- What does cultural safety mean to you?
- Can you describe what cultural safety may look like to you in everyday work? Can you think of any examples?
- Could you share with me a few success stories or memorable moments you felt in your work?
- Are there any challenges to your work and, if so, can you please describe them?
- What role, if any, does empathy and empathic skills have in the training/workshop? That is, are there opportunities for participants to think about who they care about and why they care? Why might that be important?
- How do you get people to understand power imbalances and privilege if they are not used to being challenged in that way?
- Part of cultural safety is to challenge racism. In what ways do you see this accomplished?
- What do you feel must be built into the framework of cultural safety to keep it safe for facilitators?
- What resources are necessary to keep it sustainable?
- What do you think policy makers need to be aware of most?

Self Care

I would like to talk specifically about any measures of self-care that you do in regard to your role as a facilitator.

- What are the ongoing demands of cultural safety and do you set boundaries?
- What specific measures of self-care do you take as part of your job? (Take time off to process, etc.)
- Have you ever experienced emotional taxation/fatigue from your work?
- Have you ever felt harmed by the work you do? For example, have you experienced defensiveness, apathy or aggression from participants? If so, how do you deal with those harms?

Closing

- Do you have anything else that you want to share about your role as a cultural safety facilitator?

Appendix E: Oath of Confidentiality



**University
of Victoria**

THE PROCESS BEHIND CULTURAL SAFETY AND OUR COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY TO CULTURAL SAFETY FACILITATORS

OATH OF CONFIDENTIALITY – TRANSCRIPTIONIST

As a member of the research team with “The process behind cultural safety and our collective responsibility to cultural safety facilitators”, I understand that my roles and responsibilities are a valuable part of the work of the University of Victoria (hereafter referred to as the “Research”) and I agree to carry out my responsibilities to the best of my ability. While participating in the Research, I may hear individuals speak who wish to remain anonymous.

This is to certify that I, _____, as a partner with the Research team, understand that any information (written, verbal or other form) obtained during the performance of my role must remain confidential. This includes all information about team members, staff and research participants, as well as any other information otherwise marked or known to be confidential.

Accordingly, I agree not to disclose any confidential information acquired during the course of the Research, to any third party – including media – either during my service or after my service has ended.

I understand that a breach of confidentiality is warranted only where a research participant poses immediate and serious harm to themselves or others. I will immediately notify the proper services and advise Tara Erb, Andre Smith and/or Charlotte Loppie as appropriate if these issues should arise.

By signing below, I acknowledge that I have read, fully understand and accept the responsibilities set above relating to personal, confidential and/or proprietary information.

Date: day /month/year

Name (please print)

Signature

Date: day /month/year

Witness Name (please print)

Signature