Behind the Colonial Wall: The Chains That Bind Resistance

by

Brenda St. Germain
BSW, University of Victoria, 2003

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of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

in the School of Social Work

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Supervisory Committee

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Dr. Catherine Richardson, School of Social Work
Supervisor

Dr. Jeannine Carriere, School of Social Work
Departmental Member
Abstract

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The “colonial wall” is the analogy drawn between a visible, physical barrier designed to confine, control, and contain a nation and a psychological barrier designed to control, confine, and contain a nation by internalized colonialist subjugation or colonizer domination. This thesis answers the question, “How are colonial policies and ideologies internalized by Indigenous and Settler populations to maintain the relationship of domination and oppression in modern society?” The secondary questions explore how colonialism is perpetuated by both colonizer and colonized and ask if there are situations occurring in society today to indicate a correlation to the Indigenous Seven Prophecies and Eighth Fire Prophecy. Research constitutes a review of literature to explore the questions from thematic categories that emerged from the analysis: economics, epistemology, politics, and patriarchy. There are numerous literary contributions on the colonial phenomenon but few offered explanations about how it affected the psychology of a colonized individual or even how cognitive function is affiliated with acts of domination that affect the psyche of the colonizer. This thesis documents and offers emerging theories on how colonial policies and practices are taken up to influence the dyadic relationship between Settler peoples and Aboriginal populations in Canada today.
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I have never been a person who was blessed with long-term, constant, committed support systems. I’ve always been the “wall flower,” the last one picked on the team, the black sheep of the family, the “geek” or “teacher’s pet”…and, sadly, I believe that sense of “Other” comes from being Native. However, I have been so blessed with individuals who have crossed my path when I needed them most for my emotional, mental, physical and spiritual support. My friends rallied behind me, picked me up, encouraged me, and even physically dragged me outside when I had stayed inside my thesis purgatory too long.

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$^1$ Plains Cree Syllabic and standardized written Cree (Roman Syllabic Orthography or RSO) word for “I am grateful to you.”
presented themselves as the most challenging. I also wish to thank each of you who connected with me via social media and gave me quick signs of support and encouragement during this last hurdle of meeting my deadlines. I am so appreciative and value each of your gestures of friendship.
Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my late mom and dad, Ida and Alphonse St. Germain, all my Teachers and my granddaughter, Ayanika (“nokum” — my grandmother). To my sons, Chad and Mason, and my daughter-in-law, Tamara for listening to me and being my sounding board. I am your legacy: you are my history and the reason for my future. I AM and because of you, there is respect, honour, love, and courage in my life.
Myttyl wondered: did no one else know? Was it only she—and Yaweh (God)—who could tell the meaning of the crown of flies? It was so. By entering the carriage, by seating Himself in their presence and by closing the door, the Lord God Father of all Creation had consented to His own death. (Timothy Findley, 1996. Not Wanted on the Voyage, p. 112)

What if god were dead? What if the bible was just—simply a book written by a man? That is the question posed by Findley (1984) in this revisionist novel using an allegorical fable to tell the story. Ford (2010) quotes Adrienne Rich’s concept of “re-vision” as “the act of looking back, of seeing with fresh eyes, of entering an old text from a new critical direction” and gives readers agency to “deliberately seek new readings and possibilities from old texts. ‘Re-visions’ is not a passive form of engagement, but a way of re-writing history and literature” (p. 9). Findley is critically reviewing the Bible, an important book in Western society, and encourages us to realize that such powerful texts are not repositories of absolute truth or fact but are in part created by ourselves, by our reluctance or refusal to question what appears to be handed down to us, even when we have not asked for it. Literature, in forms such as revisionist novels, has the power to influence or transform an individual’s way of thinking or acting when they are shifted into a different perspective. I am hopeful that this thesis will have achieved, in some small way, one of the goals for Indigenous research, which is inspiring or affecting emancipatory knowing or transformation into decolonization. This thesis presents various concepts on the process of colonization, and in that information comes the knowledge of how to reverse that process through decolonization. Knowledge is power and everyone is their own agent.
The Post-Colonialism Facade: Behind the Colonial Wall

The title of this thesis, “Behind the Colonial Wall: The Chain That Binds Resistance,” refers to the invisible links in society that bind people together. Links can be connectors that establish relationships built on commonalities or they can be the links of a chain designed to obstruct, block, confine, or restrict movement. I use the colonial wall as an analogy to conceptualize the kind of confinement associated with the Berlin Wall. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union imprisoned citizens in a world built on propaganda and myths to create fear of “Others” and to sustain oppression. Trueman (2013) summarizes the building of the Berlin Wall in the following way:

The East German authorities tried to explain away the Wall by claiming the West was using West Berlin as a centre for spying and that the Wall was for keeping out spies…The west called the Berlin Wall the ‘Wall of Shame’ and it served to remind those who lived in Berlin that those in the Soviet controlled east lived far inferior lives to those who lived in western Berlin. (para 8-9)

The colonial wall that exists in Canada is similar to the Berlin Wall. Maracle (1996) explains the impact of oppression through domination in her book *I Am Woman*:

[the book] was intended to release me from the chains with which I bound myself, the chains which were welded to me by a history neither I nor my ancestors created. Bondage is paralyzing and removing chains is painful. When the chains are bound to you by internal attitudes and beliefs created by external world conditions, removing them is both painful and humbling….We are an internally colonized people. (viii)

I understand the mental and legal chains restricting freedom as a Cree woman who has lived in the “white world” during the time when a woman was expected to be married or to be involved with a man. That was the only way you could be validated as a person. Your only function was the home for cooking and cleaning; your sole purpose was having babies, and that measured your worth; you couldn’t have a credit rating since
you were viewed as the possession and property of men, even if you worked; and you had
to give up your maiden name when you married. I was told to walk “10 steps behind”
my white husband and the law didn’t protect you or your children when you were
physically abused. I understand completely the invisible chains in my mind that I
continue to throw off. I can relate to how a dog owner can get the dog to “heel” without
a leash—because the dog still thinks the leash and collar are around his neck. The
colonial wall is another form or a mental barrier constructed by government for the
specific purpose of defining the boundaries in domination and oppression.

**Becoming Self-Aware of Modern Colonialism**

Unbeknownst to many Canadians, the colonial period is not over. As an
Indigenous scholar, researcher, and social worker, I witness colonization at work almost
on a daily basis through acts “that maintain the subjugation or exploitation of Indigenous
peoples, land and resources” (Waziyatwin, 2011). Every non-Native citizen in North
America or “Turtle Island” is now occupying land and living off natural resources taken
at the expense of Indigenous peoples, a process that continues today. Public
demonstrations by supporters of the “Idle No More” movement, First Nation litigation
cases such as Beaver Lake Cree Nation against the Alberta (AB) government, and the
media debates presented over the Tar Sands in Alberta are visible acts of resistance to
further exploitation of land through colonization. Droitsch and Simieritsch (2010)
prepared a 10-page briefing note to present Aboriginal concerns regarding the oil sands in
Fort. McMurray, AB, and many of the concerns are substantiated either through research
studies or court decisions. Colonialism continues today.
I originally thought there might be usable components for my Knowledge Bundle in post-colonial theory, but Sefa Dei and Asgharzadeh (2001) explain that post-colonial theory implies the end of colonialism and that social work should focus on the transition of Indigenous peoples from one state of existence into a new state. In this thesis, I posit that we cannot transform into a new state, away from colonialism, until the Canadian majority society and Indigenous peoples have undertaken an active and self-reflective process towards understanding the psychology and internalization of oppression within colonialism in order for decolonization to begin the process of transformation.

Transformation involves changing systemic bureaucracies where original colonial concepts are inherent to the ideological framework of existing policies and procedures.

The colonial relationship occurs whenever there are exchanges between the cultures in systems reflecting dominant power relations, i.e. child welfare, corrections, education, health care, employment in urban or rural areas, and economic or community development in Indigenous communities. Heron (2005) argues “that the possibility of resisting the reproduction of dominant power relations rests on an analysis of one’s subjectivity and subject positions” and “draws on Foucault’s recognition of the power-knowledge axis” (p. 341). Heron challenges social workers to move beyond self-location into “critical reflection that is important for a deeper analysis of power relations” (p. 349). Tiffin (1988) proposes critical analysis of “universalist claims of western epistemology and ontology and the increasing impact of other cultures on European thinking… and the ‘crisis of authority’…speaks of the erosion of that former authority and a liberation into a world in which one’s own identity may be created or recuperated not as an alternative system or fixture, but as a process, a state of continually becoming in
which authority and domination of any kind is impossible to sustain” (p. 179). I propose that in order to move forward in this societal transformation, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people should also include conscientious and critical self-reflection on the colonial structures created through historical implementation of authority in Canada.

The overall effort of my research was the quest to understand how colonial ideologies establish a dualistic and reciprocal relationship where 1) oppression is internalized by Indigenous peoples, 2) Settler populations have learned benevolent colonizer behaviours, and finally, 3) individuals in both cultures are perpetuating and maintaining a relationship of domination and oppression in modern society (Alfred, 2002; Freire, 1970; Gordon, 1995; Scott, 1990). Willette (2013) argues, referencing Memmi (1957), “As Memmi pointed out in the beginning of his book, the imperialist adventure was a layered one: on one hand it was a purely economic quest which was authorized as a good-hearted desire to ‘help’ and ‘civilize’ the poor unfortunate native through benevolent colonization” (para. 7).

My research will provide a discursive and hermeneutic analysis of literature from Indigenous and Settler scholars who present theories on the internalization of colonialism within dominant and oppressed societies. Phenomenology is related to disciplines in philosophy and the study of structures of consciousness experienced by individuals. Hermeneutical phenomenology is the shift when the method begins to explore the role of language in the questioning and is most often utilized in theological interpretations on the nature of god, religious truths, and the meanings within the bible. I have applied the concept of modern hermeneutics, which includes both verbal and non-verbal forms of communication, from my Indigenous perspective on the literature to contextualize the
colonial meanings within the text. The analysis of the literature demonstrates how those relationships continue to manifest colonialism into modern society through various forms of policies and legislation implemented through four key elements in Canadian history.

There were four key colonial instruments that emerged in the thematic analysis of the extensive literature reviewed: economics, epistemology, politics, and patriarchy. These are generalized to capture the specific elements for analysis and determine how each mechanism impacts the three prongs within the research question: internalized colonialism, learned benevolent behaviours, and individuals in both cultures perpetuating or maintaining colonialism in modern society. This thesis will explore, through an examination of literature, what social factors contribute to the internalization of colonialism within the two cultures and how individuals are their own agents towards decolonization and not victims of history or bureaucracy.

Purposive and snowball sampling as data collection methods were modified to accommodate the Indigenous framework, with literature providing the communicative form of “storytelling” as a parallel to narrative data collection if I had utilized personal interviews as a methodology. Kahakalau (2004) explains that this “peculiar fusion of existing methodologies blended with features identified as distinctly Indigenous—the exact mix Smith (1999) discussed” (p. 21) is utilized in the development of his own approach, Indigenous heuristic action research. This is the same type of fusion-mixed approach I have developed in my research. I blend my analysis of the literature as a form storytelling with hermeneutic interpretation combined with my contributions in autoethnography rather than recruiting participants for interviews.
My research was initially to explore and develop the criteria of analysis that would allow me to understand internalization of colonialism by both the colonized and colonizers in modern society. Reviews of secondary literature and articles through online social media such as “blogs” became crucial tools and loci of knowledge. Eventually, the process evolved into my own contributions through autoethnography, as an Indigenous researcher within an Indigenous framework. Autoethnography also allows me to perform the function of analysis and interpretation, assigning meaning from my “insider” perspective as an Indigenous female researcher.

Smith (2012) explains that the research world and Indigenous communities expect Indigenous researchers to have a form of methodology within the Indigenous world but “this analysis has been acquired organically and outside of the academy…with few critical texts on research methodologies, which mention the word indigenous or its localized synonyms” (p. 8). This is one of the most important contributions of the growing body of Indigenous research and analysis. While these approaches do not necessarily embody the spirit of “critical realism” needed to contextualize colonialism, a small but lively space for Indigenous knowledge has been created. I appreciate the contributions of perspectives from critical theory, interpretivism, postcolonialism, etc., and strategies such as decolonization, phenomenology, case studies, participatory action, etc., since these paradigms and approaches have provided me with the groundwork to understand and perceive a space for my Indigenous perspective on the world of research. I initially struggled to fit my worldview as an Indigenous student into the rigid and strict measurements that were historically accepted as the key standards in empirical or
positivist methodology for legitimate research. There was an opening for other ways of being that entered the academic world through postmodernism and poststructuralism.

I have worked within many non-profit organizations and government departments where staff are acutely aware or sensitive to the word, “Aboriginal” and wish to be “PC” or politically correct when referencing or discussing Indigenous peoples.

For the purpose of this document, all references to Indigenous peoples will be guided by UVic Section 5.2, “Indigenous Peoples” (University of Victoria, 2006, (16–17):

- “Indigenous” is preferred as being more reflective of the recognition of a wider global community. “Indigenous” and “Original Peoples” are used for a more “global” acknowledgement.
- “Aboriginal” is used in legislation to refer to Aboriginal Peoples of Canada. It is legally inclusive of Métis, First Nations, and Inuit. The Federal Contractors Program identifies Aboriginal Peoples as one of the designated groups for employment equity.
- Although the constitution uses the distinctions “status” and “non-status,” these two terms are highly contested and not preferred.
- “First Nations” typically refers to those peoples who are “status,” usually have membership with a band, nation or treaty group and generally have a card from the government, but use of the term in this narrow sense—rather than in a more general sense—is contested as well.
- The singular of “Inuit” is “Inuk,” and their language is Inuktitut. The Inuit of the western Arctic call themselves Inuvialuit.
- Some Aboriginal people identify more closely with their tribal or linguistic group designation, e.g. Coast Salish, and prefer the use of the name of the community. Try to identify the tribal affiliation or community, for example: Nuu-chah-nulth, Kwaguilth, St’at’imc. Use Aboriginal spellings for the names of communities.
- Rather than the word “reserve,” preferred reference is to “community,” “ancestry” or “home.”
- The word “Native” is not usually used formally, but among Aboriginal groups with each other or for some social organizations, for example: “Native Student Union” at UVic.
In addition, “Aboriginal” or “Indian” will be used in accordance with the definitions contained within the *Indian Act, Constitution Act, 1982—Charter of Rights*, etc., or legislative documents pertaining to the Indigenous population in Canada.\(^2\)

Indigenous social workers cannot become passive bystanders to, or perpetuators of, the pragmatic attitude of Euro-centric philosophies (Findley, 1984; Heron, 2005; Tiffin, 1988) that have determined what is valid in the definition of reality. Indigenous researchers can centre Indigenous epistemology and ontology to contest and end the “culture of silence” on the subject of racism, prejudice, and colonialism.

**Development of Research Perspective**

I receive daily emails and some of them contain inspirational messages, such as the following spiritual prayer and cultural meaning below:\(^3\):

> Oh Great Spirit, keep me awake today. Let me hear the voices of our ancestors…let me hear the voices of the Grandfathers. Because everybody is doing it doesn’t make things right. Let me hear the truth today and become a coyote for the people. Give me the courage to be willing to be different. Let me walk straight on the Red Road. (unknown)

> “People need to wake up. They can’t hear God’s [Creator’s] voice if they’re asleep” (anonymous).’ Black Elk, a Sioux, talks about the hoop of many hoops. He says that above the people is a hoop, a conscience, the total belief of the people. If the hoop is sick, meaning dysfunctional, co-dependent, a lot of alcoholism, family abuse, violence, racism and sexual abuse, the people can get used to this and think this is normal. In other words, the people are asleep. If we have left the spiritual way of life, the people are asleep. If we are giving our power to another entity, the people are asleep. In most tribes, there are Coyote Clans. The job of the Coyote Clan people is to wake the people up. They need to become a nuisance and irritate the people. We must return to the spiritual walk. (unknown)

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\(^2\) The descendants of the original inhabitants of North America. The Canadian *Constitution Act, 1982 Section 35.1*, recognizes three aboriginal peoples of Canada: Indians, Métis and Inuit. These are three separate peoples with unique heritages, languages, cultural practices, and spiritual beliefs.

The prayer spoke to my own “Spirit” because I was constantly thinking of Black Elk’s words and remembering conversations with my parents and Teachers about the changes in our people and how different our way of life is now in comparison to when they or their parents were growing up. I had experienced drastic changes in my own personal life throughout the years as events, circumstances, and situations influenced the factors affecting my lifestyle. My Teachers created the balance for me to find an understanding of the events in my life and often helped me to understand the circumstances as they applied to our philosophies and ideologies in the ontological view towards life. Everything made sense in my world and then, as happens in life, you end up being alone, without your Teachers. You try to recall what they said, how they said it, or what meaning or value you were taught that could be injected into the event or situation so there can be balance in your life and the world makes sense again. My Spirit Helper is the Eagle and my journey, as it relates to how I walk in both worlds, is like the Eagle. I acknowledge that my worldview is from a larger perspective…on the bigger picture…or, in the world of academia, a macro perspective. I acknowledge I was fortunate to have the guidance of Elders who helped me align the ontological understanding within the Cree epistemology while I struggled to develop the cultural bridge between my Indigenous world and reality with my academic journey in social work.

**Research Question**

I originally began with the research question, “How are colonial policies and ideologies internalized by Indigenous and Settler populations to maintain the relationship of domination and oppression in modern society?” The original concept was expanded into three-prongs to delineate the dichotomy between dominant and oppressive roles as
they exist in a dualistic and reciprocal colonial society and a third prong to explore how individuals within each culture may be contributing to the perpetuation or maintenance of colonialism through their own actions, thoughts, or behaviors. The research question is now the following: “How are colonial ideologies, 

1. internalized by Indigenous peoples (colonized); 
2. internalized into benevolent attitudes by Settlers (colonizers); and 
3. perpetuated or maintained in both cultures to ensure continuance of a dominant/oppressive colonial relationship in modern society?

The concept of “internalized colonialism” is a term used in reference to the personal cognitive processing of individuals, either as a colonized or colonizer participant within a colonial nation. This paper is to explore both roles (colonized and colonizer) and understand the colonial relationship within the context of Canadian history. The British imperialistic monarchy decided to expand their empire into new territory, now called “Canada,” and integrated “colonialism” as the paternalistic political philosophy and view of the world during that period of time. Colonization would be the establishment of policies onto the original inhabitants (without their consent) defining Britain as the superior nation responsible (benevolent attitude) for their “well-being” through indoctrination into British terms of “civilization” and religious dogma. Internalized colonialism refers to when “at some point, the colonized assimilate so much to the ways of the colonizer that they then perpetuate colonialism through an internal process of continuing to reinforce colonialist values” (Gould, 2008, p. 525). Those colonialist values are direct acts of domination and are so intrinsically engrained into legislation that the dysfunctional oppressive acts were sanctioned in residential schools,
written within the Indian Act, demonstrated through violent acts of racism, etc. and have become normalized and now static ideologies within Canadian cultural norms and societal values.

Additional research questions surfaced after recent events such as “Occupy Canada” and “Idle No More” and the CBC documentary *The 8th Fire*, which presented a provocative look at the richness and diversity of Aboriginal cultures and Canada’s complex 500-year-old relationship with Indigenous peoples—a relationship still mired in colonialism, conflict and denial.” I expanded my pondering into whether these events could be a foreshadowing of a huge societal shift occurring to signal the transformative change I had heard about through my Elders. They had shared some of their stories about the predictions of our Ancestors across Turtle Island through the Prophecies of the Seven and Eighth Fires.

**The Prophecies**

There are two key Indigenous prophecies often referred to by Elders throughout “Turtle Island.” The prophecy of the “Rainbow Warriors” speaks about a time in the future when “Mother Earth will be ravaged and the animals are dying and a new tribe of people of many colours will come together from the four sacred corners and work against powerful forces to heal Mother Earth. These children will be known as the “Warriors of the Rainbow” and will bring with them a return to the old Indigenous values of unity, love, and respect to all living things on Mother Earth. The “Seven Fires Prophecies”

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4 CBC, Doc Zone (2013, January 13). *8th Fire* draws from an Anishinaabe prophecy that declares now is the time for Aboriginal peoples and the settler community to come together and build the “8th Fire” of justice and harmony. Available on www.cbc.ca/doczone/8thfire/

5 The Indigenous peoples in Canada and other First Nations refer to the North American continent as Turtle Island in the telling of their Creation stories about the beginning of life in this part of the world.
were given by eight prophets in seven different time periods and to various Indigenous nations, marking phases in the life of the people on Turtle Island.

This universal knowledge has been part of the oral traditions as handed down by Elders such as Grandfather William Commanda who holds the purple and white Seven Fires Wampum Belt, which dates back to before the arrival of Columbus. Grandfather Commanda is an Algonquin Elder from Kitigan Zibi, [Maniwaki] Quebec. A written version of the prophecy was included in “The Mishomis Book” by Edward Benton Bakai, Midewiwin Grand Chief. Many Indigenous knowledge’s are not written down—a remnant of going underground when ceremonies were prohibited. The Canadian government and its Indian Agents prohibited our ceremonies, language, and anything related to our culture, so it was done secretly or quietly. I hear stories from people who talk about whispering in Cree under the blankets so the nuns wouldn’t hear them. Here are these children instinctively knowing to keep speaking their language, and they always say it was because they didn’t want to forget who they were.

The prophecies predict that there will be a time in the future when the different colours of people from all nations and faiths will come together and choose a path of higher spiritual connection to reach respect, wisdom, and spirituality to avoid environmental and social catastrophe. This phase is referred to as the Eighth Fire and is the time for justice and harmony.

It is at this time that the light-skinned race will be given a choice between two roads. If they choose the right road, then the Seventh Fire will light the Eighth and final Fire—an Eternal Fire of Peace, Love, and brotherhood. But if the light-skinned race makes the wrong choice of roads, then the destruction which they brought with them in coming to this country will come back to them and cause them much suffering and death to all the Earth’s people. Traditional people from all Nations have interpreted the “two roads” as technology and spirituality. The headlong
rush for technological development has left the Earth seared and in danger of destruction.

The CBC documentary 8th Fire (Ondaatje, Odele, & Gilchrist, 2012) was timely in terms of Indigenous unrest towards the Canadian government and dominant society and relates back to the “Seventh Prophecy,” which speaks about Indigenous peoples retracing back to the ancestral teachings after the Fifth and Sixth Fires. Those predictions forecast that people will struggle with their lives after abandoning their traditional teachings to accept a promise of great joy and salvation from new people in their land. Indigenous Seven Fires prophecies of relationship and the impacts on Indigenous peoples with Settler populations are listed in Figure 1 which is a summary of the actual reading by Elder William Commanda at the “Aboriginal Learning Network Constituency Meeting of Elders, policy makers, and academics on April 16-17 in Aylmer, Quebec. The source of this story is “The Mishomis book: the voice of the Ojibway” by Edward Benton-Banai. Printed in St. Paul, Minn. Published by Indian Country Press, copyright 1979” (Passamaquoddy Tribe, 2003).
Figure 1 Seven Prophecies and Eighth Fire

- 1st Fire: Indigenous peoples will gather and with the sacred teachings, find the land shaped like a turtle and move inland.
- 2nd Fire: Nations will continue to gather and grow spiritually.
- 3rd Fire: Nations will travel west.
- 4th Fire: coming of the light-skinned race.
- 5th Fire: If people accept this promise of a new way from light-skinned people and abandon old teachings, then the struggle of the 5th Fire will be with them for many generations.
- 6th Fire: Those deceived by this promise will take their children away from the teachings of the Elders and that generation will turn against the Elders. Elders will lose their reason for living—their purpose in life. A new sickness will come among the people and balance will be disturbed—people will lose their will to live and their purpose in living.
- 7th Fire: New People will emerge and retrace their steps to find what was left, back to Elders. But some Elders fell asleep. Awakening will find some with nothing to offer; some will be silent because no one is asking them anything. The New People will have to be careful in how they approach the Elders.
- TIME OF REBIRTH, REKINDLING AND LIGHTING OF SACRED FIRES AGAIN TO THE 8TH AND FINAL FIRE: AN ETERNAL FIRE OF PEACE, LOVE BROTHERHOOD/SISTERHOOD. If the light-skinned race makes the wrong choice of the roads, then the destruction they brought with them will come back and cause much suffering and death to all Earth’s people.

Elders at ceremonies in Maskwacis (previously known as Hobbema), Alberta, have been speaking to community members with messages to “wake up”—waniska—and to “get up”—pasikô—and return to the old ways: not be lazy anymore with the traditional teachings. They would tell the people, “Time is running out for Mother Earth:
She is sick and everyone must start to work together to help Her heal Herself.” Their messages often project an urgent tone that people (Indigenous) must not be idle anymore—they must stop following “white ways,” referring to Western values and belief systems (Fifth Fire).

**Purpose of Research**

These questions are not to imply that all Canadian mainstream citizens or all Indigenous people in every Native community, urban or rural, are actively engaged in covert or intentional forms of colonization. The intent of the thesis is to discuss the historical injection of colonial strategies into legislation, laws, and ideologies contained in Canadian values and explore how each person could inadvertently be contributing to colonization through passive acceptance of colonial policies and procedures that are overt activities of colonization.

The research and this document contain elements of emancipatory and transformative functions for social change that aligns with my own self-reflection through the autobiographic materials as the researcher. My thesis research question was designed to explore secondary qualitative data but the project eventually extended into my own personal experiences as I began applying a colonial discourse and hermeneutic analysis through an Indigenous perspective.

The literature review was to define the contextual meaning and understanding of colonialism and its origins in Canadian history from the two cultures involved in the dyadic colonial relationship, including the historical influences from three ethnic groups in Canada that influenced Canadian history: Britain, France, and North American Indians. Articles were selected on the basis of their relevance to theories on internalized
colonialism or colonized and colonizer mentality, internalized domination or learned benevolent behaviours, and psychological impacts in colonized societies.

Literature review investigation led to various chronological timelines and influences in Canadian history, definitions and clarification of terms and phrases within the context of the Indigenous landscape, ideological contracts between Indigenous and Settler societies, and introduction into the concepts of internalized colonization and learned benevolent colonizer. The purpose of the literature review was to provide the contextual landscape that threads innocuous pieces of information viewed as Canadian history into an overview that allows an individual to comprehend the parallel Indigenous reality of the sweeping devastation and almost genocidal effect colonialism has inflicted on the Indigenous populations.

My vision as a student researcher was to produce a document that would stimulate reflection and prompt people’s self-awareness in mainstream society of how their personal behaviours were inadvertently contributing to the maintenance or perpetuation of colonial acts or ideologies. The decolonizing perspective juxtaposes both Settler and Indigenous worlds with my self-examination of personal reflections through the lens of a Cree woman with traditional knowledge who is also a student in the Western world of academia. The framework becomes the foundation of the research and the process leads to where the Indigenous researcher ultimately becomes another source of data analysis in an inquiry method that includes autoethnography.

The social factors affecting the Indigenous population can become overwhelming if the scope is not focused, which was the rationale for narrowing the literature review to four initial themes: imperialism, linguistic manipulation, Doctrine of Discovery, and male
domination. However, these themes were implicitly linked to the general themes of economics, epistemology, politics, and patriarchy. This thesis delves into specific patterns of policies or behaviors demonstrated in each theme to illuminate the duplicity within the colonial phenomenon that is or could be purposefully or inadvertently perpetuated by either the colonized or the colonizers.

My passion and focus for the past 30 years has been community development, looking at the intrinsic pieces making up the social structures, in both mainstream and First Nation communities; comparing and contrasting the similarities and differences. The autoethnographic contribution to this thesis is a confirmation of the Knowledge Bundle I have accumulated in the two worlds I have travelled. This thesis and the process I inhabited for the past three years has demonstrated to me just how difficult and complicated it is to articulate something so vague and elusive as a phenomenon described as “colonial.” The definitions are under revision as academics and theorists re-view and re-examine historic colonial documents and challenge previous perspectives or theories on colonialism and colonization. The complexity of decolonization is confusing and becomes overwhelming as you attempt to synthesize multiple emerging theories into a logical or comprehensible process. There is not a large volume of literature specifically on internalized colonization within Indigenous or Settler populations and even less on Canadian colonialism, and none of the information is presented in linear sequences or patterns.
My father and I watched with the world how the small town of Oka catapulted Native land rights into worldwide attention with the poignant snapshot of these two individuals. My dad said to me, “The worst thing the government did was to educate the Indians.” I was dumbfounded because my dad would have been classified as illiterate with his grade two education. I was aware of his reading challenges but I don’t believe my siblings knew how much support he received at work to become an assistant pathologist, so his comment was out of context to the proud Indian I knew. Until he added, “After that, Indians could understand what the White people were doing to us.” My dad knew that there was power in knowledge and education was the process to obtain knowledge in mainstream society. He had grade two but was a pathologist’s assistant and our lives improved dramatically in correlation to his achievements at work. We can see the benefits of increased knowledge through higher educational levels in the Aboriginal population through increased acts of resistance such as the “Idle No More” movement and legal challenges against the provincial and federal governments.
Laenui & Salzman (2014) present their expanded work from Virgilio Enriques’ processes of colonization and phases of decolonization. The first phase in decolonization, according to Laenui & Salzman (2014) is “Rediscovery and Recovery” and is about “rediscovery of one’s history and recovery of one’s culture, language, identity, etc. [which] is fundamental to movement of decolonization and forms basis for further steps” (p. 84). The complete phases will be presented in detail later in this thesis. I mention “Rediscovery and Recovery” at this point to establish the processes of de-colonization I have inadvertently undertaken in my journey.

I begin my thesis by introducing the “colonial wall,” the research questions, and my Self-Location in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 is dedicated to the articulation of reflections or portions of my journey of “Rediscovery and Recovery” as I evolved into my own Aboriginal identity. My Teachers have often told me, “You have to know the person looking at you in the mirror” and stressed that I needed to learn where I came from in order to understand where I was going. Chapter 2 begins the process of contextualizing the ontology and subsequent lifestyle I have chosen as a Cree woman living in Alberta.

Chapter 3 presents the origin of Settler ideologies in Europe and Britain, beginning with the “Doctrine of Discovery” which is the international legal principle under which land theft was legalized and sanctioned when Europeans and Americans explored and exploited “new lands in the fifteenth through twentieth centuries” (Miller, 2005, p. 1). Definitions of cultural norms and societies are introduced to establish the environmental and ideological influences during the pre- and post-Confederation periods in Canada. The chapter ends by defining and clarifying colonialism, colonization, and imperialism.
Chapter 4 introduces the four colonial instruments where colonial ideologies were injected into acts of colonization within Canadian society: capitalism, epistemology, politics, and patriarchy. Indigenous peoples were indoctrinated into colonial submission through intensive, constant, and repeated messages in every aspect of society from colonial imperialists who believed the “civilized” European race was the ultimate evolution of the human race. This chapter presents theorists who are exploring the effects and internalization of oppression within colonized nations.

Chapter 5 proposes concepts and recommendations for decolonization towards transformation into an egalitarian society and explores the possibility of a paradigmatic shift in the societal dynamics that could be interpreted as indicators of a wave of change in society. Chapter 6 is the conclusion of my thesis and shares my insights on internalization of colonial policies and the prospects of decolonization in Canada.

I introduced the Seven Prophecies and Eighth Fire in Chapter 1. In this thesis I will refer to the fourth through to seventh Prophecies and the eighth Fire. The first three Fires do not specifically relate to the dyadic relationship that exists between Indigenous peoples and Settler colonizers during colonialism in Turtle Island. Each individual Prophecy is discussed to determine if there has been a correlation between the Indigenous ancestors’ predictions and the historical relationship between Indigenous peoples and colonizers.

**Self-Location**

You could study the ancestors, but without a deep feeling of communication with them it would be surface learning and surface talking. Once you have gone into yourself and have learned very deeply, appreciate it, and relate to it very well, everything will come very easily. Inside of every human being are our ancestors and these ancestors still live. Today, the white man calls this DNA, but there is more than DNA.
We have the ability to go inside ourselves and learn from the ancestors. The ancestor teachings reside in the place of the center. The ancestors are waiting for us to come there so they can share the ancient teachings. It is said, “Be still and know.”

My name is Brenda St. Germain and my Spirit Name is Kihwew Iskwew “Eagle Woman.” I view myself as an Indigenous woman with no other option than to identify myself, according to the federal government’s Indian category, as an “Other.” This is the direct result of Euro-centric philosophies and religious dogma systems in a new society that supported colonial policies and practices implemented by politicians in Canadian history, through the Enfranchisement Act, 1869; the Indian Act, 1876, Clause 6 (later, Section 12(1)B); and Bill-C31, 1985. There are many Canadian legislative “Acts” that have affected both my maternal and paternal families.

Self-location usually includes statements defining myself as a professional social worker within the context of an anti-oppressive approach. But, more importantly, self-location should include who I am as an Indigenous research student along with the articulation of where I situate myself within society. Individuals are socially located and constructed according to various sociological concepts, including aspects of relationships, empowerment or disempowerment, class, gender, age, and even political views. This research is designed within an Indigenous framework and required multi-layered preparation for the Indigenous inquiry and exploration that is particular to the Indigenous researcher, myself. Kovach (2009) explains that self-location within Indigenous research involves identification of tribal epistemology to avoid the application of “pan-Indianism” to methodology, allows congruency with a knowledge system (Cree, Indigenous methodology, perspectives), shows respect to my ancestors and Teachers, and “is a

6 Author unknown
means of building ‘reciprocity, rapport and trust between researcher and researched’” (cited in Liamputtong, 2017, p. 13). I cannot speak for all Aboriginal people, but I am responsible and accountable to my Aboriginal community. I blend the philosophy within an anti-oppressive approach with my Cree tribal epistemology to identify and mitigate power differentials in research. Strega (2005) proposes that within the “system of domination and subordination, where the perspectives of the marginalized are not fully appreciated, those of us who have this experience need to share it, voice it, and give it space” (p. 224) and Kovach (2009) suggests, “For if we do not, who will?” (p. 110).

I am a Cree woman, raised in a small urban city in Alberta. I have encountered racism all my life. My family lived within the confinement of “Native shame” imposed on us by a society that kept us marginalized as “others.” But my father, along with other Elders, taught me to claim pride in my Aboriginal identity and helped me to find my own voice. Tribal epistemology has been the foundation that showed me the difference between living the philosophies within the teachings and ego: walking the talk.

Indigenous research carries emancipatory and transformative components to begin the “decolonization” from Euro-Western domination in policies and legislation. Indigenous research frameworks allow Aboriginal voices to be heard since research is relevant to policy and practices within programs relevant to Indigenous peoples (child welfare, corrections, housing, etc.). I have the education and knowledge to help the Aboriginal voices to be heard through this research.

The historical influences that affected my father’s legal status and lineage of Aboriginal classification in his genealogy demonstrate the conflict between Indigenous beliefs towards familial obligations and religious dogma related to “marriages” and
“legitimate” children. My late father was taken away by his biological father and raised by his aunt, who I always thought was my Kokum. These were the skeletons in our closet that were revealed only after some of the older generation passed into the Spirit world. My paternal aunt told me their mom had fled her sister’s home, leaving her three children. The two girls were eventually adopted by other families in the community, which is known as “traditional adoption.” The baptism certificate is the legal documentation accepted by Indian Affairs as the official record and confirmation that my father’s last name would be “St. Germain” instead of his biological mother’s last name, “Cardinal” as shown on his birth certificate. Attempts to advocate for Registered Treaty Status from the paternal genealogical lineage have been unsuccessful, based on a note in the file that the church viewed my father as illegitimate and his stepfather would not acknowledge him. There is no legal recourse currently in the Indian Act that could help an individual realign their Aboriginal identity or amend Indian classifications that were based on past decisions from religious-influenced judgments about sanctioned couple unions.

My Aboriginal status in the maternal family history is just as complicated as my father’s story. My late mother and her siblings were all born in Maskwacis (Hobbema), but her grandfather and father were not allowed to be registered as Indians during the signing of the Treaties because they were used as Interpreters for the Indian Agents. Canadian colonial policies were designed to civilize not hire Indians, and disenfranchisement policies, such as the Legislature of Upper Canada “Gradual Civilization Act” of 1857 (Annett, 2003), were passed as a strategy to “get rid of the
Indian problem. My mother experienced racial hardships from both Settler and Indigenous communities as a young, light-skinned Native child, born in Maskwacis (Hobbema), who attended residential school during the day but had the “white privilege” of returning home in the evenings. She was forced into a contradictory life with no “legal” Indian status or clear understanding of her Aboriginal identity within either Settler or Indigenous communities.

I suspect that parental influences contributed to the confusion of Aboriginal identity within my familial home environment while we were growing up in a small community in Central Alberta. My siblings wouldn’t acknowledge the “Native” ancestry while I struggled with defining my Aboriginal identity outside the familial circle of confusion. I could never create an Aboriginal identity within the legal descriptions provided by the federal government but I began to learn about myself as a Cree woman through traditional ways of knowing from Elders and Teachers.

I believe knowledge of self as an Indigenous person, in combination with tribal knowledge gained from Elders connected to their territorial lands, begins to form the foundation in understanding your role within Indigenous communities for the next seven generations. I have been nudged to continue learning in academic institutions and was fortunate to find a university that nurtured my personal and academic growth in an environment that aligned completely with my own ontological and epistemological beliefs as a Cree woman in Alberta. The process of decolonization begins with learning your familial history and the development of your Aboriginal identity. This difficult self-

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7 Duncan Campbell Scott was the deputy superintendent of the Department of Indian Affairs from 1913 to 1932. He is known for his advocacy of assimilation policies towards Canadian First Nations peoples and worked with the major religions to amend the Indian Act to establish mandatory residential schools for Native children.
exploratory process combines with knowing the Indigenous landscape and its complexity within the boundaries of Canadian soil while recognizing the foreign ideological impacts that were implanted into legislation and laws during Confederation.
Chapter 2—Decolonization: Indigenous Identity and Research

Introduction: Indigenous Landscape

Reviewing the literature for the research topic would have been an overwhelming task if the criteria were generalized to the social phenomenon of colonialism. Memories of conversations flashed through my mind to redirect my focus to a simple question: “Why?” I had been a government worker engaged with First Nation leaders as they struggled in their community development attempts to change poor social conditions in their communities. Coincidently, there had been many informal and random conversations at ceremonies where the topic inevitably changed to the poor living conditions as well.

There has been a shift in the past few years where the discussions now include moments of reflection where we talk openly and allow brief internal critiques of ourselves, as Indigenous nations and communities. We share stories of our observations on the behaviours of the younger generation as parents, children, and grandchildren in comparison to older generations and the Indigenous values, or lack of Indigenous values. I am left wondering, “Why are the social conditions not improving with all the social programs?” “Why are our people not working or finishing school?” “Why are the jails still full?” Why are our Indigenous people still disproportionately over represented in every social sector in mainstream society e.g. corrections, unemployment, child welfare, education, all determinants to health, etc.?”

Absolon (2009) accurately describes Indigenous social work (including research) as a “vast landscape” and draws an analogy between the depth, scope, and complexity of
Indigenous social work and navigating difficult terrain. The Indigenous environment is referred to as Indigenous terrain and encompasses more than a simple, linear, Euro-western, social work approach, delineated into compartments and fragmented down to an individual’s job or an agency’s contract. An Indigenous-centred social work practice operates under the premise that colonialism has an effect on every Indigenous person and community. If we use Absolon’s landscape analogy to compare the Euro-western approach to an Indigenous-centred approach, it would be the difference between walking on flat plains and climbing through snow-covered, rugged mountains.

When we understand the complex issues and territorial boundaries in each individual’s life, we can then focus on discovering their “stories” and how they relate to their relationships, their community, and their values on respect. We address the issue of intergenerational trauma by acknowledging the occurrence of colonial trauma and discovering where or which generation it first impacted and how they interacted with it, and we work from there.

The key element of this or any Indigenous research is that the material and data collected and presented in the document is through the lens of an individual not from mainstream society, not from a non-Native male interpretation, but from the contextual meanings related to the world through my understanding of life, as a Cree woman in Cree territory, living in Amiskwaciwâskahikan (Beaver Hills House), now called Edmonton, in the Treaty 6 area of Alberta. The answer to some of the questions lies in the story, or the history within the land called “Canada,” “Turtle Island,” or the North Americas from an Indigenous perspective.
Autoethnography as Methodology

Sinclair (2004) suggests that Aboriginal education is an effective strategy to decolonize pedagogy and reports, “The cultural imperative of Aboriginal social work education is to train social workers who incorporate Aboriginal epistemology and pedagogical methods into their approaches, combined with appropriate and useful western theory and practice models, within a critical historical context” (p. 56). My research framework and this thesis are the beginning stages towards achieving this type of Indigenous social work practice and could make a contribution to Indigenous research. Hopefully, this thesis will also inform a broader conversation about creating more justice for Indigenous peoples in Canada.

Autoethnography is another method introduced by postmodernism during the “crisis of confidence” in the 1980s. Ellis, Adams, and Bochner (2011) provide an excellent overview of this approach to research in the following:

Scholars turned to autoethnography because they were seeking a positive response to critiques of canonical ideas about what research is and how research should be done…they wanted to concentrate on ways of producing meaningful, accessible, and evocative research grounded in personal experience, research that would sensitize readers to issues of identity politics, to experiences shrouded in silence, and to forms of representation that deepen our capacity to empathize with people who are different from us [and the approach] acknowledges and accommodates subjectivity, emotionality, and the researcher’s influence on research, rather than hiding from these matters or assuming they don’t exist. (paras. 2–3)

Autoethnography aligns with Indigenous research methodology to ensure the space for and voices of Indigenous communities are represented in the content of the research. The importance of accurate interpretation and the need for cross-language translators is the reason Indigenous researchers (Smith, 1999; Battiste & Youngblood
Henderson, 2000) are critical of Western researchers who have negligently or arrogantly omitted confirmation of authenticity or validity from the Indigenous participants they studied, missing an opportunity to accurately capture the deeper Indigenous contextual meaning to the area they were attempting to study—another meaning to the phrase, “lost in translation.”

This research attempts to inject personal narratives into the summations within the four colonial structures and theories extracted from the data analysis. Ellis, Adams, and Bochner (2011) present a compelling argument for autoethnography in the following statement:

Scholars began recognizing that different kinds of people possess different assumptions about the world—a multitude of ways of speaking, writing, valuing and believing—and that conventional ways of doing and thinking about research were narrow, limiting, and parochial…For the most part, those who advocate and insist on canonical forms of doing and writing research are advocating a White, masculine, heterosexual, middle/upper-classed, Christian, able-bodied perspective. Following these conventions, a researcher not only disregards other ways of knowing but also implies that other ways necessarily are unsatisfactory and invalid. Autoethnography, on the other hand, expands and opens up a wider lens on the world, eschewing rigid definitions of what constitutes meaningful and useful research. (p. 2-3)

Autoethnography is a methodology that allows me to pivot and shift from a Western method of analysis towards a natural process of interpretation of the literature using elements of a hermeneutic framework, extracting the text, context, and individual meanings through an Indigenous lens and worldview as the researcher.

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8 Phrase used to describe “when something is translated into another language and then translated back into original language—the meaning becomes “lost.”
Hermeneutic Interpretation

My research is not about colonialism as a modern phenomenon (Alfred, 2009; Barker, 2006; Bear Nicholas, 2005; Hilton, 2011; Veracini, 2011) and after the literature review it became apparent that the research was going to be based on a qualitative method of inquiry or exploration. I struggled with these frameworks until I re-centred and re-focused towards nehiyawewin and the standpoint and theoretical framework of the research. Smith (1999) states her book “acknowledges the significance of indigenous perspectives on research” (p. 3). Walter and Andersen (2013) agree with Smith (1999) that “research” has become a dirty word since most statistics do not represent the reality of Indigenous peoples or capture only “narrow slices of our social complexity” (p. 132). I felt the data in this thesis needed to be analyzed and interpreted through my Indigenous perspective and a hermeneutic interpretation best aligned with my methodology.

Phenomenology and hermeneutic phenomenology have different philosophical perspectives and impact the research methodologies, particularly after disenchantment in the 1980s with the empirical research methodology of prediction, control, and measurement. Laverty (2003) states that “hermeneutic phenomenology is concerned with the life world or human experience as it is lived…consciousness is not separate from the world, but is a formation of historically lived experience” (p. 8). Husserl and Heidegger, and later Gadamer, were early philosophical theorists of phenomenology and hermeneutic phenomenology. Laverty quotes Koch (1995) who outlines Heidegger’s view as:

emphasis on the historicality of understanding as one’s background or situatedness in the world…a person’s history or background includes what a culture gives a person from birth and is handed down, presenting ways of understanding the world. Through this understanding, one determines
what is ‘real’, yet Heidegger also believed that one’s background cannot be made completely explicit. Munhall (1989) described Heidegger as having a view of people and the world as indissolubly related in cultural, in social and in historical contexts. (p. 8)

Heidegger’s philosophical application of hermeneutic phenomenology allows “space” for Indigenous interpretation from my Indigenous perception of the world (research standpoint) within the contextual application (research method) associated with my Indigenous ways of knowing (ontology), through Cree teachings (epistemology) about Natural Laws (axiology) and my position in the world (social position).

**Indigenous Methodology**

Smith (1999) turns to African American scholars to exemplify modifications within research by individuals who have been “breaking trails”⁹ into “ways of talking about knowledge and its social constructions, and about methodologies and the politics of research. But the words that apply to indigenous researchers have been inserted into the text, then read with our own world in/sight” (p. 8). Walter and Andersen (2013) confirm, “While the literature on Indigenous research methodologies of any kind is slim, the field is a vigorous and active domain of knowledge production” (p. 58), including ground-breaking work by scholars Smith (1999), Porsanger, (2004), Cannella and Manuelito (2008), Grande, (2008), and Bishop (2008). The increase in contributions in the field of Indigenous research is an indication of the progressive advancement in academic studies by Indigenous scholars who continue to challenge gatekeepers of Western knowledge who devalue the credibility or worth of Indigenous research.

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⁹ This is a term used by Cree hunters and trappers when they are talking about being the first person to tread a path into an area covered in knee-deep snow, which is extremely difficult and labour-intensive to walk through and much easier for the second person following through on the path.
Indigenous Ontology—Ways of Being

The notion of objectivity as a professional social worker was contrary to the Indigenous teachings I have received from Elders. Indigenous ontology is directly connected to the ecosystem and land, often referred to as “Mother Earth,” and viewed as a living entity where all life is connected. We are taught the Natural Laws that explain the values within our communities and we are shown how to treat everything with respect and work on developing good relationships to achieve balance in our lives. I initially struggled to find the balance between my traditional learning in a Cree environment with the Western epistemological approaches to social work and research. I found a spiritual kinship with other Indigenous academics and researchers who were challenging the primacy of Western epistemology and research (Hart, 2004; Moosa-Mitha, 2005; Sinclair, 2004; Smith, 1999).

Liberal theorists assume they hold the knowledge since they are the experts who study participants objectively. Their conclusions are considered accurate because they have followed the positivistic approach to minimize errors in the data and to separate themselves from the observed phenomenon. I once shared with an Elder about research on animals and how it relates to human behaviours. He told me, “We knew that already” and went on to explain that the white people (Settlers) always have to be the boss. To expand on this: it means they think they are always right and know better, so they tell everyone what to do. Mohawk psychiatrist Clare Brant also highlighted this cultural tendency and its relationship to ethics when contrasted with the Native ethic of “non-interference” (1990). This explanation helped me to adjust my thinking enough to accept the education I was receiving and interpret the information as a method to help me understand the dominant society’s values and philosophies.
Moosa-Mitha shared her insight on knowledge from different perspectives and traditions: “Knowledge as physical: in the West knowledge is largely viewed in a positivist way. That is it is viewed as being objective and verified by your physical senses. Indigenous knowledge…is based on a sense of meta-physics, not everything is verified through cognitive thinking [but maybe] magic, mystery, or metaphors are central as ways of approaching knowledge...everything is seen as inseparably connected” (Personal communication, Social Work class, University of Victoria, September 24, 2009). Indigenous scholars (for example Bishop, 2008; Carriere & Richardson, 2009; Ermine, 1995; Hart, 2007; Kahakalau, 2004; Sinclair, 2004; Smith, 2012; Wilson, 2008) claim and make the space for inclusion of Indigenous research. According to Brown and Strega (2005), “critical approaches have pushed us to ask questions about who interprets, prioritizes, and owns research and research products. In Canada, Indigenous peoples’ commitment to reclaiming traditional ways of knowing has also led to questions and critiques of research practices” (p. 7.). Smith (2012) explains that Indigenous scholars, students, researchers and practitioners who have developed and incorporated Indigenous knowledge into their frameworks are essentially claiming space to acknowledge the presence of the Indigenous voices in Western dominant societies. Smith (2012) shares how Indigenous students grapple with alienation at universities and recover their balance by reading alternative cultural books to bridge the gap between the Indigenous and academic realities. She adds the importance of Indigenous practices and ways of knowing:

In addition to this literature…are the stories, values, practices and ways of knowing which continue to inform indigenous pedagogies. In international meetings and networks of indigenous peoples, oracy, debate, formal speech making, structured silences and other conventions which
shape oral traditions remain a most important way of developing trust, sharing information, strategies, advice, contacts and ideas. In Maori language there is the expression *Kanohi kitea* or the “seen face” which conveys the sense that being seen by the people—showing your face, turning up at important cultural events—cements your membership within a community in an ongoing way and is part of how one’s credibility is continually developed and maintained. (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 21)

This “seen face” is the same in the Cree culture and informs the community whether or not the individual is “walking the talk” by following traditional Indigenous Knowledge or is merely copying something they witnessed while not being informed about the meanings of Cree teachings. Indigenous Knowledge is not a generalized idea, concept, or ceremony that is accessible to everyone and is open to anyone who expresses an interest in learning “earned teachings” that could be applied to the general population. Indigenous Knowledge is similar to Western epistemology but it is a complex organic system involving a process where information is taught from a Teacher to a particular student and not the general population.

Burkhart (2004) explained four principles of Indigenous knowledge or “ways of being” that guide Indian philosophies. Burkhart defines the first principle as the “principle of relatedness” and states, “The idea here is simply that the most important things to keep in mind are the simple things that are directly around us in our experience and the things to which we are most directly related” (p. 16). I relate to his principles from my own teachings as an Aboriginal person. The first principle is based on my relationship and place with everything living around me—how I act affects everyone or everything around me, or “connectivity.”
Figure 3. My Home at Kootenay Campsite for Ceremony

The second principle, “the limits of questioning” refers to the quest for knowledge. The Western world operates from the premise that more knowledge is better while Aboriginal philosophy operates from the acceptance that we are limited in what knowledge we are allowed to gain. Burkhart (2004) utilizes the analogy with Coyote to demonstrate “that the questions we choose to ask are more important than any truths we might hope to discover in asking such questions, since how we act impacts the way the world is, the way in which a question will get answered” (p. 16). I met an Elder when I first started learning my culture and he agreed to meet with me in Edmonton. On reflection, I literally bombarded him with questions for eight hours, not knowing anything about protocol, Indigenous epistemological “ways of knowing or learning.” At one point he excused himself, went to the restroom, and came back stating he had...
“prayed to the Spirits” and they had re-energized him. I didn’t realize until years later how many Natural Laws I had violated and that his kindness was a true testament to the meaning of patience when working with youth or individuals who are hungry to learn everything right away. My Cree teaching is that learning is a process of exposing one layer of knowledge at a time and never all at once. You need to think hard about “one” question, and a Teacher will present herself or himself to share their knowledge when you are ready to hear the message. I am forever grateful for the lesson taught to me through that individual’s personal sacrifice and have often sent silent prayers to the Spirits to take pity on me for what must have been a heavy invasion from all of my questions as an extremely young person.

Burkhart’s third principle, the “meaning-shaping principle of action” (2004, p. 17) addresses the concept that there are certain ways we behave or speak and this applies to what we can or should speak about or how we behave as we walk through our daily lives. My Cree teaching is “walking the talk” in application of protocols and knowledge into my life. It is not considered respectful to critique others and situations. Offering our researcher self-location as part of contextualizing research is a primary practice of Indigenous researchers, presenting to others how we “walk the talk” and where, on whose land, we are walking it.

The fourth principle introduced by Burkhart (2004) is “the moral universe principle (p. 17). He adds, “The idea is simply that the universe is moral. Facts, truth and meaning, even our existence are normative...there is no difference between what is true and what is right” (p. 17). The historical reference, “The arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends towards justice” was often credited to Martin Luther King Jr.
However, the original source of the quote was actually the 19th-century Unitarian minister and abolitionist Theodore Parker of Massachusetts in a sermon he gave in 1853. Carson provides Martin Luther King Jr.’s version of Parker’s quote:

I do not pretend to understand the moral universe. The arc is a long one. My eye reaches but little ways. I cannot calculate the curve and complete the figure by experience of sight. I can divine it by conscience. And from what I see I am sure it bends towards justice. (Carson, 2010, para. 12)

This extension of Burkhart’s principle referencing the “moral universe” would still apply my Cree teachings about faith and judging someone’s actions: everyone is equal because no one person is better than another, so we don’t judge anyone since our lives are truly up to the Creator. He is ultimately the boss of our lives and the faith is that his compassion cares for everyone. That’s what our prayers mean when we ask him to take pity on us—but the translation is lost in English because pity doesn’t have the same meaning.

The massive amount of information in the modern world and the effects to the Indigenous ontological belief becomes a constant and very visible reminder of the severity and critical “states of crisis” in our communities and with our people. Self-care becomes extremely important otherwise there is a tendency to become almost “militant” about moving everyone towards a change. I witnessed this type of behaviour at an “Idle No More” (INM) flash mob last year, where individual participant’s behaviour had an opposite affect from creating alliances and gaining support. INM held a flash mob at the West Edmonton Mall on December 26, 2012—Boxing Day. The mall was crowded with shoppers who were intimidated by some extremely “militant” INM participants. It is unfortunate that the result is the mall owners have withdrawn support and now refuse flash mobs at the facility because of complaints from the mall shoppers. I am reminded
of two Elders who basically told me: “you either have a peace pipe or an M14 rifle” and, “you are either a healer or a warrior—you can’t be both”. Their analogies present a visual contrast between two extreme ideologies within the Indigenous culture where there is one view towards a peaceful approach in comparison to the more military-type approach in the battle for Indigenous rights. There have been many debates within Indigenous circles on the definition and application of “Indigenous warrior” in modern society. There are some views that warriors are linked to acts of resistance through physical violence (Fanon, 1963; Gordon, 1995 Alfred, 2009) while others believe warriors relate to modern forms of literature (Alfred & Lowe, 2006) as acts of resistance or a battle through use of words.

One of my Teachers told me I was a warrior when I was a younger woman just starting to learn about my journey on the Red Road. I have developed my Aboriginal identity over the years and worked towards defining what “warrior” means to me and how it should be applied to maintain balance in my life. I maintain connection to land and spirituality through ceremonies and prayers. I continue the relationships in my circle of friends where we share some laughter and stories of resilience, support, and strength in our successes. My network spans all across Alberta and into many provinces so I am very blessed to have such a great circle to put meaning into our prayers that “keeps the circle strong.” There is a thin thread that links our lives together and it is a common belief that Indigenous peoples must join in the “battle” to preserve Indigenous ontology and Traditional values through acts of resistance to colonization. My choice or method of battle is through words since the Indigenous teachings are how “Words are weapons” and I recognize the battle includes my own internal struggles with demons of self-doubt
or daily pressures to concede defeat and acquiesce into conformity of colonial
domination.

**Four Structures of Colonization**

Casanova (1965) proposes that, “internal colonialism has various operational
functions…[with] practical and political values [and] psychological values…useful for
the design of policies of communication, propaganda, and education. [It] is above all
structural [and] bound to policy of the government…it has a political and economic value
in accelerating these processes and in conceiving three specific instruments—economic,
political and educational” (pp.15–16). My analysis of the literature extracted categories I
originally referred to in my proposal as “themes,” but through the course of my research I
have revealed theorists who are focusing specifically on the internalization of colonialism
in other countries such as Mexico, Philippines, Africa, Australia, and Arabic countries.
Casanova delineates three colonial structures in his country, Mexico. I expanded the
structures to include patriarchy, which reflects the European and religious influence of
colonization towards Aboriginal women and pre-existing Indigenous societal
communities in Canada.

I extracted themes from my original data analysis and later developed a conceptual
model to the four colonial structures (Figure 4) on internalization of oppression and
domination within a colonized nation. The four structures are:

1) Economics: capitalism, imperialism, exploitation
2) Epistemology: language, linguistic patterns, education
3) Politics: colonial government, legislation/laws/racial supremacy
4) Patriarchy: male dominance/ religious dogma, benevolence, subservience
Data collection involved extensive review of a massive volume of literature from various forms of sources (books, articles, journals and electronic sources through social media, internet blogs, e-journals). Aboriginal socio-economics, health determinants, and community development are simplistic phrases individually but in the context of Indigenous social work they are the reason Absolon (2009) uses the rugged terrain analogy to capture the reality of complex and multidimensional assessments. I am limiting the findings to focus on four key colonial structures that emerged from literary reviews and data analysis.

**Figure 4  Four Colonial Structures**

- **Patriarchy**
  - Male Dominance & Religious Dogma
  - Benevolence
  - Subservience

- **Economics**
  - Imperialism
  - Capitalism
  - Exploitation
  - Imperialism
  - Capitalism
  - Exploitation

- **Politics**
  - Colonial Government
  - Legislation/Laws
  - Racial Supremacy

- **Epistemology**
  - Language
  - Linguistic Patterns
  - Education

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I have taken the four colonial structures extracted from literary analysis (Figure 4) and utilize them as strands to symbolically weave a braid, representing the Indigenous foundation towards decolonization (Figure 5). Our Elders teach us to find balance in the four directions: spiritual, emotional, mental, and physical. This concept aligns the balance to the four colonial structures that would also be utilized towards decolonization. Decolonization requires a focus on finding balance in yourself, your family, your community and your nation - with all of your ecological relations: mountains, water, air and land—as I have been taught by my Elders in the Cree epistemology.

**Figure 5 Four-Strand Sweetgrass Braid**

*Our Elders teach us to find balance in the four directions: spiritual, emotional, mental, and physical (Figure 5)*

*Figure 5. Photo taken by Brenda St. Germain, (2014)*

The basic Indigenous ontological understanding my Teachers kept saying with any Cree teaching was “kiya maka,” or it’s up to you. No one can force you to do anything you don’t want to do but if you want to achieve balance in your life, you must look at the spiritual, emotional, physical and mental connections and relationships to the land, our people, and the community. These relationships are shown in Figure 6.
The premise of this teaching is that each person is responsible for themselves first (you are self-aware of all your interactions and actions to all living things); you are part of a family (you need to be healthy to pick a healthy partner and raise healthy children); your family is part of a community and everyone is dependent and connected to each other (all connected and work collectively together); and you are part of your tribal nation (Cree, Blackfoot, Mohawk—but still all connected as “red people”) and assigned as caregivers of Mother Earth by the Creator, with each Nation responsible for their part of Mother Earth (Creation Stories).

The Indigenous ideology is a complex and dynamic ontological understanding and “way of knowing or being” that acknowledges that learning is life-long and never completed, according to Cree Natural Laws. Every individual is responsible for their own learning path, how they fit within their community, and the responsibility to Mother Earth. The Natural Laws within tribal epistemology require that each individual
maintains balance in these key elements to ensure continuance of all cycles of life—always going back into the circles.

This research was undertaken from my ontological way of knowing that if colonialism exists today, I need to look at how I am interacting or engaging in all my relationships, both internally and externally. I cannot blame nor can I play the victim role but I can learn to understand the other perspectives being presented to me as part of a reciprocal relationship. I am not responsible for another person’s thoughts, actions, or behaviours. Balance can be achieved if each person in the relationship is doing their own self-reflection. The self-reflection extends into other relationships at familial levels, community interactions, Indigenous tribal levels, and, ultimately, how we take care of Mother Earth. This teaching applies to each and every facet of my life—including acts of internalized colonialism as an Indigenous woman. How am I contributing into the perpetuation of colonialism: with my children, my family, my friends, and in my work at home, office, and community? “Knowledge is power” is often stated in the Euro-Western society and Hutchinson (2014) confirms “knowledge transfer is still the best way to help the world’s poor” from a 1913 to 1950 study by Leandro Prados de la Escosura (para 1). However, I have to blend the foundation of Indigenous Natural Laws with Western knowledge to include community accountability where knowing something means you have more responsibilities and must be able to answer to your people and community. The information and material presented in my thesis follows my Indigenous teachings of my responsibility to share what I have learned through the process of the research.
Western and Indigenous Epistemology: My Cultural Dissonance

I was at first struck by the seeming inauthenticity, rigidity, and imposition of foundational social work principles and the rehearsed approach of questioning, such as Hepworth and Larsen’s (1982) model of inquiry and “authentic responding” (pp. 142-191) which directed students to say “I sense you are _ _ _ because of _ _ _”. I struggled in the application of the Western theories and approaches within my Aboriginal sense of self and my cohort Aboriginal community since I could not find a comfortable technique or method to incorporate these paradigms without feeling like a complete fool. I felt I had a neon sign strapped to me, flashing “APPLE!!”! The epistemology stressed objectivity while engaging with “clients” in order to present oneself as ethical and professional in the relationship building stage. I was unable to find the balance between professionalism and my interpretation of social work as an Aboriginal social worker. I would talk with my Elder(s) about my doubts about continuing with my studies but they encouraged me with guidance, saying “it is good to get an education,” and they wanted me to get “their [Western]” knowledge so I could change things for Aboriginal people.

Scott (1990) introduces the concept of “hidden transcript to characterize discourse that takes place ‘offstage’ beyond direct observation by power holders…[and] consists of those offstage speeches, gestures, and practices that confirm, contradict, or inflect what appears to be public transcript” (p. 4-5). He suggests that “subordinate discourse outside of power-laden situations [is where] ideological resistance can grow best when it is shielded from direct surveillance” (p. xiii) by hegemonic apparatuses (government,

authority, slave owners, etc.) in situations of domination and oppression (colonization, slavery, etc.). Scott (1990) posits that oppressed groups create a submerged language with disguised symbols understood within the contextual meanings of their culture and contrary to open statements or behaviours, much like personally shared jokes between a couple. This is apparent in everyday Aboriginal conversations, which often involve humour, jokes, understatement, self-deprecation to uplift others, teasing, and using metaphors. This humour is steeped in the kind of social analysis and understanding of racism that comes from living on the margins of the dominant society. For example, my late father-in-law would often tell everyone at conferences that he had gone to University too and then add, “But I got lost in the parking lot and that is as far as I got at the university”. This man had achieved many successes as a Chief for his First Nation and was a former Indian Association of Alberta delegate, a group that “championed many of the rights and responsibilities Aboriginal groups in Canada enjoy today” (Alberta Online Encyclopedia, 2010, para .1). Yet, his knowledge was often challenged by government authorities because of his lack of education.

The misalignment between the Western epistemology and my own Traditional beliefs led me to believe that implementing social work paradigms would force me to assume values and ideologies opposite from those I was developing into my own Aboriginal identity. I felt I was being untruthful to the individual(s) in my caseloads since the words and phrases felt unnatural, foreign, and forced from me. The Western type of clinical approach was not created from my Indigenous worldview. I was fearful that alienation within my own community would occur rather than building or developing relationships because Aboriginal individuals would know instinctively I wasn’t speaking
any words related to the truth from my heart but reciting learned paradigms from a Western pedagogy in a professional field often associated with child welfare. In that way, I risked discrediting my own integrity as a practitioner. When I worked in the child welfare system I would also hear and understand each “hidden transcript” (Scott, 1990, p. 4) spoken by my own people whenever there was conflict between Aboriginal parents and non-Native foster parents or agencies with Aboriginal children. A simple statement by the Aboriginal parents, “We’ll see what happens for now,” combined with a “knowing look” between them, was a loaded gun waiting to explode and backfire onto me if I did not respond authentically to them with respect and honesty. I recognized the significance of my cognitive dissonance and the challenges I would encounter until I created authenticity within my practice as an Indigenous social worker. I needed to work in ways that aligned with my Indigenous ethics and social justice principles. How could I develop and articulate this way of being and practising?

**My Framework: Theory fusion in Community Development and Research**

There are reflective moments in life where you acknowledge the significance of a “teaching golden moment.” There was one such moment during my second-year practicum in 1998 when I was introduced to alternative research methods and community development projects in Aboriginal communities. Western academia supports the empirical approach as the scientific method to validate knowledge (Porsanger, 2004; Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008) but this approach fails to capture the stories within the community engagement process or reflect the cultural environment being explored because the results are not disseminated back to the people within cultural protocol or in a language understood by the members. The Indigenous critique on this methodology is
that research portrays Indigenous people within a deficit environment or in application of psychological theories that inaccurately totalized their lives and being (Barker, 2003; Porsanger, 2004; Smith, 1999).

The Assembly of First Nations commissioned Michael Bopp in 1998 to study Aboriginal community healing and social security reform (government social programs) (Bopp, Bopp, & Lane, 1998). Bopp was invited to Red Deer and asked to present his new community development model, which utilized Aboriginal talking circles as the narrative method of inquiry to gather information and explain the process. Talking circles eventually become the cultural conduit to create a collective shift towards an emancipatory transformation in the Aboriginal community. Cordova (2004) captures what Bopp was creating in the community engagement process and explains that interpretation of someone’s thought needs to include the process of understanding the context or making meaning of someone’s comments. Cordova (2004) adds, “The result here is that the practitioner pulls an idea out of a particular context and attempts to fit it into an idea from within his own cultural context: or he can come to the alien perspective armed with his own concepts and attempts to find something in the other culture that matches his concept” (p. 28). I have developed a concept, “Indigenous Cultural Intelligence and Capacity (ICIC)” that has evolved from personal experiences in my social work practice and is in response to my observations of skewed forms of cultural training about Aboriginal peoples to and by mainstream professionals. There were many Aboriginal people in Alberta during the 1990s, including myself, who were advocating for inclusion of Aboriginal culture, particularly within the sector of child welfare. The creation of the Aboriginal Pillar in 1996 (Knitel, 2003, p. 13) by Child Welfare resulted
in Aboriginal awareness training programs that have created skewed forms of Indigenous culture from non-Native interpretations in the programs and are currently under review by the Alberta government.

Indigenous frameworks are designed to maintain integral ontological values that ensure the focus includes the foundational Natural Laws of inter-relatedness, connectivity, spirituality, and reciprocity (Cajete, 2004; Cordova, 2004; Ermine, 1995; Kahakalau, 2004; Smith, 1999). These concepts are incorporated into Indigenous research projects designed to develop relationships through a community engagement process. Community development is viewed similar to a puzzle, where each piece eventually finds its place but only through the process of discovery, and often the picture was different from what you originally expected.

The conceptual framework in my research is a combination of several Western theories since Indigenous epistemology is a process of evolution that entails the exposure of components in segments rather than the whole concept introduced in a specific time period. My Indigenous teachings and my learning curve on Indigenous Knowledge have been evolving for over 30 years and the Elders tell us that we will continue to learn until our last breath. My research framework is the recognition and acknowledgement that my Knowledge Bundle has accumulated knowledge by synthesizing epistemologies from the Western world with Indigenous Knowledge. Through this process, I am aiming for a rounded, holistic presentation of the truths and meaning at work in this thesis and for Indigenous Canadians seeking to decolonize their lives. The framework contains Western components from the anti-oppressive practice approach, anti-colonial discursive approach, Indigenous feminism, and components of emancipatory or transformative
theories through Indigenous research. The framework aligns with my Cree teachings of equality and egalitarianism in society because “no one person is better than another.”

Prophecy of the Fourth Fire

“Coming of the Light-skinned Race”

The Fourth Fire prophecy was a prediction on the arrival of “light-skinned” people to Turtle Island. Indigenous knowledge is an oral transfer of information and historically was never documented in written forms. However, Wikipedia (2014, para 9-10) cites the Anishinabe version of the Fourth Prophecies in a written form as:

The Fourth fire prophecy was delivered by a pair of prophets. The first prophet said, “You will know the future of our people by the face the light skinned race wears. If they come wearing the face of brotherhood then there will come a time of wonderful change for generations to come. They will bring new knowledge and articles that can be joined with the knowledge of this country. In this way, two nations will join to make a mighty nation. This new nation will be joined by two more so that four will form the mightiest nation of all. You will know the face of the brotherhood if the light skinned race comes carrying no weapons, if they come bearing only their knowledge and a hand shake.”

The other prophet said, “Beware if the light skinned race comes wearing the face of death. You must be careful because the face of brotherhood and the face of death look very much alike. If they come carrying a weapon...beware. If they come in suffering...They could fool you. Their hearts may be filled with greed for the riches of this land. If they are indeed your brothers, let them prove it. Do not accept them in total trust. You shall know that the face they wear is one of death if the rivers run with poison and fish become unfit to eat. You shall know them by these many things.”

The Europeans arrived as visitors to the Indigenous communities in Canada who never imagined the destruction and suffering that would be inflicted to their people.
Chapter 3—Eurocentric Influences in Canada by Settlers

The chronological history on the statehood of Canada involves three (3) distinct cultures: Indigenous, French and British Commonwealth. Each culture presents versions of Canadian history from their world view perceptions and is based from ontological ideology, events significant to the development of their societies and impacts from their relationship with outside influences. See Appendix A for a historical timeline of the three nations: British, French, and Indigenous. Historical documentation from the literature review reveals that religious dogmatic beliefs originated from European ideologies and have permanently altered the natural ontological foundation of Indigenous peoples in Canada. The colonial policies supporting religious indoctrination are revealed through historical documentation that also demonstrates the correlation to the multiple intergenerational effects in communities impacted by those European ideologies, e.g. loss of gender roles within communities, Residential Schools, female subservience, corporal punishment, etc.

Doctrine of Discovery—Foundation of Colonialism: Circa 1400

Historical records document the evolution of the Papal States from around 800 BC into the mid-1800s when Italy was ruled by the popes who granted authority to the kingdom and their explorers to secure new land under the rule of their country. Miller (2005) analyzes the Doctrine of Discovery and summarizes, “as applied by England and the United States…when European, Christian nations first discovered new lands…they also gained sovereign governmental rights over the native peoples and…transfer of political, commercial, and property rights was accomplished without the knowledge nor
the consent of the Indian people” (p. 4). The Doctrine of Discovery was a papal legal principle created in the 1400s under the religious belief that non-Christian people had no rights to land or sovereignty and continued through Euro-Americans who brought with them their belief that “God had directed them to bring civilized ways, education and religion to indigenous peoples and to exercise paternalism and guardianship powers over them” (Miller, 2005, p. 4). This international law became the weapon for an onslaught of indoctrination in Christianity and religious dogma to offer the “Indian savages” salvation and ultimately convince Indigenous peoples to follow Western belief systems and patriarchal subservience.

**Figure 7 “The Resurrection” 1494**

“Centuries of grime was removed during the recent restoration, revealing the men with the headdresses.”

(Courtesy of Vatican Museums)

NCR contributor Poggioli (2013) reports on a painting (Figure 7: The Resurrection) completed by Pinturicchio in 1494 depicting Christ and Native Americans two years after Columbus landed in the New World, which was closed off to the public for 400 years until 1889. Oliver (2010) quotes Dr. Amy Ouden as stating:

The first wave of colonization required legal doctrine as a basis for identifying and controlling the Aboriginal populations and their lands. The endeavor elicited the systematic identification of First Nations as “savages”, or “idolaters...witches” and “cannibals” to justify Christendom’s principle of discovery and the laws enacted in 1452 by Pope Nicholas V, issued to King Alfonso V of Portugal. (p. 2)
The painting could be interpreted as confirmation that the papacy was aware of “uncivilized savages” and prepared the Doctrine of Discovery to legalize the planting of religious undertakings to convert them into Christendom as explorers expanded empires into new territories.

Starblanket (2008) argues, “The Eurocentric view held by colonizing power was that they were ‘bringing civilization and prosperity’ to Indigenous Peoples. The Doctrine of Discovery justified European expansion into Indigenous People’s territories without regard for the peoples and legal systems that had been in place since time immemorial.” (par. 20). The intent of the newcomers onto Indigenous soil was not understood between two cultures with oppositional ideologies. The United Nations Economic and Social Council commissioned a Special Rapporteur, Frichner (2010) to:

conduct a preliminary study of the impact on indigenous peoples of the international legal construct known as the Doctrine of Discovery, which has served as the foundation of the violation of their human rights…and establishes the Doctrine of Discovery has been institutionalized in law and policy, on national and international levels, and lies at the root of the violations of indigenous peoples’ human rights, both individual and collective. This has resulted in State claims to and the mass appropriation of the lands, territories and resources of Indigenous peoples. Both the Doctrine of Discovery and a holistic structure that we term the Framework of Dominance have resulted in centuries of virtually unlimited resource extraction from the traditional territories of indigenous peoples [and] resulted in the dispossession and impoverishment of indigenous peoples, and the host of problems that they face today on a daily basis (p. 1).

The Doctrine of Discovery, also called the “Doctrine of Christian Discovery” (Frichner, 2010, p. 5) was the foundational international legal document for colonial theft of discovered land and review of the Doctrine confirms the global scope of Christendom and Christian power was found in key documents from the fifteenth and later centuries. Four centuries of Christian indoctrination by the Vatican firmly entrenches the religious
dogma into the state and national citizenship. Christendom is incorporated into new governance models through the leadership supporting colonial ideologies and policies prior to and throughout the Enlightenment period. Miller (2005) analyzed 200 years’ influence on United States policies and laws from the Doctrine of Discovery and summarizes,

One thing seems clear, the United States and American citizens must face squarely the fact that many principles of federal Indian law and the modern day treatment of tribes and Indians are based on the Doctrine of Discovery and on religious and ethnocentric prejudices that are many centuries old. These lamentable relics of our past should not and cannot continue to be perpetuated or tolerated. They should have no place in the modern day relationship between tribal nations, Indian people, and the United States. (p. 96)

The Christian influence was pressed onto Indigenous peoples through legalized internment of Native children into residential schools. The colonial government and Christian papacy strategically planned to assimilate existing Indian populations and block future generations from Indigenous ontology through genocide to “civilize the savages” under the guise of racial superiority. I became quite concerned about the future of our people when I was younger. I was constantly approached by “born again Christians” who were often Native people converted by members of evangelical churches as they were living a life of sin. My Teachers all reassured me that Indigenous ways were stronger for our people than these new religions. They explained to me that eventually everyone’s Spirits call them back home. One of my Cree teachings is that every child is born with a Spirit guide who watches over the child once they enter into the physical world and the reason why children were never slapped or abused by anyone in our Traditional structures was because babies were straight from the Spirit world. These helpers (Spirits are present everywhere) watch over children as they grow and are
introduced to the individual through ceremonies. I have witnessed and been involved in repatriation of children to their home communities when I worked in the child welfare system and I, myself, have returned back to the territory of my late mom.

**Influence of European Philosophies**  

English Settler colonies used legislation to implement the Doctrine of Discovery and the colonial values eventually became deeply rooted in the foundations of the Canadian legal system, similar to the United States. The literature review reveals the influence of European philosophical ideologies and a correlation to the theories as Europe was impacted by social and economic factors. The progression of theories evolves with each era in time, for example the “Enlightenment era” (16th–17th century) produced a cultural movement of intellectuals; the Industrial Revolution (1712-1830) during the 1800s created many inventions; the French Revolution (1789-1799) was a period of radical social and political upheaval in France that resulted in the removal of power from monarchies to democracy and nationalism; and the American War of Independence (1775-1783) was the rebellion against Great Britain and the origin of “individualism” as a value in United States. You can see the alignment of philosophers and thinkers to each era: Descartes (1596–1650/pure science); Locke (1632–1704/Enlightenment thinker); Newton (1642–1727/scientific revolution); Adam Smith (1723–1790/political economy), Kant (1724–1804/metaphysics & Age of Enlightenment); Marx (1818–1883/Communist Manifesto); Darwin (1809–1882/evolutionary theory) etc. The “Age of Enlightenment” or “Enlightenment Age of Reason”\(^\text{11}\) was a period from the late 17th to the 18th century.

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when thinkers or intellectuals emphasized reasoning through science rather than ideas grounded in faith and tradition. The new intellectuals were opposed to superstition and intolerance, with the Catholic Church as the favourite target.

Society’s values and ideologies are influenced and evolve or change according to empirical knowledge, public interests or current trends and are most often reflected through philosophical thinkers in academia that can affect political decisions. Modern society today is informed and influenced through forms of social media on the internet, newspapers or through television and radio that can affect the general public’s opinions, likes or dislikes. However, the influences up to pre-Confederation in Canada were determined by the political powers in European countries that held the authority to enforce decisions through military or religious leaders and often supported by community members.

Van De Mieroop and Pagnaer (2013) analyzed hierarchical systems through the interactions between female colonizers and black household staff in the Belgian Congo. The authors confirm colonial ideologies create polarized relationships with the dominant group infantilizing Indigenous peoples “thus legitimizing colonization as an endeavor of civilization” (p. E66). Van De Mieroop and Pragnaer determined that “colonial regimes were neither monolithic nor omnipotent” [but] …these issues relating to race, gender, and class should not be considered as having an influence in an isolated way, but rather, they come into existence in and through relation to each other—if in contradictory and conflictual ways” (p. E67). Colonial regimes are the ideological theories, social values and structures valued in society during colonization that were based on those concepts, i.e. Darwinian, language and race superiority, Biblical narratives of (monolingual) Eden,
and the theology of dispersal from (multilingual) Babel, imposition of European language, subordinate status of children, corporal punishment, racial superiority, portrayal of non-white men as childlike, and afflicted, state and imperial intervention (Van De Mieroop & Pragnae, 2013).

**British and Imperial Ideologies**

Britain in the 18th century was defined as a “class society.” Class was engrained into the overall structure and web of social relationships. Brown (2011) explains how the depth of the hierarchical impact from the paternalistic ideologies in society actually formed the structures of societal relationships. He states, “the underlying basis of the elitism of the aristocracy in the 1830s was one of mutual and reciprocal obligation within a hierarchical framework…This view of society was paternalistic and hierarchical” (p. 3). Colonialism is a binary hierarchical system of power relations with the dominant or colonizer group at the top and the colonized or oppressed group at the bottom. The relationship establishes the identity of two groups based on the dominant group’s definition of superiority with the rationale to justify the other group’s inferiority.

Britain was generally uninterested in settling eastern Canada during the 1600s–1700s and limited most of its activity to a few fishing ports and outposts along the coast of Newfoundland. The British were more interested in settling the land to the southwest of Nova Scotia instead—the area which would become the Thirteen Colonies and later the United States. Newfoundland remained sparsely populated until the 19th century, when European contact on the island wiped out the Beothuk nation living there (Colden, 1747; Early Canadiana Online, 2013). The chronological history in Canadian records taught in the educational institutions does not include the ideological or legislative
influences of domination and oppression towards Indigenous peoples, the religious indoctrination by France, or the creation of the Doctrine of Discovery, the most devastating document for Indigenous peoples globally. The federal judiciary institution, including the Supreme Court of Canada was the key instrument used during Confederation to implement and enforce colonial policies to subjugate Indigenous peoples in Canada.

Legislation of Colonial Policies in Canada

The British Settlers formed a government structure in Canada during Confederation and a period of history that reflected fundamental principles contained in British cultural norms, colonial policies, and European social practices that were sanctioned through legislation and laws. The AJIC provides the following quote by Ovide Mercredi regarding Canadian law and Aboriginal peoples in Canada:

In law, with law, and through law, Canada has imposed a colonial system of government and justice upon our people without due regard to our treaty and Aboriginal rights. We respect law that is fair and just, but we cannot be faulted for denouncing those laws that degrade our humanity and rights as distinct peoples. (Aboriginal Justice Implementation Commission, 1999, p.1).

Manitoba had the highest Aboriginal population during the 1990s and an Inquiry was created in response to the 1971 murder of Betty Osborne and the death of Island Lake Tribal Council executive director in 1988. The Aboriginal Justice Implementation Commission (AJIC) (1999) acknowledges in the Manitoba Inquiry Final report that, It is not merely that the justice system has failed Aboriginal people; justice also has been denied to them. For more than a century the rights of Aboriginal people have been ignored and eroded. The result of this denial has been injustice of the most profound kind. Poverty and powerlessness have been the Canadian legacy to a people who once governed their own affairs in full self-sufficiency. (p. 1)
Political leadership has historically utilized the legislative system to enact laws for “peace, order and good government” as the executive authority representing the British monarchy and as a country, states the framework is based on democratic traditions. However, the Doctrine of Discovery, combined with colonial policies substantiated by “Enlightenment Philosophies” on evolution, race, etc. provided the foundation to restrict Indigenous peoples’ movement in Canada through limited citizenship.

*The Indian Act* (1869), the *British North America Act* (1867), the *Rupert’s Land Act* (1868), and the *Constitution Act* (1867) are critical Canadian statutes enacted by early Canadian leaders to define the relationship and grant themselves authority to implement colonial policies with the Indigenous population. The *Indian Act*, which “was enacted in 1876 by the Parliament of Canada under the provisions of Section 91(24) of the *Constitution Act* (1867) grants the federal government exclusive authority to legislate in relations to ‘Indians and Lands Reserved for Indians’.” The arm of colonial authority has been delegated to various government departments throughout Canadian history. The British Crown established the British Indian Department with Superintendents of Indian Affairs, such as Scott, to run the department from 1755 to 1840’s. In the 1940s the Department of Mines and Resources “was the institutional home of the Indian Affairs Branch of the federal government” (Satzewich, 1997, p. 228). Individuals responsible for the social control of “Indians” were called Indian Agents with the delegated authority to ensure adherence to the Indian Act by the Indians. This title is no longer politically correct and not preferred by federal government employees who are employed by the
federal authority now called, Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC).

The use of linguistic euphemisms in the title name of its organizational structure is an attempt to distance itself from the colonial intent and policies that were designed to control “Indians” and have remained the same since the implementation of the Indian Act. The layering of laws throughout Canadian history is simply a less noticeable and less drastic method to eradicate Indigenous culture than the White Paper in 1969. Subtle and disguised Acts such as S-2, Family Homes on Reserves and Matrimonial Interests or Rights Act or the proposed First Nations Education Act appear non-threatening to mainstream society since it doesn’t affect them directly.

However, those tactics also allow mainstream society to forget the genocidal intent of colonial policies and ignore the repeated re-writing of history without inclusion of the Indigenous oral history, the missing data from colonization of Indigenous children that is not included in the content of Settler records or documentation and correspondence that confirmed the hidden colonial agenda used in colonial bureaucratic systems.

**Linguistic Patterns and Colonial Manipulation**

Interpretation of events, statements, interaction and situations are subject to an individual’s application and association to the patterns of language and contextual meanings associated to their specific culture. Edwards & Temple (2002) examine the implications of cross-cultural research and the difficulty of accurate interpretation between two cultural languages. The authors conclude,

Language is an important part of conceptualization, incorporating values and beliefs, not just a tool or technical label for conveying concepts. It carries accumulated and particular cultural, social and political meanings that cannot simply be read off through the process of translation, and organizes and prepares
the experiences of its speakers. It speaks of a particular social reality that may not necessarily have a conceptual equivalence in the language into which it is to be translated (Bassnet, 1994). Language can define difference and commonality, exclude or include others; it is not a neutral medium. The same words can mean different things in different cultures and the words we choose matter (p. 5).

The long-standing and on-going legal disputes arising from different interpretations on the Treaties in the Canadian court systems demonstrates the cultural conflicts from oppositional cultural norms between Settler lawyers and Indigenous communities in binary colonial nations. The Treaties were written “agreements” between the Crown and Indigenous peoples. However, according to “oral history” Starblanket (2008) states, “The Elders’ understanding of Treaty is simple. The Crown came to Indigenous People’s territories asking for rights to share the land. Indigenous Peoples did not go to the Crown asking for land rights….The agreements concluded were peace and friendship agreements. The agreements were not cede and surrender agreements” (par. 22) and adds, “These peace and friendship agreements provide for two parallel legal systems that were intended to co-exist, each party respecting the authority of the other” (par. 23). A country’s legal system is the organizing force within a society and is based on legal tradition as an aspect of cultural phenomena; “they provide categories into which the ‘untidy business of life’ may be organized and where disputes may be resolved” (Borrows, 2010, p. 8). The Indigenous customs and habits of Indigenous peoples were viewed as “too low on the scale of social organization” (Borrows, 2010a, p. 61) and it was through the Western legal system, Canadian laws and linguistic manipulation (commonly used to dominate and oppress) where inherent sovereignty of Indigenous peoples in Canada was removed. Smith (2012) notes that until recently, Indigenous peoples were most often “objects or subjects of study by non-Indigenous
researchers...not considered agents themselves” (p. iii). She asserts the importance of history for Indigenous peoples:

There are numerous oral stories which tell of what it means, what it feels like, to be present while your history is erased before your eyes, dismissed as irrelevant, ignored or rendered as the lunatic ravings of drunken old people. The negation of Indigenous views of history was a critical part of asserting colonial ideology, partly because such views were regarded as clearly “primitive” and “incorrect” and mostly because they challenged and resisted the mission of colonization. (Smith, 2012, p. iii)

Savages, barbarians, uncivilized, whores, lazy, dirty… matched claims by Europeans that Aboriginal people could not govern themselves and required patriarchal sponsorship to oversee their civilization to ensure the integrity of British imperialism for the new Settlers.

Shakespeare’s “The Tempest” was seen around 1611, during the Enlightenment Era. Many literary analysts interpret the play as being about Shakespeare’s view of colonization. Literary reviews of “The Tempest”12 reflect the social ideologies prevalent at the time the critic was writing. Rev. Hunter, writing in 1873, for example, describes Caliban, a Native, as “A mixture of gnome and savage, half daemon, half brute, in his behavior we perceive at once the traces of his native disposition, and the influence of Prospero’s education. The latter could only unfold his understanding…it is as if the use of reason and human speech were communicated to an awkward ape” (Hunter, 1873, p. xi). The character analysis of Caliban written for CliffsNotes13 in 2013 describes him as “a product of nature, the offspring of the witch and the devil [who] initially appears bad, especially when judged by conventional civilized standards…He is truly a child of

12 The Tempest is one of Shakespeare’s last plays about colonization.
13 Student study guides that present and explain literary and media works in condensed summaries available in pamphlets or on-line. Accessed January 14, 2014 from www.cliffsnotes.com/literature/t/the-tempest/character-analysis/caliban
nature, uneducated and reacting to his surroundings in much the same way that an animal does.” Shakespeare creates the character Caliban, who is the original inhabitant on the island but soon becomes the colonizer’s slave and is taught English by his master, Prospero. Both critiques present Caliban within the parameters of Shakespeare’s original creation of a grotesque Native “beast” but in one the interpreter describes Caliban as an awkward ape while in the more recent interpretation from CliffsNotes Caliban’s behaviors are presented as childlike and wild, the latter appearing more politically correct in this era.

Colonizers, Colonialism, Imperialism

Veracini (2011) introduces a distinction between “colonizers” and “settler colonizers” and presents how their relation is often confused in the interpretive definition and application of colonization as a social phenomenon. Veracini states the difference between colonizers and Settler colonizers becomes confusing during discussions of colonization with the intent and purpose of exploitation, assimilating or erasing the presence of indigenous “others” and colonized labour which he states is “In the end, what is being said in the context of a sometime contradictory cacophony is: “you, work for me while we wait for you to disappear” [coloniser] and “you, move on so that you can work for me” [Settler coloniser] (p. 2). I have two analogies that I wish to share on the difference between Settler colonizer and colonizer. The first definition is the image of “Little House on the Prairie” 14 for those instances where “settlers” became farmers who were trying to etch out a new life on the prairies. While the other group, (colonizers) are

14 Little House on the Prairie was a series of children’s books published between 1932 – 1943 by Laura Ingalls-Wilder that became an American Western drama television series about a family living on a farm in Walnut Grove, Minnesota during the late 1800’s.
those referred to as the “pilgrims” who were settlers in Plymouth Colony that befriended and eventually slaughtered the Natives through the guise of a feast to give thanks.

Colonialism is explained by Kohn (2012) as the process of one nation extending their sovereignty into another nation’s territory with the intent to implement policies designed to dominate, control, and subjugate the invaded colony. Kohn (2012) clarifies that colonialism is not a modern phenomenon and provides many “examples of one society gradually expanding by incorporating adjacent territory and settling its people on newly conquered territory” (p. 1). She distinguishes between colonialism as “a broad concept that refers to the project of European political domination from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries…and imperialism as a broad term that refers to economic, military, political domination that is achieved without significant permanent European settlement” (p. 2). She quotes Enlightenment thinkers such as Kant, Smith and Diderot who were “critical of the barbarity of colonialism and challenged the idea that Europeans had the obligation to ‘civilize’ the rest of the world…which involved some combination of slavery, quasi-feudal forced labour, or expropriation of property” (Kohn, 2012, p. 3).

There is a distinction between colonialism and imperialism, the latter commonly used in reference to the United Kingdom or any imperial system government ruled by an emperor or empress that contained policies to extend or expand their nation’s authority by territorial and/or economic means, over other nations through force or diplomacy. Henry (2010) argues the definition of “imperialism” in Canada is more than whether Canadian imperialism claimed nationalism towards Canada or Britain; it is more a “vehicle of cultural expression as well” (p. 3). Henry (2010) bases his definition on the following:
The large-scale emigration of people from Britain to Canada between 1815 and 1865 and the consequent spread of British benevolent societies, voluntary associations, and fraternities, such as the Orange Lodge, ensured the British character of Upper Canada and the Maritime colonies. “A sense of being British,” Phillip Bucker writes, “did not have to be reinvented in the British colonies of settlement; the immigrants brought it with them when they arrived and the majority of them saw no reason to abandon it.” (p. 3).

Henry explains that Canadian imperialists believed the British system of government would ensure their prosperity while maintaining the continuity of the values and culture under the sanction and protection of the monarchy. British loyalists in Canada urged the need to retain a system of “status quo, stability and respect for rank and order; values that they believed were inherent in the British constitution” (Henry, 2010, p. 6). Canada has often criticized the United States, arguing they represent social instability, excessive democracy from too much independence, corruption, power, and greed from lawless men and now corporate businesses. Henry includes a quote from an observer, Castell Hopkins in 1896, “Uncontrolled popular power has placed the American democracy more or less at the mercy of the demagogue. In Great Britain…British democracy is …a combination of restricted privilege and dignified liberty; of monarchical influence and popular control” (p. 6). I am discomfited to admit I have held the same pomposity towards United States believing the British were more civilized. This cognitive reasoning is a direct and concrete example of internalized colonialism. Why and how could I ever think being oppressed involves lesser degrees of domination?
Internalization and Settler Mentality

Smith (2012) argues that while Indigenous communities struggle with all socioeconomic conditions at crisis levels and overrepresentation in every significant social system in mainstream society:

they [Indigenous peoples] are constantly fed messages about their worthlessness, laziness, dependence and lack of “higher” order human qualities….Within these sorts of social realities, questions of imperialism and the effects of colonization may seem to be merely academic; sheer physical survival is far more pressing. The problem is that constant efforts by governments, states, societies and institutions to deny the historical formations of such conditions have simultaneously denied our claims to humanity, to having a history and to all sense of hope….To acquiesce is to lose ourselves entirely and implicitly agree with all that has been said about us. To resist is to retrench in the margins, retrieve “what we were and remake ourselves”…The past, our stories local and global, the present, our communities, cultures, languages and social practices—all may be spaces of marginalization, but they have also become spaces of resistance and hope. (p. 6)

I remember coordinating a young parents’ workshop from a consultant providing the “Nobody’s Perfect” parenting program, the key message of which was positive reinforcement messages for both parents and young children. The concept is often referred to as “self-fulfilling prophecy,” where a prediction indirectly or directly comes to fruition. Parents are encouraged not to call their children negative character-defining names such as “stupid, slow, lazy, dumb, crazy” etc. based on the psychology that children will begin to believe the messages they are constantly hearing. Constant repetition of negative messages directed towards Native people has the same result, especially when it is directed to Aboriginal youth during the development of their Aboriginal identity. Canadian citizens have repeatedly sent messages today in editorial papers, on talk-shows, and in daily conversations, to “get over it” when Indigenous people attempt to share their stories, particularly about residential schools, foster care, or
child welfare experiences. There are some fears in my circles that Canadians will view the Truth and Reconciliation Commission settlements as “gag” money that will shut down the healing processes to resolve grief and loss resulting from colonial indoctrination and confinements.

Pinderhughes (2011) defines internal colonialism “a geographically-based pattern of subordination of a differentiated population, located within the dominant power or country” (p. 236). The literature on internalized colonialism, Settler mentalities, and benevolent colonizers varies in context according to the marginalized group. Pinderhughes cites these phrases related to African American social oppression:

“enduring residential segregation (Darden 2007; Bullard 2007; Bonilla-Silva 2001), massive educational inequality (Bullard 2007, Edelman 2007), sweeping suppression through imprisonment (Bositis 2007, Bullard 2007; Edelman 2007), systematic economic subjugation (Harris 2008; Oliver, 2010; Shapiro 2006).” Pinderhughes (2011) argues that “Internal colonialism is a system of inequality, not just an aspect or device or component of inequality” and is “closely related to external colonialism based on features of subordination and oppression, not on majority/minority numbers ratios, geographic distance, capital export, foreignness, legal distinctions, or even voluntary vs. involuntary migration” (p. 236). He openly states that the emergence of his proposed “geographically based” internalized colonialism could explain the variations in responses to oppression. Residential schools were predominant in British Columbia (29) and Alberta (33) and consequently those provinces reflect a higher ratio of violently abusive situations experienced by Native children. The proposed theory of geographically based internalized colonialism could explain the disproportionate representation of Aboriginal
peoples in BC and Alberta in various social determinants of health in Canada. The health of an individual is not limited to physical wellness but also includes every aspect of the person’s spiritual, emotional, physical, and mental wholistic well-being. Racism is a violent act of colonialism that is equal to modern forms of bullying and intimidation.

Normalization of racism in Canada and North America generally is clearly demonstrated almost daily in sports, where society has placed an elevated status on those athletes who succeed in football, hockey, soccer, etc. Johnson (2011) poses that Europeans and governments generated negative “images of uncivilized crazed ‘lawless’ savages…meant to get the public’s attention [which endorse] what they are taught in school and images most Canadian citizens and new immigrants are familiar with” (p. 104). Johnson proposes that the media has the role to perpetuate these distorted and negative images, particularly when Indigenous issues result in public conflict (blockades, court battles, demonstrations, flash mobs, etc.). The Royal Commission mentioned how “media outlets continue to perpetuate stereotypes and inaccurate generalizations about Indigenous peoples [and] the misinformation continues mostly unchallenged and unabated” (Johnson, 2011, p. 105). This was highlighted when a debate began over the Settlers’ use of “Indian” mascots, Halloween costumes, and references to the culture. Johnson (2011) details how “such bizarre imagery and naming is part of the ‘Savagist’ discourse developed [in] European colonialism…to summon a whole catalog of ‘tribal’ and athletic ferocity” and has become “engrained, accepted, and normalized to such a degree that most North Americans accept it unquestioningly” (p. 106). Johnson’s article captures the duplicity of colonialism in the “disfigurement of everyone in society…where the ‘victors are ultimately shown to be camouflaged victims, at an advanced stage of
psychosocial decay” (Ashis Nandy quoted in Johnson, 2011, p. 106) and have become “self-destructive co-victim alongside the colonized, where the oppressor is as badly deformed by the colonialist society” (Johnson, 2011, p. 107). Internalized colonialism is not limited to the psyche of the colonized but extends to the colonizer as well.

**Psychological Effects in Colonial Nations**

Research on the colonial phenomenon and the effects of oppression on the colonized has focused on ethnic groups but little research has been completed to study how the mind of an individual is affected when oppressed through colonization or how a Settler’s mentality justifies or rationalizes domination or violence. Harrell (1999) examined the influences, processes, and impacts of racism in Africa and identified three domains that support and perpetuate racism: events, mental process (universal and personal), and states of mind and patterns of behaviour formed as a reaction.

Fanon’s work (1963) focused on the psychological effects of colonialism as individuals experienced loss of their freedom, alienation in their own land, intentional systematic attacks to de-humanize every aspect of their lives including their language, culture, and lifestyle, and deconstruction of their families, communities and nations.

Hilton (2011) examines and critiques Fanon’s literary work on colonization, which originally focused on oppression within the black Antillean population and centred on the Manichean, compartmentalized world of colonialism as a psychological framework. Fanon’s work during the 1960s extended his focus into analysis of the “white man’s phobia that lies at the heart of his racism towards the blacks” (Hilton, 2011, p. 50) and later wrote on “the psychological sequela of colonial oppression and potential solutions for the oppressed individual” (p. 53) with an explanation that colonizers “could
reduce or even eliminate cognitive dissonance brought about after committing harmful, even immoral acts against the natives…therefore justifying the colonizer’s actions” (p. 51). Hilton (2011) presents Fanon’s work to demonstrate how the “juxtaposition of the black and white races…resulted in an inferiority complex ‘derived from the copious aspects of colonialism and fraternization of the races and, most notably, language or literary’ propaganda’” (p. 49). Hilton (2011) argues that,

Adopting another culture’s language is “above all to assume a culture” (qtd. in Fanon, 1952, p. 2). In the presence of the oppressor, the colonized unavoidably begin to accept that because their native language is so dissimilar from the new dominant population, they are intrinsically inferior. The native constantly compares and analyzes his ability to speak like the colonizer and dominant culture. (p. 49)

Hilton (2011) concludes that Fanon’s work, which involved “recounting historical acts of oppression” help to explain the “overwhelming rates of mental illness in the Native American population today” (p. 57). Freire (1970) was influenced by Fanon and explored the relationships between “the colonizer” and “the colonized.” There has been an emergence of new literature, particularly within the field of psychology, many authors of which contributed to “Internalized Oppression: The Psychology of Marginalized Groups” (Bailey, Williams & Favors, 2014; David & Derthick, 2014; Duran, 2014; Laenui & Salzman, 2014; Lewis, Allen, & Fleagle, 2014; Millan & Alvarez, 2014). The process of internalizing colonial ideologies begins through indoctrination into colonization. Four structural themes are constant in colonial indoctrination: economics, epistemology, politics, patriarchy.

Recent psychological studies have begun to explore the impacts of internalized oppression on marginalized groups, expanding from Fanon’s work on colonial racism and advocacy for violence in process of decolonization (Elia, 1996) to Pinderhughes’ (2011)
theory of internal colonialism, to Philippine psychologist Enriques’ processes of colonization and decolonization (Paenui & Salzman, 2014). The concept of internalized colonialism is an explanation that moves me towards understanding and making sense of the events and situations I have encountered or observed these past decades as an Indigenous woman involved in community development projects. I was travelling in Treaty 8 area and was engaged in an informal discussion with a First Nation chief who asked me if I could explain why, despite all the efforts to create employment and education programs within the community, attendance and participation were still almost non-existent. The chief expressed frustration and stated, “Even when we make arrangements for drivers to physically pick up participants at home, bring their lunches for them and drive them back home, they don’t finish the program. I don’t know what else to do because I can’t do their thinking for them in class too. They [band members] think they are entitled to a job because they are a band member, even though they don’t have any education or qualifications.” I couldn’t provide any logical explanation for what I was witnessing and the same types of comments and discussions were occurring all over Alberta and in many different settings. I kept wondering if this recent trend stemmed from colonization and pondered how the colonial malignancy was sustained in modern society.

**The Prophecy of the Fifth Fire**

Fifth Fire: if people accept this promise of a new way from light-skinned people and abandon old teachings, then the struggle of the Fifth Fire will be with them for many generations.

The Cree people in Alberta identify themselves according to their geographic regions associated to the bush, plains and prairie Cree people with variations in the Cree
dialect that can be understood between regions. Borrows (2010) demonstrates the existence of government and social structures within Indigenous communities through fundamental principles expressed through hereditary chiefs and natural laws, *wahkohtowin* “as the overarching law governing all relations. This law guides the order of every living entity in the natural world and its “implications for individuals, families, governments, and nations” (p. 84). The existence of this way of life can be retraced through oral history and storytelling before the immigration of settlers after European explorers in the 1400’s. Human societies are characterized by patterns of relationships (social relations) between individuals who share a geographical territory, distinctive culture and institutions. Distinct social patterns develop the ideology within community relationships and through language create the structures and governance into the establishment of cultural norms or acceptable values. Culture and cultural norms are those unique elements such as language, social rules, symbolisms, etc. taught to children that connect our thoughts, beliefs and behaviors as acceptable within the boundaries of that society. The key concept is that society is a human-created organization or system of interrelationships, usually connected by a common culture.

To summarize, the settlement of Canadian land was ultimately influenced by individuals from other cultures who imported their political, religious ideologies and philosophies, under the guise of “Christendom” and racial superiority to build the foundation for all laws to govern society in Canada that has directly impacted Indigenous peoples, i.e., entitlements, citizenship, inclusion, etc.

This thesis includes extensive historical content to emphasize and impact the depth and breadth of the colonial attack against Indigenous peoples by the imperialistic
colonists during confederation. The purpose of this content is to provide contextual understanding of the significance of the external forces that negatively impacted a colonized nation who encountered complete devastation within a short period of time.

I watched a female chief in BC make a public apology on TV for following “devil-worshipping” by praying the Native way and plead to other Native people to join her church. This was a prediction in the Fifth Fire Prophecy and expands into the other three colonial structures: economy, epistemology, and politics.
Chapter 4—Process of Colonization

The Prophecy of the Sixth Fire

Sixth Fire: Those deceived by this promise will take their children away from the teachings of the Elders and that generation will turn against the Elders. Elders will lose their reason for living—their purpose in life. A new sickness will come among the people and balance will be disturbed—people will lose their will to live and their purpose in living.

The Prophecy of the Sixth Fire is the prediction of Indigenous peoples losing their Aboriginal identity, their culture, and their language. Historically we can trace the origins from imposed colonial laws prohibiting Indigenous ceremonies, culture, and language through residential schools and into the modern form of child welfare policies, both systems removing the children from their families and homes. Fanon and other theorists propose internalization of colonialism impacts the psychological denigration of Aboriginal identity into self-shame and denial of cultural association (Gordon, 1995).

Alfred (2002) suggests,

The root of the problem is that we are living a spiritual crisis, a darkness that descended on our people at the time we became disconnected from our lands and from our cultures. We are divided amongst ourselves and confused in our own minds about who we are and what kind of life we should be living. We depend on others to feed us and to teach us how to look, feel, live. We turn to white men for the answers to our problems. We have started to trust them. There are no more leaders and hardly a place left to go where you can just be an Indian. This is a spiritual crisis. (p. 1)

This chapter explores discussions on the process, aspects of colonization and impacts on Indigenous peoples and Settler populations in Canada. Historical records document the processes and strategies utilized by colonizers throughout the world. This chapter presents some of the contributions to establish the origins and support the argument that existing policies and practices have perpetuated colonialism into modern
society through actions reflecting internal colonialism or internalized colonizer or “Settler
mentalties.”

Scholars are revisiting discussions on post colonialism. Gould (2008) argues, “The use of the prefix ‘post’…does not mean ‘after’ colonialism because colonialism is not over and post colonialism rejects the imperialist notion of linear time” (p. 517). He suggests “‘post’ is to be read as ‘in challenge to colonialism’” and “sets forth that colonialism has been socially constructed and ‘sold’ to various cultures so that ideas about what it means to be desirable or undesirable are created and perpetuated by both the colonizer and the colonized, respectively” (p. 518). The author demonstrates examples of linguistic manipulation to stress his point on socially constructed ideas when he invokes an image of elegance and extravagance in reference to a historic preservation of an area of town defined as “colonial” (p. 518). Gould moves towards the extreme preferential treatment of citizens in Louisiana struck by Hurricane Katrina and examines the social and colonial relationships from the responses of public administration post-Katrina. Gould concludes “humans share a common human identity in a culturally mediated manner…their similarities and differences do not passively coexist but interpenetrate…”(p. 526, qtd. in Parkehk, 2000, p. 239). Gould argues that the intent and objective of colonialism, was “to colonize those deemed ‘backwards’ specifically for selfish financial and strategic gains…[Colonialism was] carried out in covert and subtle ways at state levels through state initiatives, policies, laws and the state-centric symbolism of messages delivered by public administrators” (p. 518). Gould accuses public administrators have responded to the crisis from Katrina and “are employing the colonialist model in the ‘rebirth of Louisiana’ initiative currently underway” (p. 528).
There are images captured on camera or television that leave an emotional impact immediately on the viewer. I can still clearly see in my mind, the horrible images caught of African-American individuals floating on boards, hanging onto trees or walking aimlessly through the destruction. And I remember it was several weeks with a global sense of outrage and public assistance, also accusing state politics enmeshed with racial biases and federal bureaucracy before aid was sent to marginalized individuals. Modern colonization is manifesting constantly through policies, laws and government bureaucracy.

Poka Laenui, (Laenui & Salzman, 2014, pp. 90–91) worked with Philippine psychologist, Virgilio Enriques and identified five steps on the process of colonization as:

1. **Denial and withdrawal**: devalue Indigenous population through moral judgments and racial superiority ideologies until colonized gradually withdraw from their own cultural practices.

2. **Destruction and eradication**: colonizers become more aggressive and violent towards colonized and physically destroy any symbols or representations of Indigenous culture (burning, removing or destroying sacred objects, sites or ceremonies).

3. **Denigration, belittlement, and insult**: new systems are created within Indigenous societies (churches, health care, police, child welfare, band offices, jails, schools, etc.). Religious agents, medical and educational professionals will belittle or condemn Indigenous practices, stating witchcraft, paganism, mythological or “ancient wisdoms” to negate or demean Indigenous ontology or epistemology.

4. **Surface accommodation and tokenism**: remaining remnants of culture are given surface accommodation and tolerated as an exhibition of colonial regime’s sense of leniency to the continuing ignorance of the Natives. These practices are now called “folklore” showing respect to the old folks and to tradition—they are given token regard.

5. **Transformation and exploitation**: traditional culture that continues to remain is transformed into the culture of the dominating colonial society. E.g. a Christian church will use an Indigenous person as a priest, permitting him to use the Indigenous language and some forms of practices within the framework of worship. Native art or musical items become popular and form the basis for economic exploitation (tipi campsites, Banff art galleries, flute music, etc.) Indigenous symbols in print may decorate modern dresses. To support Indigenous causes within the general colonial structure may become the popular
political thing to do so the culture is further exploited. This exploitation may be committed by Indigenous or non-Indigenous people.

Richardson (n.d.) establishes the complexity of colonialism with its impacts and effects on Aboriginal people through the use of an analogy she terms “the colonial container” where an individual fills and stores their personal experiences of oppression and acts of resistance. I’ve interpreted the colonial container as an Aboriginal person and interjected my own personal experiences and self-location into the formula. Nationalism, cultural hegemony, domination, linguistic discourse (euphemisms, mutualization, agentless construction, romanticizing, eroticizing, missing perpetrator, etc.), patriarchal, supremacy, oppression, resistance, control, intimidation, manipulation, political influences, genocide, assimilation, lies and deception, tokenism, residential schools, empirical science, and Eurocentric are just some of the “items” in my colonial container. Each individual Aboriginal person would have their own story of what is inside their colonial container and how it has impacted their lives.

Many non-Native allies are academics exploring psychological or social impacts from colonialism and its legacies. Okazaki, David, and Abelmann (2008) examine and analyze colonialism as a specific form of oppression. The authors state the following:

An increasingly rich literature explores how the colonial subject is made through elaborate systems that measure, compare, and explain human difference: these are the processes that justify that radical imposition of the colonizer on “inferior” people in need of intervention. Colonial regimes are elaborated discursively by differentiating between the colonizer’s “superior” or “more civilized” ways of life and the colonized people’s allegedly “inferior” or “savage” ways. Scholars look to a wide range of domains to observe this subject-making: from medicine, to city planning, to science…and of course to more obvious arenas of social control such as schools and the military (p. 92).
Research studies in psychology are providing information for an emerging theoretical understanding on the dehumanizing aspects of colonialism (Fanon, 1963; Memmi, 1967; Foucault, 1970, 1977; Anderson, 1991). The theories validate and provide clarification on the impacts to the colonized person from the complex barrage of repeated negative messaging by government and dominant society has psychological implications affecting more than an individual but move into “the ontological and psychological coordinates of selfhood” (Okazaki et al. 2008, p. 92).

The debate continues about post colonialism and neo-colonialism and whether or not colonialism has ended but both theories confirm, “persistent imperialistic relationships between former colonies and their colonizers, be they economic, political, or even military” (Okazaki et al. 2008, p. 93). Dominant systems are based on meritocracy, designed to create an environment of “healthy competition,” but the flaw in this design is that there is always a winner and a loser, with the loser left to sort through their thoughts and feelings of inadequacy, failure, or disappointment. Dominant society rewards individual success with emphasis on the financial values associated with accumulation of material possessions, which also reflects status in the community and can be seen in the idolization of public figures in sports and entertainment. The Settler societal value of meritocracy is based on individualism and creates competition to promote capitalism, wealth and material accumulation as the reward. The Indigenous societal value is opposite and is based on a collective community with the value placed on the individual’s contribution towards community and individualism is regarded as a negative, selfish behavior not accepted or valued in society. The current political and economic events today demonstrate the colonial structures continue to exist in the
modern world but the Idle No More movement could be reflecting a shift from compliance or resignation into acts of resistance or emancipation.

Scott (1990) presented various concepts and theories regarding cognitive processes in the oppressed or subordinate groups and their resistance to acts of oppression or violence. Scott felt there was a misrepresentation of social reality based on a dominant or hegemonic ideology and that the oppressed operated under either “thick or thin versions” in a “theory of false consciousness” (p. 172). Basically, the thick version claims that subordination is achieved when dominant ideology has persuaded “subordinate groups to believe actively in the values that explain and justify their own subordination” (p. 72) or they have consented and agreed to dominant society’s hegemonic ideology of superiority. The thin version of false consciousness “maintains only that the dominant ideology achieves compliance by convincing subordinate groups that the social order in which they live is natural and inevitable” (p. 72) or subordinates are resigned to the social reality of domination.

I have often encountered, particularly in Aboriginal males, a tendency where they appear to be uncertain of their traditional gender roles in society. Gender roles within an Indigenous environment are not interpreted in the stereotyping of roles that becomes the negative form of an “ism” in the dominant society. Individuals become unwilling to create a scene and advocacy is an alien concept where there is an acceptance, mostly unwillingly, that the laws do not apply to Natives. However, First Nations have increased their knowledge of litigation, legislation, and court systems and have significantly improved outcomes through advocacy, e.g., McIvor v. Canada; Supreme Court decision in R. v. Gladue; Métis and non-status Indians under federal jurisdiction.
Scott’s (2004) definition of thick and thin versions of the theory on false consciousness links to Noel’s (in Shewell, 2004) process of abstraction to explain how society has effectively maintained domination with little resistance from Aboriginal people. According to Noel, “To achieve domination, the state needed to define First Nations in terms relative to its superior position and to ascribe this definition to them in such a way that both they and the state accepted it as the truth about their subordinate position” (Shewell, 2004, p. 338). Both Scott and Shewell present concrete theories to explain the phenomenon of groupthink and the dynamics of dominance and oppression. Shewell suggests the Indian welfare policies were designed historically to create dependency on the state while allowing the state to assert their ideologies into the Indigenous culture and complete assimilation by consent. What hidden mental chains remain on such a global scale that modern societies proclaim respect for diversity yet resist change to reflect such ideology, instead sustaining domination and oppression of Indigenous peoples? How are social policies on welfare dependence used to control and maintain domination over Indigenous peoples in Canada?

Shewell (2004) provides insight as to how the Canadian government and society has effectively managed to maintain domination through the “objectification of the oppressed and the dominator’s control of the discourse in defining their identity, their problems and the solutions to them” (p. 338). Shewell (2004) linked welfare policies to historical political and societal ideologies that defined the Indian-European relationships in Canada during two periods of time: “the post-Confederation period of subjugation, from 1875 to 1945, and the post-Second World War period of citizenship, from 1946 to 1965” (p. 325). It was during these periods in Canadian history that the Canadian state
either introduced or modified legislation for welfare or relief policies, specifically to address the “Indian” issue and achieve First Nations’ assimilation into the Euro-Canadian dominant culture. Shewell threads the policies from the initial military force applied by the Canadian state to thwart acts of resistance through warfare, to the shift towards an economic system that resulted in First Nation welfare dependency, to various administrative methods designed to remove First Nation collectivism and create dependency based on an individual’s merit to contribute into a dominant culture society, to, finally, a bureaucratic system that falsely presents support for First Nations’ self-governance but is actually still a system controlled and maintained by the Canadian state. Shewell (2004) explains that the Canadian state decided to change tactics from policies that were blatantly designed for assimilation to the use of linguistic devices and euphemisms that would promote First Nations as citizens in Canada. This was done under the guise of creating a “sense of belonging” but with the same outcome of assimilation.

Armitage (1995) introduces Steward MacPherson’s three principal features of colonial administrative systems and Marshall’s three components of citizenship that maintain oppression of Aboriginal peoples through social policies. According to MacPherson, colonial administrative systems are bureaucratic, centralized, and maintain the possession of power, and Marshall demonstrated that civil, political, and social were three components in citizenship (Armitage, 1995, p. 233). Armitage argues that Canada has never given full citizenship to Indigenous peoples and it is directly reflected in the statutes and laws that regulate policies of entitlement to “welfare” and social supports. My Indigenous belief-system on equality aligns with the anti-oppressive approach
utilized in my social work practice to negate or remove influences of domination or oppression. So I find it difficult to understand the colonial mentality within a dominant group who value an ideology of superiority to the point that policies were specifically designed to create and sustain domination and oppression.

We need to comprehend the complex functions behind the intent of colonial policies as the instruments used within the binary relationship to maintain roles of domination and oppression and how that relationship is achieved. If we simplify the process to one individual “bullying” another, then we see the same patterns emerge as in society. One person, who has an inferiority and/or ego psychosis, chooses to bully another person they perceive is weaker than them. Intimidation, violence, linguistic devices, and even legal resources are tools used to maintain and sustain domination.

Alfred (2009) presents from an Indigenous perspective on colonization and argues the effects have resulted in “psychophysical crisis and dependency of First Nations upon the state” (p. 42). He suggests “the cumulative and ongoing effects of this crisis of dependency form the living context of most First Nations existences today” (p. 42) and this dependency is maintained through Canada’s policy of state-sponsored forcible assimilation. Alfred (2009) concludes, “only the assimilated Indian has been offered even the prospect of wellness. For those who resisted or refused the benefits of assimilation, government policies assured a life of certain indignity” (p. 43). Many Indigenous advocates and activists openly state acknowledgement of their poverty by choice since it is a direct result of their reputation through work that places them in opposition to the ideologies and political party formats for employment with the government or economic or resource development corporations.
First Colonial Structure - Economics

The relocation of Indigenous peoples is the result of the Settlers’ need for economic development and capital gains and is a consistent theme wherever imperialistic colonials immigrated into new territory. The French explorers capitalized the fur trade for fashion when they began to settle into the new territory and determined the best approach to ensure survival during the extreme winter seasons was to form a friendly alliance and marry into the indigenous population. There have been many conversations on the subject of Columbus incorrectly calling the inhabitants of Canada, “Indians” because he was lost and yet mainstream society credits him as a wonderful explorer and the United States has named a day in his honor. The Vancouver Sun (January 7, 2014) reports, “The Harper government promotes an unprecedented opportunity to gain economic benefits and resolve social issues in their communities” at a Vancouver Board meeting in March 2014 but First Nations are cautious and believe he is after the natural resources on First Nations and has made plans to sell those resources to foreign countries such as China and Europe. But first he has to remove the protection of the land that falls under the laws through the Indian Act, so he has begun to introduce omnibus Bills that will remove First Nations rights to protect the lands “assigned” to them through the treaties. The government has dedicated a large amount of marketing funds to promote the benefits of economic development of natural resources (Walkom, 2013).

Scoffield (2012) quotes Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird: “It is all about jobs, investment and opportunity. It is all about creating economic growth so Canadians can get back into the workforce and be able to provide for themselves and their families…under a barrage of aggressive questions about C-45” (para. 4). The omnibus bill effectively weakened protection of the environment, removed scientific reports and
stripped protection of Navigable Waters from three million to 97 and became the catalyst for Indigenous allied supporters.

Thira (2006) presents four waves of colonization. The first three are identified as legal, administrative, and ideological, and Thira proposes that “a fourth wave of colonization is currently oppressing the Aboriginal community, a medical wave, made up of professional caregivers, treatment centers, and others which encourage and provide so-called healing, based on the view of Aboriginal peoples as ‘sick’ ((p. 1). Indoctrination into colonization has involved extensive strategies and processes by the colonizers. Thira argues Canada originally relied on Aboriginal support during the War of 1812 and quickly discarded the support once European colonizers “demanded land for their economy” (p. 1). The demand aligned with colonial policies designed to increase Christianity into Aboriginal communities to civilize and increase cheap labour to “enhance public and private wealth by putting the land to its ‘proper use’ [farming, commercial fishing, logging, mining, etc.]” (p. 1). Table 1 shows the four waves identified by Thira (2006). The ideological wave was designed to “protect and transform the students, Indian residential schools were set up…with the intent of ‘civilizing’ and converting Aboriginals to Christianity as well as preparing them as a cheap source of labour…declared ‘deficient’ [but] better described as genocidal concentration camps for Aboriginal children” (p. 2). The concept of “waves” of colonization raises images in my mind of the surges and waves in a tsunami that eventually and dramatically changes the landscape and ultimately affects the lifestyle of the original inhabitants of the area.
Table 1 Negative Impacts on Aboriginal People

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relocation/Reserves</th>
<th>Loss of Rights and Criminalization of Culture</th>
<th>Residential School System</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>loss of home/belonging</td>
<td>loss of cultural traditions</td>
<td>loss of family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loss of economy/food source</td>
<td>loss of ceremonial artefacts</td>
<td>loss of culture/language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loss of localized spiritual places/culture/identity</td>
<td>loss of history</td>
<td>loss of identity/social role</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loss of lifestyle and freedom</td>
<td>loss of sociocultural identity</td>
<td>loss of parenting and life skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>loss of livelihood</td>
<td>loss of self-esteem/spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>loss of value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(internalized racism)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Source: Thira (2005, p. 3).

Second Colonial Structure - Epistemology

Language is a complex system that represents symbolism or signs to communicate in a social environment and can be executed in various structures: spoken, written, uttered, signed, drawn, sound, etc. Human beings acquire language through social interactions beginning from birth that relate to particular meanings associated directly to cultural norms and ideologies. Linguistic euphemism creates an illusion of self-determination but social policies still imposed by dominant society (Canadian government, Euro-Western professionals, Europeans, etc.) are effective strategies to maintain the status quo in terms of maintaining Aboriginal Peoples in Canada without full citizenship.

Richardson and Wade (2009) present examples of how “many of the linguistic devices that make up colonial discourse (e.g., stereotypical images, euphemisms, passive and agentless grammatical forms, mutualizing terms, deterministic metaphors) appear widely in the discourses of the legal and human service professions” (p. 206). Context or meaning-making of a comment or word can alter, substantially change, or even leave a
long-term or devastating impact on an individual or a child, particularly when legislation sanctions the removal of Aboriginal children from their communities and homes. Nilsen (2003) demonstrates the significance of an apparently simple word, “attachment,” and how the meaning of the word becomes skewed and “has become common parlance in the vocabulary of foster/adoptive parents” (p. 303) in the United States. Nilsen explains that in the adoption/foster care setting, the word is applied to the child’s current behaviour, “regardless of relationship context” which is the “parental identification and recognition of the empirically-derived symptoms of attachment, which remain untreated” (p. 303). The word is instead applied, especially at foster parent/adoptive parent training, “to view the actions and the emotions of the children…and almost any behavior or relationship…as evidence of an attachment problem, many of which may be better conceptualized by behavioral or social learning theory models” (Nilsen, 2003, p. 303).

Carriere & Richardson (2009) argue that there are cultural implications when the word “attachment” misses the meaning for “longing for connection and home” and the lack of understanding “suggests that by supporting connectedness and cultural identity for indigenous children and families, service providers may help turn longing into belonging” (p. 63). The word “attachment” for Aboriginal children being removed from family has left devastating and long-term impacts, affecting Indigenous families and communities forever. The impact was heightened to awareness with the death of Richard Cardinal, an Aboriginal youth in the Alberta child welfare warehouse system, who, in a span of 11 years, “after being placed in over 28 different living situations…had given up his longing for love, for family, and for dignity. He ended his life, writing, ‘I just can’t take it anymore’” (Carriere & Richardson, 2009, p. 49). One of my Elders would always
caution me about the “power of words” and remind me constantly to use words with kindness because abuse of power is when someone could get hurt with a simple word taken the wrong way.

Scott’s (1990) discourse analysis on power relations between dominant and subordinate populations where “forms of domination are infused by an element of personal terror that may take the form of arbitrary beatings, sexual violations, and other insults and humiliations” (p. 21). The author identifies patterns of secret discourses he refers to as “hidden transcripts” created in safe social places by subordinate groups as forms of resistance expressed openly but in disguised forms, e.g., rumours, gossip, folktales, songs, gestures, jokes, etc. “They insinuate a critique of power while hiding behind anonymity or behind innocuous understandings of their conduct” (Scott, 1990, p. xiii). Scott (1990) examines the hidden transcripts of dominant groups and suggests this group has developed their own private dialogue that is “a hidden transcript representing the practices and claims of their rule that cannot be openly avowed” (p. xii). Academics and educational institutions are the most visible and audible reminder that “knowledge is power” when someone with a lower grade or literacy level becomes involved in either legal or child welfare systems and has been mandated to attend a meeting with many professionals. The professionals are usually therapists, psychologists, physicians, or specialists who engage in conversations at a graduate level that automatically excludes the individual being affected by their decisions. The individual becomes intimidated, fearful, anxious, and agitated, because they feel helpless and powerless, effectively maintaining dominant control over the individual.
According to Coates and Wade (2007), “The strategic use of language is indispensable to the acquisition and exercise of power, even power that is acquired democratically…The ability of any group to advance its interests hinges in part on the group’s ability to publicize its perspectives as more truthful or reasonable than others” (p. 2). Coates and Wade (2007) identify four significant patterns that demonstrate “how language is used to (a) conceal violence, (b) mitigate perpetrators’ responsibility, (c) conceal victims’ resistance, and (d) blame or pathologize victims” (p. 3). The authors contend that professionals, academics, and journalists presenting information and claiming authenticity under a flag of objectivity cannot be neutral or impartial since writers “use the constructive power of language strategically to promote particular versions of persons and events over other versions in order to influence key decisions” (p. 3). Politicians justify their actions with flair of creative licence in the English language to project a positive impression through the use of media on events that could potentially create a negative image of the Canadian government. Politicians and government representatives have often utilized the media as a tool to construct linguistic devices strategically to execute discursive operations of violence towards the Aboriginal population, e.g., residential schools (education), child welfare (in best interest for the child), etc.

According to Indigenous teachings, violence isn’t restricted to personal family relationships but is expanded to include all relationships within the individual’s circle of influences: from the personal/individual into family or familial settings into community relationships, and even representatives from Western societies, government leaders, or those in patriarchal roles such as priests. Europeans, government representatives and
religions agents are the threads of abuse that link together to conceal the violence against Indigenous peoples in Canada. Linguistic manipulation by patriarchal systems such as the government and the church is the reason why expressions such as “skeletons in the closet,” “behind closed doors,” and “keep it a secret” are the hidden transcripts for acts of resistance among the victims that bore the brunt of the violence and the hidden transcripts within the abusers to maintain domination above reproach. I have heard many Aboriginal seniors attempt to rationalize residential schools as a place for learning while never having attended one.

Richardson (2008) quotes, “Words, said the colonialist writer Rudyard Kipling (1923), are ‘the most powerful drug used by mankind’” (p. 1). The linguistic manipulation by dominant groups, usually government or corporate businesses, has become a contentious issue with Indigenous peoples, particularly since there are some First Nations who are still fighting battles in the court system for their Treaty rights, prolonged by lawyers representing differences of opinions in the interpretation and translation of the original agreements.

**Education**

Henry, Tator, Matis, and Rees (2000) explore the links between collective values, beliefs, practices of dominant White culture, and the “discourse of racism buried in our language, national narratives and myths, public accounts, and everyday common-sense interpretations, explanations, and rationalizations” (par. 12). The authors present concrete examples of institutional racism and argue “Canada suffers from historical amnesia. Its citizens and institutions function in a state of collective denial. Canadians have obliterated from their collective memory the racist laws, policies and practices that
have shaped their major social, cultural, political and economic institutions for three hundred years...Stereotyped assumptions and practices are manifested in the workplace and the classroom” (p. i). The Eurocentric worldview attempts to demonstrate superiority over earlier cultures and can be traced to historical European roots and to colonialism and imperialism. Eurocentric ideologies have influenced curriculum development in academic institutions since the onset of Confederation in Canada and contain elements of colonial policies that continue to impact societal attitudes towards Indigenous people. Bear Nicholas (2005) argues that the Euro-Canadian education system continues to assimilate Indigenous children despite public government apologies for the traumatic experiences suffered by Indigenous children in residential schools. Bear Nicholas is critical of the Canadian government’s apology ten years after the religious agents’ half-hearted apology; both are now pathologizing the survivors, which “is nothing but a blatant attempt on the part of those responsible to ‘obscure [the] moral and financial accountability of Euro Canadian society in a continuing record of crimes against humanity” (p. 34). Bear Nicholas (2005) argues there are ideological and oppositional differences in the epistemologies between Native and Euro-Canadian cultures and insists, “The real intent [of education] has been the subordination of Native nations to colonial powers with the two-fold purpose of 1) absorbing and obliterating Native people and nations altogether; and 2) appropriating their lands…education, or rather, indoctrination, has been the chief means of achieving these ends” (p. 74). The threat of assimilation and ultimate genocide of Indigenous people is through the educational systems. What better method than to promote the superiority of Western academic institutions over First Nation educational buildings equivalent to those in Third World countries, even though it
is the federal funding that restricts the capacity and access of our Aboriginal schools? I have often asked new Aboriginal social work students why they want to become social workers and they always respond, “Because I want to help my people.” I always wonder, “Who gave you tobacco and asked you for help?” I equate this to the “Trojan Horse” because Western education is about subterfuge to inject and implant Euro-centric and imperialist ideologies into our Aboriginal communities or contaminate other young Aboriginal minds with their false superiority. Bear Nicholas (2005) argues that education is a “weapon of exploitation of Indigenous peoples and their mental and physical enslavement” (p. 71). Just because the residential schools closed down doesn’t mean the colonial policies ended because now the threat exists by the brown faces enforcing another culture’s values.

Assimilation policies became legislated acts to establish residential schools in partnership with religious churches as a formalized government campaign to strip Aboriginal children of their identities by forbidding Native language, forcing European values, beliefs and customs into their lives, and brainwashing through religious indoctrination. Legislation policies outlawed Native ceremonies, enacted penalties of fines and imprisonment to enforce European supremacy and religious dogma onto Aboriginal parents and leaders. Language, spirituality, community structures, family dynamics, and Indigenous beliefs were announced as uncivilized and barbaric. Indians were classified as savages, dirty, and illiterate, and education was the system designed to reinforce European supremacy and racist ideologies.

Decisions affecting the curriculum and academic environment are directly controlled by government, universities, and corporations “who together write the
‘standard account’ versions of history” (Bear Nicholas, 2005, p. 104), evaluate and assess our Aboriginal students, and approve the empirical research that ultimately approves the social programs on Aboriginal peoples. Bear Nichols gives her warning that “neocolonialism occurs and continues into the present through the support and cooperation of co-opted individuals under ICIE (Indian Control of Indian Education) policies and Native Teacher education programs that have accepted or even insisted on Euro-Canadian teachers, curriculum and language of instruction for their schools” (p. 91). She suggests, “For Aboriginal People to understand their oppression and the role they play in it is the first step towards liberation…To recognize that the destruction of our cultures and languages still goes on today” (p. 101).

Recent studies continue to substantiate the importance of cultural continuity through Indigenous languages yet academic decision-makers constantly report funding restrictions to limit support programs for Indigenous students, despite poor attainment of higher education. A good example of the decline of Aboriginal support in education is the Edmonton Public Schools Board, which passed the Aboriginal Education Policy in May 2007 with commitment demonstrated by the creation of an Aboriginal staff unit providing supports to Aboriginal students in the public schools. This program lasted only a few years and has been completely disbanded with staff released or re-allocated to regular positions within the system, and the policy has been removed from the website.

A recent study on the stereotyping of American Indians (Morris, 2011) involved two investigators—one American Indian and one non-Native—to gather information on the reasons stereotyping continues to be ingrained and reflected in society. The study confirms reports by Indigenous scholars and activists that “stereotyping of the American...
Indian continues to exist…often perpetuated in all forms by the media, the education system, the political scene, etc.” (p. 9). The report recommends presentation of accurate information to younger students in order to affect the earliest influence for change and suggests Indigenous peoples also become more involved in public speaking to remove stereotyping, with the education system changing to include accuracy in Aboriginal content and history to students. This recommendation does not factor in the difficulties presenting to Aboriginal youth as they attempt to transition into adolescence during a period in their lives when they are already struggling with the development of their identity while their bodies also adjust to cognitive and biological challenges such as narcissism, hormones, peer pressure, etc. The Aboriginal youth also encounter the inherently subscribed internalized colonial complexes from being a Native in society who is exposed to racism as well as negative cultural impacts from colonization.

**Third Colonial Structure - Politics**

Dickason and Calder (2006) quote Sir John A. Macdonald, Prime Minister of Canada in 1887, who said, “The great aim of our legislation has been to do away with the tribal system and assimilate the Amerindian people in all respects with the other inhabitants of the Dominion as speedily as they are fit to change” (p. 195). Satzewich (1997) reviews a personal message from J. Allison Glen (Minister) to all Indian Agents in 1945 that summarizes the political and societal philosophies towards the “Indian problem” and the function of “Indian Agents” at that period of time:

Glen’s letter also articulated the two age-old assumptions that have guided the Department of Indian Affairs since at least the middle of the 19th century. First, like each new cohort of administrators within Indian Affairs, Glen was confident that the solution to the ‘Indian Problem’ was just a generation or two away. And second, like other administrators
within Indian Affairs, he believed that the solution to the problem could only be achieved by the continued ad careful guidance of the employees of the Branch. In other words, through the hard work and perseverance of Indian Affairs officials, Indian people would soon no longer require the protection of the Indian Act and would become full, self-regulating and assimilated citizens of Canada. (p. 228)

Political “correctness” and acumen was not the priority of the British colonists when they arrived on Turtle Island, so the correspondence was the only method of communication to prepare each other for what they must have viewed as a hostile and inhabitable land where only animals could survive—thus the comparison of Indians to animals. The move towards settlement into colonies was being diverted by the constant time and energy wasted to address the Indian problems—hostility to colonization, oppression, and military force to herd them onto reserves, treaties, Louis Riel uprising, etc.

British colonial acts were established through federal assimilation policies that were strategically designed to alienate children from their families and communities with the goal to “kill the Indian in the child.” In the words of Duncan Campbell Scott, 15

I want to get rid of the Indian problem. I do not think as a matter of fact, that the country ought to continuously protect a class of people who are able to stand alone…Our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic and there is no Indian question, and no Indian Department, that is the whole object of this Bill.

Scott’s brutal words are inconceivable unless understood in the context of the political leadership and British colonial ideologies during that era. I have presented Indigenous history to various groups and I observe noticeable physical winces or shocked expressions when I recount historical statements by Settler leaders in the development of

the Canadian government. It becomes quite surreal as the energy shifts into an environment where I have to console some participants or fend off antagonistic or defensive remarks from other individuals. The chronological history and colonial influences always become an interesting opportunity to create dialogue. I have never deliberately set an accusatory tone in these historical presentations but the degree and backlash varies each time, which I have interpreted as a form of colonizer survivor guilt. Okazaki, David and Abelmann, (2007) propose that the empirical data extend beyond the cornerstones of race and culture to include social, psychological and infrastructural works since “such cultural constructs are not located in a vacuum and all such culture-related variables are influenced by larger sociopolitical and historical contexts” (p. 96). The authors suggest “a postcolonial consideration of contemporary individuals needs to consider the effects of psychological and institutional infrastructure. Analysis of the characteristics of indigenous psychology becomes problematic in attempts towards a global understanding of colonization and determining which epistemology or which “cross-cultural psychology…[because] although this colonial mentality research is historical and contextual in theory, it remains ahistorical and acontextual in its empirical methodology” (p. 101). Historical documentation often reflects the author’s perspective and Indigenous history is oral based through storytelling and not easily translated from an Indigenous tongue into another language. This authorship ultimately skews the version of history, much the same as a married couple ends their relationship with oppositional and different version of the “truth” based on their world-view perspectives about the situation. Colonial amnesia in combination with the power dynamics in a binary
hierarchy and the oppressed group unable to comprehend or utilize written text are good predications that varied or skewed versions of truth will be in historical documents.

Indigenous scholars and reports (Alfred, 2009; Haug, 2001; McNeil, 1994; Milloy, 2008; RCAP Canada, 1996) have revealed inconsistencies of historical reviews from archived government records and documents. Karst (1994) uncovers a series of colonial misconceptions by an “anthropological expert on the Plains Cree” who wrongly based his claim on “unsubstantiated written records from explorer, Sir Alexander MacKenzie” (p. 237). The colonial mentality of explorers is revealed by Karst, who adds, “further degradation of the generalized Indian is demonstrated by the European [who] cast themselves as anything less than superior conquerors of primitive and virginal territory…[and have] the view of themselves as rightful inheritors, entitled to the land” (p. 237). The Doctrine of Discovery and the Age of Enlightenment reflect arrogant attitudes spawned from narcissistic egos with almost supreme-being mentalities who felt they were entitled to ownership of anything within their grasp. It is unimaginable how Settlers disregarded the concept of ownership by the stewards of the land called Turtle Island.

McNeil (1994) summarizes the White paper in 1969, which “proposed that the federal Indian Act be repealed, the Department of Indian Affairs be abolished, and general responsibility for Indians be transferred to the provinces…Control of reserve lands was to be transferred to the Indian peoples, but once that was done, the anomaly of treaties between groups…be reviewed to see how they can be equitably ended” (pp. 118-119). It is apparent that the Harper government has undertaken a different process to terminate federal accountability for all Aboriginal peoples in Canada through hidden
colonial policies contained in the quickly introduced and cumbersome 457-page omnibus bill C-45 in 2013 that galvanized First Nations and allies into the creation of the “Idle No More” movement as well as public demonstrations with flash mob round dances, blockades, and a hunger strike by Chief Spence.

Fourth Colonial Structure - Patriarchy

A multitude of literature provides the historic trail of colonialism in Canada (Barker, 2006; Green, 1995; Haug, 2001; McNeil, 1994; Milloy, 2008) by an Imperial Government that violated and influenced their own legislation though “cultural forces rather than legal principles” (Milloy, 2008, p. 2). Dominant society takes the patriarchal role and controls Aboriginal people the same as a parent controls their children. Parents will consult with professionals who then pathologize and label the child if the behaviour becomes chronic and disruptive to the family. Scott (1990) creates an analogy between family and domination and claims “that similar structures of domination…tend to provoke responses and forms of resistance that also bear a family resemblance to one another” (p. 21). Legislation is the process of making laws in Canada where legal terms are constructed through linguistic manipulation to project objectivity by distancing or removing any personalization or projection of emotional behaviors or feelings e.g. lawsuits become “matters before the court” and children are “declared wards of the state” or a parent is “awarded custody” normally associated with commodities or possessions.

The Indian Act is a patriarchal document that legally assigned every Aboriginal as a ward of the state or, in layman’s terms we became the legal children of “our Canadian forefathers.” We do not have full citizenship and entitlement since the Indian Act defines
rights and entitlements if you are born Aboriginal, e.g. everyone in Canada can purchase land for their home unless they are a registered Indian residing on a First Nation.

McIntosh (1990) wrote about her realization of “white privilege” after recognizing that hierarchies in society are limited to male privilege. She admits, “I think whites are carefully taught not to recognize white privilege, as males are taught not to recognize male privilege…I have come to see white privilege as an invisible package of unearned assets which I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was ‘meant’ to remain oblivious” (McIntosh, 1990, p. 1). McIntosh (1990) reflects the following:

It seems to me that obliviousness about white advantage, like obliviousness about male advantage, is kept strongly inculturated…so as to maintain the myth of meritocracy, the myth that democratic choice is equally available to all. Keeping most people unaware that freedom of confident action is there for just a small number of people props up those in power, and serves to keep power in the hands of the same groups, that have most of it already. (p. 2)

I sat in a class a few years ago and listened to a white female cohort make a statement that resonates “white privilege” to me still decades later. She was adamant that women who were in violent relationships should leave the abuser immediately and it was easy once the decision was made, because she had done that in her life. A list of barriers and challenges immediately popped into my mind: moving from the reserve, no family, no income, paying rent, not able to find a place because you’re Native, no education, no job, kids, school, child welfare controls…My list continued to grow as the minutes passed until I realized she didn’t have to face all of these challenges. I attempted to bring up that topic of access and potential barriers and she shot me down and yelled at me, “everyone has choices.” Yes, we have choices but not everyone starts at the same gate and most likely the gates have locks. I realized middle-class Canadians, through birth,
had access to opportunities, were born with the knowledge they had legal entitlement to full rights and would advocate for those rights if they were violated, because they had full citizenship in Canada and were socially accepted in society—because they were born into freedom with their white privilege and I was not.

**Benevolence**

Canadians take pride in viewing themselves as global peacekeepers, a nation of kind-hearted, outdoors and nature-loving citizens. Mainstream society sees itself as “benevolent,” which is an adjective commonly affiliated with churches e.g., the benevolent priest, benevolent benefactor who donated all his riches to the congregation and church; we’ve heard the stories about the huge donations made by these type of individuals. But Cree teachings are such that we know there are always two sides to everything the Creator made: one good side and one not so good. Canadian commentator Rex Murphy and Tom Flanagan, an author who wrote *First Nations? Second Thoughts* and was also a key “Aboriginal Advisor” for Harper would often make public statements that are extremist in their negative views towards Native peoples. A young man, Corey Snelgrove, shared his thoughts on how and what events changed his “benevolent” views on his blog. I view this young man as a wonderful Settler ally for Indigenous peoples.

He shares his story:

I began to do some preliminary research on the broad topic of Indigenous-State relations in the summer of 2011. One of the books I chose to read was Taiaiake Alfred’s *Wasase*. *Wasase* spoke honest, yet uncomfortable truths about my benevolent, beloved Canadian nation-state, and forced personal introspection about my own role in the colonization of North America. The truths that *Wasase* told led to intense feelings of guilt, internal anger, and confusion. Immediately after finishing *Wasase* I was left awakened. I began to see things that I never noticed before. For example, I noticed a Mohawk flag flying near my own home.
Additionally, I became aware of my own involvement in cultural appropriation as my workplace sold “stoic Indian” garden ornaments. The Settler presence was becoming “unsettled”. This uncomfortable awakening forced me to understand my own role in the colonization of North America and my complicity in Indigenous dispossession, but it also left me debilitated not knowing how to effectively challenge the hegemony of the Settler colonial empire. (Snelgrove, 2013)

I admire this young man for sharing his story and it leaves me with optimism and hope for decolonization to actually occur. I am one of those individuals who believe that the youth of today will make a better tomorrow. I only hope we can salvage enough from the ecological destruction to Mother Earth to ensure survival of the next seven generations.

Colonial policies are engrained into every legislative procedure to guarantee colonized actions appear benevolent to public citizenship.

Even worse, under conditions of what we call moral inversion, in which something evil has been redefined convincingly as something good, ordinary people can all too easily engage in acts of administrative evil while believing that what they are doing is not only correct but, in fact, good. (Adams & Balfour, 1998, qtd. in Gould, 2008, p. 526).

I was not very old when Trudeau’s Liberal government issued its White Paper on Indian Policy and the document hit the news. But I definitely remember a hush within my Native home and there was the sense of tension between my family and community members as we walked through the streets. We had just moved into a new neighbourhood and we were the only Natives in the area so each of us had no form of support other than other family members who now lived across town. I recall my aunt calling herself a “half-breed” with no rights anyways and she told my mom that she sold her treaty number for $1400. I believe she thought selling her treaty number would make her more acceptable to the non-Natives in our community.
Subservience: Indigenous [Aboriginal] Feminism

British social values and norms immigrated into the Canadian government when it was created under the British North America Act. These foreign values influenced the foundational beliefs incorporated into the legislative system. The legal system in Canada created laws through the lens of a patriarchal societal structure, which has had a negative impact on Aboriginal women in Canada. Canadian laws and legislative branches encouraged assimilation of Aboriginal women into society and removed Aboriginal status through discriminatory laws applied only to Aboriginal women.

Aboriginal women in Canada have experienced oppression under the domination of a male-centred legal system that devalues the female population and offers little or no protection against domestic violence, rape, or murder. Harry (2009) presents at the Battered Women’s Support Services Aboriginal Program and challenges, “Aboriginal women as a group have been largely ignored in the processes for Aboriginal sovereignty as well as women’s rights/or feminist activism.” Harry (2009) asks, “How can government creating laws, having established women’s rights on a feminist foundation, claim inclusion for Aboriginal women within the established women’s rights when feminism has largely excluded Aboriginal women?”

It is unfortunate that some Aboriginal males have adopted the patriarchal perspective towards women with expectations of dominance, subordination, and subservience. Anderson (2000) provides historical information from Aboriginal women regarding family structures and gender roles prior to colonization. She notes, “The Jesuits of New France, headed by Father Lejeune, introduced the patriarchal family structure, ‘with male authority, female fidelity, and the elimination of the right to
divorce…In order to be civilized, Native women needed to learn how to obey” (Anderson, 2000, p. 83). Indian women were exploited and mistreated by European men yet the men relied on the Indian women’s knowledge on survival skills and cementing relationships in territories for trading purposes. European men forced Aboriginal women into roles of domestication and subservience based on the cultural norms in European countries.

Religious indoctrination focused on removing matriarchal structures within Indigenous communities with strategies to insert the patriarchal ideologies needed to align with religious dogmatic beliefs. In 1676, Marguerite Bourgeoys established a boarding school for the “purpose of transforming young unsuspecting First Nation female students into becoming subservient, submissive and obedient…as indoctrination to detribalization and creation of an economic class of the lowest order.” ¹⁶ I found this information the most disturbing piece of colonial history for me since it indicates the purposeful and strategic design of religious indoctrination to destroy all matrimonial structures and, in essence, the basic foundation of every Indigenous society prior to the arrival of religious missionaries. The very fabric of religious dogma and the enforcement of male domination through “benevolent religious patriarchs” appear to have violated almost every Aboriginal woman and child for over 300 years either spiritually, emotionally, physically, or mentally.

Chatterjee (1992) shares how the roles of women were affected under colonial conditions, with patriarchal rules determining the conditions that allowed the extent of

¹⁶ Marguerite Bourgeoys, an Ursuline nun, later known as Mother du Saint-Sacrement, established a boarding school, which was the first domestic training for girls. This was the beginning of the “Victorian Cult of Domesticity.”
their freedom. She speculates that British colonialism and nationalism led to cultural hegemony and laid the foundation for domination and oppression.

Aboriginal women in Canada have experienced the oppression under the domination of a male-centered legal system that devalues the female population and offers little or no protection against domestic violence, rape or murder (Anderson, 2000; Ouellette, 2002; A. Smith, 2005). Ouellette (2002) concluded in her research that “issues such as racism, national oppression and colonialism do not affect most Euro-Canadian feminists; leaving Aboriginal women to act alone on these issues” (p. 91). Aboriginal women do not agree with the existing feminist theories, as noted by Ouellette (2002), mainly because most Aboriginal women do not see motherhood and its responsibilities as a form of oppression. Aboriginal women value their children and take the responsibilities seriously as a continuation of the next generation for the family and community. Oral history from the Elders revealed stories of how women would take the children and hide in the bushes, away from the men when they returned from trading with the Settlers because they would be drunk. The males would become so violent that homes were destroyed and physical assaults against each other became the outcome of the trades. The Cree people, as do most other Indigenous nations, rely on oral history to transfer Traditional Indigenous Knowledge from one generation to the next generation. This Knowledge could involve specific teachings on how to conduct a certain ceremony to one individual or it could be the ceremonial involvement of a complete community, i.e. Sun Dance, but there is never any mention of a “Christian God” in the ontological belief system. Creation stories have no references to Christianity, Jesus or sins and the values of respect and honour for women and children were such an integral part of the lifestyle
that violence was never directed towards a mother or her children. The degree and frequency of domestic violence or physical assaults against one another as Native peoples is oppositional and contrary to the basic values within the Indigenous culture. Research confirms that witnessing and living in fear as a child impacts the cognitive functioning of an individual but I often wonder how the aggregate effect of violence experienced with a complete Aboriginal community would affect the total functioning of a subjugated race in their attempts to rationalization the dysfunction in communities. I think of Maskwacis when I think of community violence and this Native community in Alberta. There have been several incidents where the news has reported deaths of children caught in the cross-fire between gang wars retaliating with “fly-by” shootings in public sites. Gender roles have become reversed in Aboriginal communities with girls picking up the role of caregiver to their boyfriends and partners instead of the males providing for the families. The Teachers have told us at ceremonies that the forced static lifestyle on reserves by government has critically impacted the intrinsic values within the pedagogy of Indigenous ontology for Cree people. The male responsibility for provision of families in the Traditional ways encompasses more than “making an income” and involves expectations, reliability, personal sacrifice, dependability, necessities of life…. Our Elders have tried to explain to each generation how this missing information directly affects the self-esteem in every individual because they are not able to follow their “direction” or purpose in life with the gifts (skills, aptitudes, abilities, etc.) provide by the Creator. The link between hunting and ceremony was the education of teachings and values connecting the land with the people through spirituality and relationships.
Poupart (2003) proposes a dichotomous (inward/outward) direction of internalized colonialism and suggests the following:

When we, as marginalized Others, internalize and portray our inferiority in these ways, we become a sort of “self-fulfilling prophecy” as we provide the dominant culture with evidence to support our continued objectification, disempowerment and exploitation…we become our own oppressors…view ourselves as essentially responsible for our political, economic, social and cultural disempowerment. The dominant culture no longer needs to overtly force, threaten, or coerce our disempowerment, for now we enforce it within ourselves and within our communities of Others (p. 90).

Poupart expands her theory to suggest that domestic and sexual violence is linked to other colonial forms of domination, such as racism, classism, etc. Marginalized groups are gathering their voices now in modern society through acts of resistance such as “Occupy Canada,” “Idle No More,” and public demonstrations against companies linked to the proposed pipelines. The Aboriginal youth are obtaining higher levels of education but they feel a need to reconnect with the Indigenous culture and are encountering what other cultural helpers are naming “photocopy Elders.” Those are the individuals who have moved to the cities and left their connection to the land or the Teachers, thinking they know enough. But the teachings are cut short when you leave too early, so these individuals start imitating some ceremonies they may have attended but never were taught or earned the right to perform. The Elders are explaining to their communities there is no-one in urban communities who can say, “hey, there’s something missing here” but others like them will also start copying what they see—ceremonies become a “McDonald’s” quick service rather than the full time it should take to complete the ceremony. The Seventh Prophecy predicted this odd photocopying of ceremonies and said there would be Teachers sitting at those ceremonies that are never asked for help and
never offer, because that’s not how it’s done in the Native culture. It’s become an ethical
dilemma and the youth are caught in the middle.

**The Prophecy of the Seventh Fire**

Seventh Fire: New People will emerge and retrace their steps to find what
was left, back to Elders. But some Elders fell asleep. Awakening will
find some with nothing to offer; some will be silent because no one is
asking them anything. The New People will have to be careful in how
they approach the Elders.

The European men could not comprehend or understand the significance of
okicitaw iskwewak—warrior women or clan mothers (McAdam & Paul, 2012) when they
were learning how to survive Canadian weather. These were the women warriors or
keepers of the laws in each nation who went underground to resist the Indian Act but
were the true leaders who had authority to make decisions or grant approval to the Chief.
McAdam is one of the founding women of the “Idle No More” movement who is a
member of the Whitefish Lake Reserve and travels to communities to re-vitalize nehiyaw
weyeswwewna (Cree: Natural Laws), particularly to speak about okicitaw iskwewa
(Cree: Clan mothers, warriors, keepers, etc.). She presents nehiyaw weyeswwewna to
decolonize the negative, oppressed and subservient roles that Eurocentric ideologies have
implanted into our culture through colonialism.

The University of Alberta recently hosted a “teach-in” on treaty rights, indigenous
education and the First Nations Education Act that is being presented for its third reading
in the House of Commons. The presenters were all Aboriginal women lawyers,
following traditional beliefs, and advocating for acts of resistance to begin the process of
decolonization. The key message from the four women speakers was that the intent of
the White Paper in 1969 has been quietly introduced by the current government through
recent omnibus Bills and innocuous Acts that do not affect the Settler population. The final outcome will be the complete termination of “Aboriginal” rights under the existing Indian Act, effectively releasing the federal and provincial governments from any accountability or fiscal responsibility for the devastation to Aboriginal people and their communities caused by colonization from colonial policies.
Chapter 5—Decolonization and Transformation

McIntosh (1990) suggests that redesign of social systems can only occur when and if white people ask the hard questions about themselves, “will we choose to use unearned advantage to weaken hidden systems of advantage and we will use any of our arbitrarily-awarded power to reconstruct power systems on a broader base” (p. 2).

Theorists are beginning to explore the complex aspects of colonialism and colonization and the individual impact the phenomenon has through internalized colonialism, benevolent Settlers or colonizers, etc. in various colonial countries, affecting different cultural and marginalized groups. Their works discuss colonization over the past 500 years and the resultant intergenerational and multigenerational impacts from historic trauma. Pinderhughes (2011) suggests that, “a new geo-focused internal colonialism theory is needed,” with the next generation of theory involving the following:

1) Defining colonialism as a geographically-based pattern of subordination of a differentiated population with each geographically separate territory as a distinct colony;
2) Applying a class analysis for sociologically diagramming class interests and dynamics;
3) Describing a colonized people’s continuous development from the start of their subjection to the present;
4) Including gender, sexual orientation, and other dimensions of social oppression;
5) Outlining the colony’s division of labor as it relates to the dominant country’s economy;
6) Identifying three major ways to abolish a colony: collective assimilation, ethnic cleansing, and positive abolition;
7) Seeking commonality with other theories of oppression; and
8) Elaborating a framework that presses for maintaining historical and political context when internal colonialism theory is debated and critiqued. (p. 251)
Pinderhughes (2011) introduces the concept of “positive abolition” (p. 252) that proposes there must be individual emancipation and equality through inclusion as a collective whole that will correlate directly to community wellness as a historically dominant population. He continues,

The systematic set of policies necessary to attain this goal must include broad democratic reforms, such as electronic participatory democracy, community control, fully informed news, discussion and debate in a genuine truth-seeking format, and broad democracy in regional autonomous zones...to enable the internal colony’s maximization of self-determination while remaining within the dominant nation-state.” (p. 252)

Black American history has provided Pinderhughes with a vast library of documentation to review and analyze the colonial patterns and processes utilized to assert domination and subjugation of natural inhabitants in newly settled countries.

Laenui & Salzman (2014) expand Enrique’s original work on the process of colonization and introduce five phases towards decolonization based on observations and parallels in colonial influences between Hawaii and the Pacific Rim. The phases, as with any process, are not linear but are listed in sequential order to ensure classification of each aspect:

1. **Rediscovery and Recovery**: rediscovery of one’s history and recovery of one’s culture sets the foundation for the eventual decolonization of the society. People who have undergone colonization are inevitably suffering from concepts of inferiority in relation to their historical cultural/social background. They live in a colonial society, which is a constant and overwhelming reminder of the superiority of the colonial society over that of the underlying Indigenous one. One of the dangers in this phase is ‘form over substance’...Indigenous people themselves can abuse their own culture,
especially when they have been so long and completely separated from the practice or appreciation of their traditional culture that they now see and treat this culture from the perspective of the foreign one.

2. **Mourning**: the time when people lament their victimization, which is an essential phase of healing. Individual responses to tragedies and societal mourning depends on the circumstances and vary in the length of time or in outlet of feelings, ranging from great anger at the colonizers and their systems, to frustration and physical or verbal outbursts, and some will further internalize their feelings. A sense of justified violence, either in words or action, can lull some into remaining in this phase, milking every advantage of the innocence of one’s victimization. Other individuals will totally immerse themselves in rediscovery of their history and accelerate into the third phase

3. **Dreaming**: is the most crucial for decolonization. Here is where the full panorama of possibilities is expressed, considered through debate, consultation, and building dreams…which eventually becomes the floor for the creation of a new social order…where people colonized are able to explore their own cultures, their own aspirations for their future, considering their own structures of government and social order which encompass and expresses their hopes…it must be allowed to run its full course. The dreaming cannot be cut short or be implemented prematurely by any action plan or program designed to create a remedy…this phase is similar to the formation of a fetus in the mother’s womb…and must be allowed time to develop and grow to its full potential…True decolonization is more than simply replacing Indigenous
or previously colonized people into the positions held by colonizers… [It] includes the evaluation of the political, social, economic and judicial structures themselves… [and] development of new structures [to] hold the values and aspirations of the colonized people.

4. **Commitment:** people have the opportunity to weigh the voices… wade through the cult of personalities, family histories, and release themselves from the shackles of colonial patriotism. This culminates in people combining their voices in a clear statement of their desired direction. There is no single “way” or process for a people’s expression of the commitment but the process becomes clearer over time as an expression of the people’s will. It can be difficult to distinguish between an early termination of the dreaming phase from the start of the commitment… [It] must be carefully scrutinized and questioned as to whether these calls are consistent with the desire to allow the full process of decolonization to take place or cut the dreaming short and force a premature resolution of historical injustices, limiting the losses of those threatened in the decolonization process. Such elitist substitutes form for quick solutions and deprive people of a full participatory role in the formation of their own social order.

5. **Action:** starts only if consensus of commitment is reached in the fourth phase, otherwise action taken cannot truly be said to be the choice of the people colonized… reality does not allow for such a methodical, patient, time consuming process of the four earlier phases. The action called for in the fifth
phase of decolonization is not reactive but a pro-active step taken upon the consensus of the people.

Academic guidelines recommend paraphrasing of context when citing information. However, I was compelled and felt it was necessary to demonstrate some form of respect to Laenui, as another Indigenous person, to share the wisdom and advice he included in his written article.

Colonial policies and procedures were implemented into our everyday lives decades ago and new Acts do not remove those processes but become the white elephants that affect our lives daily since they are so entrenched into every societal system and structure. I had organized and written a report on a provincial “think tank” in 2007. I am disheartened to see that the summary I wrote back then could apply to this research question since it specifically responds to the conflict and dichotomy of two cultures sharing space. I am inserting some of the conclusions that identified unity, bureaucracy, and lack of cultural relevancy as key issues in the think tank report (St. Germain, 2007, pp. 18–19) that support Salzman & Laenui’s (2014) five steps towards decolonization, specifically Phase 3 (Dreaming) and Phase 4 (Commitment). The recommendations below have been repeated multiple times, by multiple stakeholder groups, at multiple conferences, workshops, symposiums, and government meetings over the past two decades or longer. The words may be a little different but the messages and intent have remained similar, from the Kelowna Accord in 2004 to this small provincial gathering of Aboriginal frontline workers in Alberta.

Elders across Alberta and Canada have expressed their concern that too many Aboriginal people are only using the “white ways” [education, policies, regulations, etc.] and not utilizing the uniqueness of the Aboriginal philosophies and values into their work practices to help the community.
The identity crisis stems from the conflict between the Aboriginal and mainstream [Western] philosophies.

1. Aboriginal people need to unite and share information to delve deeper into the bureaucracy and create solutions for changes in all sectors.
2. Aboriginal leaders need to become more involved in these discussions and present solutions to government levels that are realistic for their people.
3. More gatherings of all Aboriginal people are needed to share and network with each other. The network creates opportunities to connect and support each other, as well as keep informed about current trends and legislative changes.
4. Aboriginal workers need to address issues at a macro level vs. micro level since legislative changes in one sector impact Aboriginals in other sectors.
5. Aboriginals need to focus on removing fragmentation of services—use a true “holistic” approach that includes connections of services from one sector to another e.g., federal and provincial corrections, child welfare, community services, First Nations, education, health.
6. Aboriginals need to develop a forum that promotes unity and can present social issues to all government levels as one united voice in Alberta.
7. Aboriginal communities need to remove division between First Nations, Métis, non-status, Inuit, and those who have Aboriginal ancestry. This has become a barrier for unity since each group tends to become focused only on their specific issues, rather than looking at the “bigger picture” and when decisions in one level/sector have a direct impact on Aboriginal people in other sectors/ government levels. For example, housing, employment, and addictions are initiatives that federal, provincial, and municipal governments address and are often inconsistent about at community level.
8. Aboriginals need to remember what makes them unique as Aboriginals—our culture—otherwise, assimilation and genocide are the outcomes. Why would we need and ask for accommodation if we do everything the same as mainstream societies? What would make us different?

The increase in literary contributions by Indigenous academics and scholars reflects accelerated resistance to colonial domination. However, the increase in non-native support that has extended across Canada and into other countries also reflects a societal shift change that now includes multinational alliances globally. Alcantara (2014) notes increased Indigenous activity in the new year with renewed demands for the Crown to uphold treaty promises. Multiple attempts to reach any type of agreement have been met
with no significant outcome and the void only demonstrates the futility of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples’ efforts for reconciliation. Indigenous peoples have the RCAP recommendations as simply written words on paper that are constant reminders of the lack of will to change on the part of both the government and non-Native citizens in Canada. Alcantara (2014) notes, “The Idle No More political movement, however, is a rejection of this [Harper piecemeal] approach. It reflects a growing dissatisfaction and disgust with the lack of any real, transformative change at the federal level and shows no signs of dissipating any time soon” (para. 3).

Alcantara proposes the revival of the 2004 Kelowna Accord that was dropped by the federal government soon after their election. The Kelowna Accord was an intergovernmental agreement between Prime Minister Paul Martin, national Aboriginal organizational and political leadership, and the provincial and territorial governments in Canada. This group was a precedent in Canada and the membership devoted several years to ensure commitment to work through emotional discussions on complex issues such as “housing, education, economic development, health and accountability…a historical first in modern Canada” (Alcantara, 2014, para. 7). It included an unprecedented financial commitment from the federal government for five years and a promise to renew for a second five-year term. Alcantra (2014) adds, “A new Kelowna Accord has the potential to be transformative for this country. Not only could it radically alter the Crown’s relationship with aboriginal peoples, it could significantly improve aboriginal standards of living and unlock an important source of economic wealth in this country” (p. 14). It leaves you to wonder why the federal government quickly deflated
any further commitment before there was movement towards action to implement the agreement with financial supports.

**Transformation**

The premise behind any transformative theory is it involves systemic and societal change caused by drastic and emotional shifts from one’s foundational belief systems that affects the basic premises of thought, feelings, and actions. Regan (2005) quotes transformative scholar Edmund O’Sullivan, who says “It is a shift of consciousness that dramatically and permanently alters our way of being in world” (p. 7). Change is the process of becoming something different from the known or an alteration in the order of an individual or society and involves innate homeostatic mechanisms to ensure individual, community and societal properties remain the same.

Research offers various theories to explain the structures of change in natural systems through complexity theories (NAPCRG Resources) and ontology of social ideologies (Cleveland, 1994), while other theories have been developed to explain when individual, community group, or societal shifts occur, i.e., collective impact (Kania & Kramer, 2011) and readiness for change (Prochaska, Prochaska, & Levesque, 2001). Settler and Indigenous authors have begun to explore possible decolonization strategies through transformative theories (Barker, 2006; McNeil, 1994; Mertens, 1999; Regan, 2005; Turner, 2006; Wilson & Mihesua, 2004) and the theories provided previously in this thesis. I have attempted to offer explanations of why or how the colonial phenomenon has sustained into the 21st century and what is needed to thrust society into a transformative shift of complete equality among all citizens in Canada.
Gordon (1995) uses colonialism as a springboard from philosopher Frantz Fanon (1925–1961) in their criticism of European science and civilization, which has compromised humanity into a narrow scope artificially defined by Eurocentric racism. Gordon and Fanon propose the colonized engage emancipatory action through declaration of independence from Eurocentric definitions. Gordon’s work in African philosophy and post-colonial phenomenology posits that racism remains pervasive today. Gordon and Fanon urge the oppressed to “create” an exit that does not model after European institutions “because the imitation becomes an obscene caricature” (Elia, 1996, p. 936). A criticism of Fanon’s theory is his stand that freedom from oppression can only occur through violence and many followers provide supporting evidence of riots resulting in freedom of the people. I remember when Czechoslovakia peacefully dissolved because of growing nationalist tensions in the government in 1992. Among my friends were a married couple who escaped the communist country just prior to this event and they shared their stories of underground meetings and worries about family safety if riots became a reality.

Indigenous research chair Michael Hart (2009) argues that colonialism still exists through the enmeshment of academic instructors with Amer-European worldviews and the hegemonic epistemology forced onto Aboriginal students. Hart believes:

Research is a political act whether we want it to be or not. When we choose how we are going to come to know, meaning when we pick a research methodology, we are privileging particular ways-of-being in the world. When we give this choice little thought, the likelihood is high that we will unconsciously contribute to colonial oppression by bringing non-Indigenous ways-of-being into our relationships with Indigenous peoples and expecting them to at least accommodate our position…We as Indigenous peoples leave out some aspects of who we are in order to access the means and power for survival. (p. 168)
Waters (2004) proposes that “American Indian Sovereign nations students are bicultural; to be bicultural is to live in both Native-centric and Eurocentric worldviews. Indigenous students need to be educated in an epistemology that encourages cultural relevancy, particularly in a helping profession. Waters (2004) presents the rationale that Native students “in academic institutions must translate information from their Sovereign nation’s standpoint to a Euro-American standpoint, and vice versa” (p. 72). Many Indigenous scholars have threaded decolonization to Freire’s (1970) concept of consciousness as important foundational aspects in the knowledge translation process. Sinclair (2004) explains that “Freire’s notion of conscientization involves ‘learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality’ (p.3). Freire (1970) emphasized the point that people, especially those who have been colonized, must be supported in the belief that their knowledge and history are valuable because they receive so many messages to the contrary. Many of my Teachers shared that the residential schools taught the children to gossip and tattle-tale on each other through a reward system implemented by the priests and nuns. Basically, children who were informants on other children who broke the rules were given treats or privileges. This strategy became a dysfunctional norm that has been integrated into Aboriginal communities. The Natural Laws are about respect, sharing and caring but those traits were pushed out of the context of social values when the children were removed from their homes and subjected to negative messages instead of validation of worth that is inherent in our Indigenous culture and values.

Shewell (2004) proposes that “Indian welfare dependence will only be solved when the political autonomy of First Nations is realized…. [The autonomy of] First
Nations…is now common within Indians’ discourse; their identities and their futures are becoming clearer to themselves, and they are refusing to play the games of their Euro-Canadian oppressors.” (p. 341). Shewell (2004) supports Taiaiake Alfred’s standpoint that First Nations need to “return to more traditional forms of autonomy balanced by leaders who ‘have the knowledge and skills required to bring traditional objectives forward as the basic agenda of the political and social institutions they work within’” (pp. 341–342). There are constant debates with adamant statements that the old ways are gone and in the past; it is impossible to return to the lifestyle before the Settlers immigrated to Turtle Island. My response is the same as my parents and Teachers—who you are is what matters and those values are inherent within the Indigenous ontological understandings on the connectivity of relationships between community and the land. Not everyone hunts or hold ceremonies but those events still occur; not everyone tans hides, beads, or makes sacred objects—but those activities still exist; and not everyone speaks their language—but many mother tongues still have Teachers who can help a person to learn.

Bear Nicholas (2001) provides a summation of recommendations from Aboriginal educators who advocate liberation from oppression within the context of Euro-Western academic institutions and curriculum. She concludes,

there are many Aboriginal educators who believe that not only is schooling still necessary for teaching such necessary skills as reading, writing and arithmetic, but that once greatly modified, schooling holds much promise as a tool of liberation…through which the unique ‘orientation and knowledge’ of our peoples can survive…this vision assumes that Aboriginal people can successfully wrest their education systems shaped by, and controlled by the people. Only then can a people expect ‘to exist in continuity of themselves into the future. (p. 114)
I often present cultural orientation to students in various kinds of classrooms, ranging from employment orientation to Aboriginal addiction curriculum or social work students. I expect to encounter preconceived expectations from students who have been informed that an “elder” will come to speak with them and I am always rewarded with surprised looks and exchanges when I enter the room. First, I do not view myself as an “elder”; I am continuously a student learning about my culture, the same as everyone else. Second, I do not wear my ceremonial clothes every day. Lastly, I have tasks or “work” to do every day, the same as everyone else. The only difference is that I was blessed with some teachings from older people who came across my path once in a while. My education in the Euro-centric systems increased once I located academic institutions with instructors who supported and encouraged me to continue to “think outside the box.” I interpreted this to mean that I could receive an education that did not conflict with my worldview or compromise my ethics, values, or the intrinsic principles that make me who I am as a Cree woman. I value the education I have received and am grateful that I found an academic institution that created space for Indigenous students and encouraged the right combination of personal growth with “white pedagogy.”
Chapter 6—Conclusion

The Eighth Fire

It is at this time that the light-skinned race will be given a choice between two roads. If they choose the right road, then the Seventh Fire will light the Eighth and final Fire—an Eternal Fire of Peace, Love, and brotherhood. But if the light-skinned race makes the wrong choice of roads, then the destruction which they brought with them in coming to this country will come back to them and cause them much suffering and death to all the Earth’s people. Traditional people from all Nations have interpreted the “two roads” as technology and spirituality. The headlong rush for technological development has left the Earth seared and in danger of destruction.”

I have returned full circle and end my thesis with “kiya maka”—it’s up to you.

The choices in the path of the Eighth Fire directly impact whether or not human beings make a decision to preserve the health of “Mother Earth” or “Turtle Island” and ultimately protect the future of the next seven generations. The difficulty lies in humans’ agency to wilfully eject themselves out of their comfort levels and into the uncertainty of a massive societal change.

Sea of Change

Naimi (2012) demonstrates a paradigm shift in philosophy, referred to by Berstein (2010) as a “sea change” Naimi (2012) states, “The very point of calling this [a sea change] in contemporary philosophy is to stress that so many different thinkers have converged, and are converging, upon similar principles that the principles themselves come to take on greater plausibility because of the diversity of thinkers that come to them” (p. 9). Naimi suggests that Peirce’s pragmatism or Gadamer’s philosophical hermeneutics offer insights to transformative potential through human agency within a “modern worldview which has been accompanied by both metaphysical and
epistemological ‘scaffolding’” (p. 5). Naimi (2012) proposes, “As agents embedded within formative social and historical contexts, we tacitly acquire a linguistic worldview that inclines us to be in the world in a particular way. But we are not simple like passive wax that is moulded by the external environment. We internalize social reality through action and, in action actualize a particular vision of the world” (p. 95). The dichotomous state of this philosophical shift (metaphysical and epistemological) has been occurring within the Indigenous world and aligns with the Seven Prophecies and the Eighth Fire, as demonstrated through the Idle No More movement. The application of hermeneutic interpretation to literature about colonization through an Indigenous framework, accompanied with the same scaffolding process, offers a unique perspective on how colonialism has been internalized, maintained, and perpetuated in the modern world. Theories are demonstrating that through layer upon layer of colonial values in every societal system, across national and global geographic locations, repeated subjugation throughout multiple generations affects not only individuals, but families, communities and complete nations.

This paper has presented just a few of the emerging theories from scholars exploring the psychology within colonial nations. The concepts are evolutions and variations from early theorists such as Freire (1970), Fanon (1963) or Memmi (1965) by scholars who present their recommendations for transformation or decolonization within colonial nations. The concepts indicate that colonialism more than simply fragmented concepts on the differences between cultures of two races sharing a geographic territory. Colonialism is the insertion of dehumanizing ideologies through systematic and repeated messages of one race that dominates and subjugates the original inhabitants for the
purpose of capitalistic gains. Decolonization begins with understanding that the process of colonization initially stems through deliberate linguistic messaging within the colonial structures of economics, epistemology, politics and patriarchy.

The foundation of the Aboriginal philosophy is relationships and nature. The Indigenous connection and relationship with nature is uniquely embedded into the core principles and philosophies reflected through the societal structures regarding community and families. Milton (2008) features an Indigenous Elder who shares the concept of “responsibility” as it applies to the “Seven Generation” law and the role assigned to a community. The Elder explains that it is the responsibility of communities to raise their leaders. He states, “You have to observe…all children have a common leader…now you have to guide that person…as they become leaders 18 or 19 years later.” The Elder uses the analogy of clear-cutting and concludes, “A tree is a community, with certain trees. Certain plants will gather around it. And certain medicines will gather around those certain plants, so that if you kill or cut all the trees—you’re not just destroying the tree—you’re destroying the whole community that surrounds it and thrives on it.” I interpret this message to mean, if you remove a child, you kill the community.

This thesis stresses the need for Aboriginal people and communities to return to the basic, fundamental principles within the Indigenous culture and language (Anderson, 2001; Ermine, 1995). Many authors and theorists (Alfred, 2002; Anderson, 2000; Chandler & Lalonde, 1998; Laenui, 2000; McAdam & Paul, 2012; Smith, 2012) encourage Indigenous people to demonstrate stronger resistance to further assimilation into the dominant society. The studies introduce various concepts and research to substantiate transformative changes correlated to acts of resistance and resurgence of
traditional ideological values into modern lifestyles and environments, such as in the following examples:

- Cultural continuity—change in social policies & Aboriginal leadership systems
- Resistance to modern colonization practices / awareness of self-contribution; resistance to stereotyping/racism (Carriere, 2007)
- Introducing the concept of “responsibility” and natural laws to Indigenous people
- Aboriginal unity, removing institutional barriers and stopping supporting government’s intent to keep Aboriginal people divided into categories rather than all groups working together, e.g., Metis, First Nations, urban, Inuit, and the wonderful status of “other”
- Improve culturally relevant supports for Aboriginal children/families using natural “ways of knowing” (Anderson, 2000)
- Social change to remove emphasis of West-centric theories/practices and implement Indigenous theories/practices
- Reconnect to nature (Suzuki, 1999)
- Learn Native tongue (Anderson, 2000; Cole, 1998)
- Create Aboriginal communities in urban environments and improve supports for those migrating from on- to off-reserve
- Develop and implement Indigenous epistemology to all Aboriginal students in every learning environment from pre-school to university (Anderson, 2000)
- Remove child welfare and create a new system where Aboriginal communities develop a new concept of community-wide supports for children who have “poor” parents: not just economically poor, but poor in skills and abilities to care and
show healthy love to their children. The supports created for children need to have the economic support to ensure their ability to also take care of those who are caring for the children.

Anderson (2000) summarizes the relevance and importance of beginning the process to reclaim your true Aboriginal identity through four steps: resist, reclaim, construct and act” (p. 15). I believe our cultural continuity (Chandler & Lalonde, 1998) would become more reality than theory if Anderson’s steps occurred in each Aboriginal person. The Elder’s teaching Milton (2008) shared, that each individual does not act alone but is responsible for the next seven generations in a community, is a reminder that we, as Indigenous people, need to return the traditional philosophies into our societies so that we value and protect each other naturally again in our families, our communities, and by extension to our nations across Canada.

Gould (2008) is critically honest in her analysis of the impact of colonialism in the rebuilding of Louisiana after Hurricane Katrina. She argues the existence of a colonial culture, “infamous for its imperialist paradigm attempting to make things bigger and better regardless of who needs to be destroyed or assimilated to make it happen. In addition, government has been bashed for years as the big brother who cannot be trusted” (pp. 529–530). Gould recommends honesty from the government but cautions that the capitalistic environment breeds competition and “othering.” There is a popular Native American saying often quoted by each nation, “When the last tree is cut down, the last fish eaten, and the last stream poisoned, you will realize that you cannot eat money.” Many theorists are critical of Fanon who suggests violence is the only end to colonization but I believe violence produces another system of domination and oppression since there
will be winners and losers in any battle. Johnson (2011) offers a simple suggestion that involves the print and broadcast media stopping “perpetuating the government’s anti-Indigenous rhetoric and validity” (p. 127). Johnson asks the question, “how can we possibly expect Canadians to become educated on issues of Indigenous sovereignty, the complexity of treaties and land claims, if the news media filter reports through uncritically Savagist frames while claiming not to be filtering at all?” (p. 127). The cessation of internalized colonialism begins with intentional and purposeful decisions to change the dysfunctional normalization of colonial acts in society.

Casanova (1965) suggests reverse forms of internal colonialism: monopoly and dependence, relations of production and social control, and culture and living standards. These internal forms are utilized through what he refers to as colonial instruments—economic, political, and educational—which are the same instruments to communicate and implement policies and legislation designed for colonization, domination, and oppression.

I have only the memories of my Teachers to know that the time for the Eighth Fire is soon coming into reality but I am uncertain if I will see it in my own lifetime. I am worried about the devastation from pollution and over-development of natural resources by corporations. I realize the future of the next seven generations is dependent on the light-skinned race and their choices but I also have to acknowledge that my own people are imitating and valuing the same ideologies as well and that poses even a greater threat to the continuation of Indigenous ontology and Ways of Knowing. I pray the right path is chosen by everyone almost daily but I worry how that will be achieved, realizing it might not be voluntarily selected but imposed by a greater power than humans. Perhaps it is
time for each of us to give some serious reflection to the origin of ideologies that place more value on destroying land for economic gain and religious dogma that places one race or individual as more superior than another.

Previous authors stress the importance of individual agency to invoke new ideologies that consciously submit new cultural norms to become catalysts for transformative changes. Individual agency is necessary for transformation to occur but first we must acknowledge and accept responsibility for the construction of linguistic manipulation and the resulting psychological impacts that has maintained a binary colonial relationship. Acknowledgement that colonizers and the colonized have internalized colonial ideologies is the first step towards transformative changes where actuation is a critical component to the fruition of the Eighth Fire. The “Prayer Vigil for the Earth” has been held in Washington for the past 20 years with William Commanda as *Keeper of the Seven Fires Wampum Belt of the Anishnabe Peoples*. Dostou (2000) translates the Seven Prophecies from the Anishinabe Elder, Commanda (Appendix D) and states we are now in the time of the Seventh Prophecy...

I liken social changes to possibilities as demonstrated by MADD—Mothers Against Drunk Drivers. This small group of women have impacted society to the point that it is no longer socially acceptable to drink and drive. In summary, Indigenous people and Settler populations have become political pawns through various forms of colonial policies and procedures that are still maintained through legislation and systemic structures since Confederation. The binary colonial relationship will continue until Canadian citizens, both Settler and Aboriginal peoples, have had enough and do the same as MADD and remove the mental chains that socially confines colonial imprisonment.
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Appendix A:
Chronological Timeline of British, French, and Indigenous History

**English Settler History**\(^{17}\)

- **Pre-history to 1599:** Early Exploration: Vikings, Discovery of the “new world,” Jacques Cartier and Samuel de Champlain, Martin Frobisher & the search for gold, failed settlements
- **1600-1699:** Settlement, Fur Trade & War: first parliament settlement in the New World, beaver pelts & Hudson’s Bay Company, Radisson & des Grossielliers, la Salle, Jesuits, Recollets & Suplicians, death of the Hurons & Iroquois invasions, Frontenanc & King William’s war
- **1700-1799:** Wolfe defeats Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham, Acadian (Cajuns) move south to Louisiana, American Revolution and the United Empire Loyalists, setting the border between Canada and the United States, Upper and Lower Canada
- **1800-1866:** road to Confederation, railroad expansion, War of 1812, Laura Secord, 49’th parallel border, “responsible Government,” Province of Canada, birth of Ottawa, Fenian raids, Charlottetown and Quebec conferences, British North American Act
- **1867-1899:** Confederation: Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia become the Dominion of Canada, Ottawa becomes the capital of Canada, Sir John A. Macdonald (Canada’s First Prime Minister), Red River Rebellion, Manitoba, British Columbia, Prince Edward Island, Northwest Territories, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Canadian Pacific Railway, Louis Riel, Alexander Graham Bell, Women’s Suffrage, Sir Sanford Flemming & Standard Time, Manitoba Schools question, the Klondike, Doukhobours, the Yukon, Rupert’s Land Act allows Canada to annex the land in the west from Hudson’s Bay Company.

\(^{17}\) Simpson, 1998

• 1930-1959: Dionne Quints, communism in Canada, World War II & Canadian involvement, Japanese-Canadian debackle, the Alcan Highway, D-Day, United Nations & Canada’s involvement in creating the UN Peace Corps, Canada’s bush plane (the Beaver), NATO, St. Lawrence Seaway, Avro Arrow, Newfoundland

• 1960-1979: Canadian Bill of Rights, Bilingualism, Eastern Seaboard blackout of ‘65, Expo ‘67, Canada’s Centennial, Trudeaumania, the October Crisis, acid rain, Controversial Bill 101, Terry Fox’s “Marathon of Hope”

• 1980 - Quebec sovereignty (the ‘separatist’ movement), Canada’s Constitution, Free Trade, the “loonie” & “toonie,” University of Manitoba massacre, Meech Lake & the Bloc Quebecois, GST, Native actions, James Bay Project, collapse of Conservative Party, Confederation Bridge, fishing & logging disputes, Nunavut
French Settler History

- Archeological evidence shows Norsemen explored and attempted to settle areas during 10th century (500 years before French)
- European mariners, John Cabot and Alonso Sanchez explored Gulf of St. Lawrence during the 15th century
- 1524: Giovanni da Verrazano explored coast of Newfoundland and St. Lawrence River
- 1535: Jacques Cartier was first European explorer to sail up St. Lawrence River with help from Iroquoian chief Donnacona’s two sons (St. Lawrence inhabited by Iroquoians)
- 1541: Cartier attempted to create first permanent European settlement but abandoned next year after bad weather and First Nation attacks
- 1605: Samuel de Champlain founded Port Royal (Acadia) and Quebec in 1608 at the abandoned St. Lawrence Iroquoian settlement called Stadacona (Canada)
- Canada (New France) was the name of the French colony that stretched along St. Lawrence River; other colonies of New France were Acadia, Louisiana and south shore of Newfoundland
- New France had been divided into three districts each with own government: Quebec, Trois-Rivières and Montreal
- 1635: Jesuits founded secondary school of Quebec and in 1645, the Company of the Inhabitants was created, uniting political and economic leaders of the colony: French was the language of the non-Native people
- 1759: British captured Quebec City and held until 1763; site of three battles during Seven Year’s War: Battle of Beauport (July, 1759), Battle of the Plains of Abraham (September, 1759) and Battle of Sainte-Foay (April, 1760)
- 1763: France ceded Canada and its dependencies to Great Britain after the Seven Years’ War and signed Treaty of Paris

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• Colony was renamed the Province of Quebec in 1763, Lower Canada in 1791, Canada East in 1840, and again Province of Quebec in 1867
• 1774: Majority of inhabitants spoke French, despite British rule and Parliament passed Quebec Act, restoring French civil laws
• 1963: Creation by the Federal Government of Lester Pearson of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Bilingualism and Biculturalism; formation of Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ); marked the beginning of several waves of terrorist actions taken in Québec from 1963-1972
• 1964: Quebec wins opting-out formula and withdraws from 29 federal-provincial programs; Queen’s visit was seen as symbol of past colonialism and her visit was opposed.
• 1969: Canada recognized English and French as having equal status in government of Canada through the Official Languages Act
• 1970: Kidnapping of James Cross (British High Commissioner in Montreal) and murder of Pierre Laporte (Minister of Labour) by Front de Libération du Québec. Enactment of War Measure’s Act by Federal Government. New Bourassa government showed little leadership
• 1971: A regulation from Quebec made it compulsory for all English language schools to teach French as a second language
• 1977: Bill 101 issued - Sweeping provisions to make French the dominant language in Quebec (Public Administration, education, economy). Restrictions are placed on the use of other languages (except native languages) in some areas (laws, signs, etc.). The anglophone community was evidently stunned by the content of the Bill but there was, obviously, great support for its provisions among francophones who saw it as the affirmation of their collective language rights
Indigenous History & Policies

- 1670—British parliament enacts first legislation concerning “Indians” to “protect” Indians from “evil” forces and to preserve “fraudulent trading practices”
- 1763—Royal Proclamation promotes and clarifies the pre-existing and conceded rights of Indian people. Indian Superintendents are appointed to govern the affairs of Indian people
- 1815—The British government adopts another policy to “civilize” the Indian (as a result of propaganda in Britain and North America to Christianize all men) and to encourage the Indian to adopt European values. Initiated as an experiment in which Indian reserves are set up in isolated areas and Indians are encouraged to gather and settle in these villages, where they will be taught to farm and receive European religious instruction and education
- 1839 - Crown Lands Protection Act passes, assuring Crown control and ownership of Indian lands
- 1850—Beginning of “Indian Treaties” granting limited land rights and financial compensation for the European acquisition of territory. One act vests control of all Indian lands and property with the Commissioner of Indian Lands, states that no sale of Indian lands can happen without Crown consent, and exempts Indians and resident spouses from taxes on reserve lands. A second act defines an Indian as all persons of Indian blood, the spouse of an Indian, anyone residing with Indians whose parents on either side were Indian, and anyone adopted in infancy by an Indian who resided on a reserve
- 1851—The act defining Indians is amended to create the categories of status and non-status Indians
- 1857—“An Act for Gradual Civilization of Indian Tribes” is intended to assimilate Aboriginal people into Canadian society. It promises enfranchisement to Indians who leave their reserve and Band and relinquish their Indian status

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19 Thomas, Sterling-Collins, & Ormiston, 2012
• 1859—The scope of the Civilization and Enfranchisement Act is broadened to include all provinces in Canada regarding the sale of alcohol to Indians

• 1867—British North America Act creates a united Canada amid fears of an American invasion, following the U.S. Civil War. The provinces are given jurisdiction and ownership of land and natural resources. Canada retains responsibility for Indians and land reserved for Indians

• 1869—Enfranchisement Act attempts to intensify the assimilation process. It includes “Clause Six” which states that Indian women who marry non-Indian men will, along with their children, lose their status

• 1870—Territory of B.C. unilaterally denies existence of Aboriginal title to land

• 1872—B.C. joins Canada. First act passed by B.C. is the Qualification and Registration of Voters Act of 1872, which strips First Nations of the vote in provincial elections

• 1876—“Indian Act” is created by Parliament to define Indian status and outline the administration of Indian rights, but does not grant Indian rights. Consolidates many laws already on the statue books. Changes include:
  o Policy on use of Indian land by non-Indians
  o Location ticket: if an Indian can demonstrate his use of land like Euro-Canadian, after a 3-year probation period, he will be given title to the land and then enfranchised
  o Elected Band Councils given more authority, which continues to break down traditional systems of government
  o Immediate enfranchisement is to be granted to any Indian earning a university degree

• 1880—Department of Indian Affairs is created

• 1884—Indian Advancement Act gives power to the Indian Agent to direct Band Council. Other amendments include banning the Potlatch and requiring Indians to have permits to leave the reserve

• 1886-87—compulsory school attendance for Native children is decreed; residential and boarding schools are established
• 1889—Aboriginal fishers are excluded from commercial fishing until 1923
• 1890—Treaty 8 is signed, the last treaty signed before Nisga’a agreement 109 years later
• 1906—A new consolidated Indian Act is introduced. All the amendments to the old act made it almost impossible to administer
• 1927—Aboriginal people prohibited from raising money or retaining a lawyer to pursue land claims
• 1950—Indian Act amendments removes major prohibitions against such things as land claims’ activities and the Potlatch
• 1960—right to vote and retain Indian status are granted
• 1969—federal government releases its White Paper, in which it states its intention to absolve itself from responsibility for Indian Affairs and the special status of Indians and to repeal the Indian Act. The enforcement of this policy will realize the goal of assimilation. Under protest, the government reconsiders and retracts in 1971
• 1985—Bill C-31 is passed to counteract previous legislation in which Aboriginal women who married non-Aboriginal men lost their Indian status, as did their children. With C-31, they can reapply for status for themselves and their children
• 1986—last residential school in British Columbia closes
Current History

- 1990—Oka Crisis: a land dispute over plans to develop golf course over traditional burial ground between Mohawk people and town of Oka, PC and resulted in a casualty
- 1990—Meech Lake Accord is contested by Elijah Harper (Manitoba MP) because the Accord was negotiated in 1987 without consultation with Canada’s Aboriginal peoples: Newfoundland cancelled their vote also and Accord was not passed
- 1991—four Aboriginal and three non-Aboriginal commissioners were appointed to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) to investigate and provide recommendations on the history and relationships between Aboriginal peoples, Canadian government and society. RCAP submitted their findings in 1996: a 4000-page report containing more than 400 recommendations and proposed a “comprehensive strategy over 20 years to restore economic, social and political health to Aboriginal peoples and rebuild their relationship with all Canadians” (Canada, 1996)
- 1994—McIvor challenges constitutionality of the sex discriminations in the registration provisions of the Indian Act: grandchildren of women who lost status after marrying non-status men are not entitled to Indian status
- 1995—Ontario Provincial Police fatally wound Indigenous man, Dudley George when the police move to forcibly end a land rights protest at Ipperwash Provincial Park: Ipperwash Inquiry provides recommendations for governments and police services across Canada - policing, treaty implementation and public education still unaddressed
- 1996—last Indian Residential School closed
- 2004—an Amnesty International report documents systematic killing of Indigenous women in Canada: Stolen Sisters is a human rights campaign to end discrimination and violence against Aboriginal women

20 1990 + Summary: Alberta and Canada, Brenda St. Germain
2006—Prime Minister Paul Martin brokered the “Kelowna Accord,” an intergovernmental agreement that took over two years to finalize, with priorities set by main national Aboriginal leaders in organizations, provincial and territorial governments in Canada. The key areas were housing, education, economic development, health and accountability. It was an unprecedented national process of Aboriginal policy negotiations that produced a 10-year plan to “close the gap” between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians: 72 hours later, Martin’s minority government fell, triggering an election won by Harper and was one of the first victims of the Conservative government.


2008—Prime Minister Harper apologized for the Indian Residential schools and began a process of reconciliation by setting up the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

2009—Harper attends a G20 summit and states, “We have no history of colonialism…”

2009—Court decision in favor of McIvor case and determines Indian Act discriminates: federal government introduces Bill C-3 to amend Indian Act so grandchildren are eligible.

2012—Federal court rules that further scrutiny is needed to determine if Canada is discriminating against First Nations children on reserves and ordered Tribunal in Blackstock allegation.

2012—Idle No More begins in response to an Omnibus Bill C-45 that contains legislation that affects Indigenous peoples on their lands and the land, waters and life for all Canadians. The focus is on grassroots voices, treaty and sovereignty against colonial forms of legislation and to build solidarity, assert inherent rights and protect lands for all Canadians. Omnibus bill contains 7 Bills over 400 pages making it difficult to review.
• 2012 - Alberta government proposes to reform industry consultation process for development projects on First Nations. A 3-page discussion paper recommends a single government office would set up standards, determine consultation process and outline what kinds of talks would be needed for different projects. Chiefs reject and threaten lawsuits because government has power to decide over First Nations

• 2013—ruling by Federal Court declares Métis and non-status Indians fall under federal or provincial jurisdiction
Appendix B:
Glossary of Terms and Definitions

Ally: a member of a dominant group (e.g. white, heterosexual, male, able bodied, who works to end a form of oppression that gives them privilege.

Anti-Oppressive Practice (AOP): A form of social work which emphasizes the importance of structural inequalities and issues of marginalization, oppression and privilege. It brings a critical perspective and necessitates an analysis of power and an examination of the social locations of both client and worker. AOP emphasizes issues of empowerment and strengths, authenticity and relationship, community and personal transformation. It holds social justice and equality as the goal of social work practice.

Autoethnography: An approach to research and writing where the researcher uses tenets of autobiography and ethnography to do and write autoethography— as a method, is both process and product (Ellis, Adams, Bochner, 2011)

Colonization: The process by which one group or nations uses power to oppress another group or nation in order to obtain access to their land and resources—for e.g. the European establishment of colonies in North America. Colonization can be seen at different social levels, military, political, social, spiritual, etc. e.g. the imposition of Western European educational systems on First Nations children can be seen as intellectual colonization of Aboriginal youth

Conscientization: Learning to see social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of society (Freire, 1984)

21 Victoria, 2002
Decolonization: Undoing the effects of colonization by reversing the impact of colonization. This includes movement towards Aboriginal self-government and may also refer to unlearning racism, becoming aware of the roots of oppression, working to end oppression and developing culturally appropriate forms of political, economic, social and spiritual expression.

Deconstruction: In this context, deconstruction refers to a process of systematically taking research, theory, policies, practice, and institutions apart and looking at them in reference to their historical development and application in a racist society. It is an examination of structures which hold oppression, racism and colonization in place.

Feminist Practice: Emphasizes the importance of gender as a basis for the analysis of oppression and structural inequalities. Feminist approaches emphasize power dynamics and ethics, the relational nature of the self, and the need for social change.

Hegemony: Social traditions, ideas and discourses that reinforce power, privilege and norms of the dominant group at the expense of marginalized groups.

Imperialism (WFE): An unequal human and territorial relationship, usually in the form of an empire, based on ideas of superiority and practices of dominance, and involving the extension of authority and control of one state or people over another.

Oppression: The domination of certain groups by others, causing injustice and disadvantage to members of the oppressed group. Oppression is structural rather than individuals, and is deeply embedded in dominant norms and everyday practices. Aspects of oppression include marginalization, cultural imperialism, powerlessness, exploitation and violence (Young, 1990).

22 Definitions from Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia will be indicated with (WFE) after the term.
**Patriarchy:** Social organization based on the principles of hierarchical male domination

**Privilege:** ‘Privilege’ refers to the unearned advantages that we may have because of our social locations. For example, white people experience white privilege, heterosexuals experience heterosexual privilege and men experience male privilege. Privilege is gained by dominant groups at the expense of marginalized groups.

**Race:** A category used to classify people according to skin color and other physical characteristics. It is a social constructed and artificial category—it has no scientific or biological basis

**Self-Location:** An important aspect of AOP, self-location requires the worker to be aware of and understand the meanings and implication of her/his own position within various relations of difference/domination—that is, her/his own location with respect to class, age, gender, racialized identities, sexual orientation, ability, religion, family background and life experiences.
Appendix C: Sample Concept Map from Education Literature

NOTE: This is a sample of the data collected and analyzed: originals were in field notes, journal entries, and concept maps on walls as process evolved into themes.
Appendix D:
Translation of Elder Commanda Speech, September 2012

For those of us who were to stay and greet the Light Skinned Race the 4th, 5th and 6th Prophets gave these warnings and prophecies. “If they (Light Skinned Race) come bearing nothing in their hands, you must still be cautious for they may be smiling, but in reality they may be wearing the face of Death. Do not accept them readily but wait and see. You will know them by their actions. If they come with the face of Brotherhood, you will become one people. Their knowledge of the matrial world and your spiritual wisdom will be joined together to create a mighty spiritual nation and you will be joined by two other races, (we believe) Asian and African, to create the mightiest nation of all. If, on the other hand, the Light Skinned Race comes wearing the face of Death then a great calamity will befall the people of this land. Great suffering and pain will be visited upon your people. The very cup of Life will almost be overturned. You will know which face the Light Skinned Race is wearing when the fish are dying and the water’s unfit to drink.

The 6th Prophet warned that the Natural People of this land would be attacked by a Light Skinned Race and that a great period of suffering would ensue. He foretold of a darkness, which would overshadow this land, and the suffering, which would be inflicted on the Anishnabe people, as well as on all indigenous peoples.

At this time the 7th and final Prophet came to the Anishnabe. "He was different from the others and had a strange light in his eyes." He came with a message, not only for the Anishnabe people, but directly for the Light Skinned Race "At the time of the Seventh Fire, a new people will emerge. They will retrace the footsteps of their ancestors and will try to find those things which have been lost along the way. They will approach the elders in search of guidance. It will not be an easy task but if they are of good heart and pure intentioned they can prevail. Some elders will be sleeping and have nothing to say, others will say nothing out of fear.

The New generation must be fearless in their quest.

The Light Skinned race will be at a crossroads. If they continue down the road of Materialism, it will be their destruction and for all humanity as well. But if the Light Skinned Race chooses to join with the Natural People of this land on the Spiritual path then they will again have the chance to create a nation, the greatest spiritual nation ever to have existed.

Two other races will join these two races. Together, they will together light the 8th and final Fire an eternal fire of Peace, Harmony, Brotherhood and Sisterhood."

We believe that the road towards blind materialism, the choice for the majority of humanity and especially the Light Skinned or European/American, created an environment where Nature and Natural People have suffered immensely. In the end, it
can only lead to our collective destruction. Our way is above all a Spiritual Path. We are not, nor have we ever, been slaves to the material path. Our strength lies in our native ability to go beyond all that happened to our people in the past 508 years. The joining together of the material knowledge of the west with the spiritual wisdom and values of the Indigenous Peoples of this land is a path of healing and survival for all humanity.

The choice is in our hands.

Reconciliation is the first step in accomplishing our vision as Anishnabe people of a world where the grass is once again green, the waters fit to drink and the air pure. Our people, the Indigenous peoples from the Arctic to Terra Del Fuego, share a common vision to stand united in our hearts for the healing of our pain, as well as the pain that all humanity endures.

We have been through the fires of oppression. We have felt the whip of hate. We have tasted our blood and tears as it ran into the bosom of our sacred Mother, Earth. The history of our two peoples, one Red, one White has been written in blood and suffering. The lands where the Anishnabe lived from “time immemorial” were taken by armed force. Our people were killed. Genocide, incarceration, disease, was and, still is in many parts of this hemisphere, the price to pay for being Indigenous.

We must forgive. There is no option

By forgiving we liberate, not only ourselves, but also our oppressor. By forgiving we open the door to those who desire forgiveness. It is not that we believe we are superior to those people who, because of their fear, blindness and isolation did not see us as we are, their brother and sister, their father and mother, their lover, their friend. Through forgiveness we allow the spirits of our ancestors to accomplish their mission, which began so many centuries ago on these very shores.

We offer our hands to you, America, and ask you once again to come with us along the path where the grass is still green, the air is still pure and fish can still live in the waters.