

Aboriginal Perspective

**Towards an Aboriginal Perspective that Addresses Ideological Domination in Social
Policy Analysis**

University of Manitoba

Faculty of Social Work

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Masters of Social Work

Vern Morrisette

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**Towards an Aboriginal Perspective that Addresses Ideological Domination in Social Policy
Analysis**

by

Vern Morrissette

A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University of

Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree

of

Master of Social Work

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ABSTRACT

This study explores an Aboriginal perspective and the imposition of ideological domination, marginalization and oppression of Aboriginal people. Aboriginal authors contend that this perspective is not well understood or appreciated beyond the Aboriginal community and continues to suffer under domination from a liberal democratic ideology.

The purpose of this study was twofold. First, cultural and traditional expressions from many different Nations were examined using a qualitative, ethnographic research design for exploring a representative and collective articulation of an Aboriginal perspective. Second, the same ethnographic approach was used to explore the nature of domination, beginning first with the broad concept of domination, then colonization and social policy as a narrower focus.

Textual data representing American tribal religion, a broad representation of Canadian Elders, a local representation of the Cree and Ojibway people of Manitoba, and selected Aboriginal authors who discuss epistemology and philosophy, were used. These were subjected to ethnographic funneling and grounding leading to an articulation of an Aboriginal perspective.

Textual data representing the analysis of ideological domination, the colonization of Aboriginal people, and social policy analysis as a narrower focus were used. These were also subjected to ethnographic funneling and grounding leading to an analysis of the systemic nature of domination and found in colonization and social policy analysis.

The research revealed that the articulation of an Aboriginal perspective is possible, and that this differs in some fundamental ways from the dominant Euro-Canadian

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ideology. Further, it was revealed that dominance is a systemic feature of Euro-Canadian ideology and inherently resists the inclusion of an Aboriginal perspective.

Concomitantly, it was revealed that ideological dominance, colonization and social policy also resist inclusion. This occurs through the objectification of Aboriginal experiences, the nihilation of complicity, and the neutralizing of Euro-Canadian responsibility and complicity in the marginalizing and oppressing of Aboriginal people, and this was found to be a systemic feature of Euro-Canadian ideology.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All Aboriginal people have struggled to keep some semblance of their culture and traditions alive. They have done this under the most adverse conditions and with continued and unceasing resistance. They have watched their brothers and sisters pass to the spirit world before it was their time because the conditions created through cultural genocide had finally become unbearable. They have watched their young children leave this existence because there was no longer any meaning that made sense to them and that could provide them with their vision for the future. They have watched as the old people fell silent (and for a very long time hid their practices, stories and teachings from the world) from the strain of the years and the force of the church and the state to break their spiritual will.

I acknowledge the strength and perseverance of all Aboriginal people who continue to struggle and acknowledge those who could no longer fight, and pray that Creation has been kind to them.

I acknowledge the Grandmothers and Grandfathers who have passed before us, and all the people who have kept the teachings and the practices of these ancestors alive so we might re-build the important lessons which kept the people in tune with the world and all its Creation. The wisdom of these people, past and present, carry the seeds of hope for future generations and an Aboriginal way of life. For the same reason I also acknowledge the Traditional Elders who carry the teaching and the wisdom of years and experience, and who remind us to never forget who we are as Inniwak/Anishinabe.

Most importantly, I acknowledge Creation (the Great Wonder), and of whose great design, Inniwak/Anishinabe are only one small piece.

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Further, the following people have been essential to the completion of this work.

First, my partner, friend and unwavering supporter, Rhonda Morrissette deserves very special and heartfelt thanks. Throughout the last seven years, and as I struggled with an injury that deterred from the full ability to work and to continue my research, Rhonda took care of my needs and in her gentle and kind way prodded and pushed me to continue with hope and confidence that this work could be completed. She was right, and I thank Creator for placing her on the path of my life's journey.

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To others in my family; my sons, daughter-in-law, grandchildren, my brother and sisters, (particularly my brother Larry who saw in me things I could not) and especially to my Mother who through the act of Creation released my spirit and gave me the strength and conviction to 'fight the good fight' and never give up the integrity of self. These people have my love and my great thanks for without them I could not be here in the same way as I am.

I acknowledge my Committee for their unwavering support and for the intellectual challenges they provided and the goodness of human spirit which they conveyed throughout this long and protracted process. Brad McKenzie, my Advisor, Chair, and

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my late sister Linda, my second eldest sister, Veronica Walsh and to her two young sons. These young men, Robert and Joe have passed to the spirit world. Linda was a beautiful spirit who struggled in her life to find 'the place of peace'. Sadly, this is the story of many of our people. More important, even as she progressed through her life, against the uneven odds and circumstances borne through colonization, she maintained the beauty of her spirit. Miigwech for your life.

My second eldest sister Veronica has been left to ponder the sense of justice and humanity as the lives of her two young sons were cut short without what appears to have no meaning or purpose. I can only say that their spirits have returned to 'the community of life' and they continue their journey in the Great Mystery. Their journey is not over, it simply continues.

To Robert and Joe, the circumstances of your leaving were also borne through colonization. The journey and the searching of your spirits for meaning and purpose were disturbed by conditions not of your making, so you hold no responsibility for these. And even as this life violently imposed itself upon you, the essence of who you were was never compromised; only forsaken.

It is with continued hope for a better future for Aboriginal people that I dedicate this work to the spirits who have gone on to the source of our existence and our meaning.

Tapwe, Ekosani...Wabishgay Mahengun Ganoondagosid

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CHAPTER 1

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

For Aboriginal people the struggle against colonization is more than an historic event frozen in time. It is a 'lived' and current experience that is subjective and inter-subjectively shared among all Aboriginal people of Canada in differing ways, to different degrees of injury and alteration of Aboriginal identity. Because of this collective experience and the need for healing, many Aboriginal authors insist on articulating and locating an Aboriginal perspective in their lives and work. And they do so by locating themselves in, and speaking from a perspective which is critical of the history of colonization grounded in Euro-Canadian epistemology. This locating of self is central to the process of individual and collective decolonization and for interrogating the source of injury.

As important, many of these authors also insist that Aboriginal people, individually and collectively, must also make conscious and concerted effort to respectfully and honourably re-construct Aboriginal knowledge and theory. More importantly, this reconstruction must be informed from indigenous epistemologies to guide and direct the focus for healing, Aboriginal identity reconstruction, and self-determination.

Adams (1999) and Alfred (1999) make these two points respectively in the following quotes. They say:

Canada is imbued with quasi-apartheid philosophies that make it difficult to develop counter-consciousness. Aboriginals must dispel the stereotypes and destroy all encrustations of the colonial mentality that repress them, before they can develop a new interpretation of indigenous history. It demands a critical

analysis that emphasizes Aboriginal consciousness, life experiences, and resistance struggles. (Adams, p.26)

We cannot preserve our nations unless we take action to restore our pride in our traditions, achieve economic self-sufficiency, develop independence of mind, and display courage in defence of our lands and our rights. Only by committing ourselves to these goals can we hope to look into the future and see ourselves emerging as people ready to take our rightful place in the world. The path to self-determination is uphill and strewn with obstacles, but we must take it: the threat to our existence as indigenous people is too immediate that we cannot afford not to. The only way we can survive is to recover our strength, our wisdom, and our solidarity by honouring and revitalizing the core of our traditional teachings. (Alfred, p.xii)

Adams (1999) provides a powerful, personal and emotional critique on the history of oppressive relations and suggests that the effects of oppression and domination are found in false consciousness leading to failed efforts at realizing self-determination from an Aboriginal perspective. Adams (1999) states:

The colonizer's distorted stories have become 'universal truths' to maintain mainstream values and have reduced Aboriginal culture to a caricature. This oxymoron in reality is one of the most powerful shackles subjugating Aboriginal peoples. It distorts all indigenous experiences, past and present, and blocks the road to self-determination. (first page, Introduction)

His contentions are enlightening and motivating, and call for an end to ideological domination through critical analysis and the recapturing of Aboriginal ways of thinking and being.

Alfred's (1999) traditionally principled approach suggests adopting indigenous manifestos based on the culture and tradition of indigenous peoples. And here he is in agreement with Adams on the loss of an Aboriginal perspective when he says:

Material poverty and social dysfunction are merely the visible surface of a deep pool of internal suffering. The underlying cause of that suffering is alienation-separation from our heritage and from ourselves (p.XV).

For Alfred, Euro-Canadian structures are permeated by western intellectual traditions. He believes that rather than simply following or being directed by these,

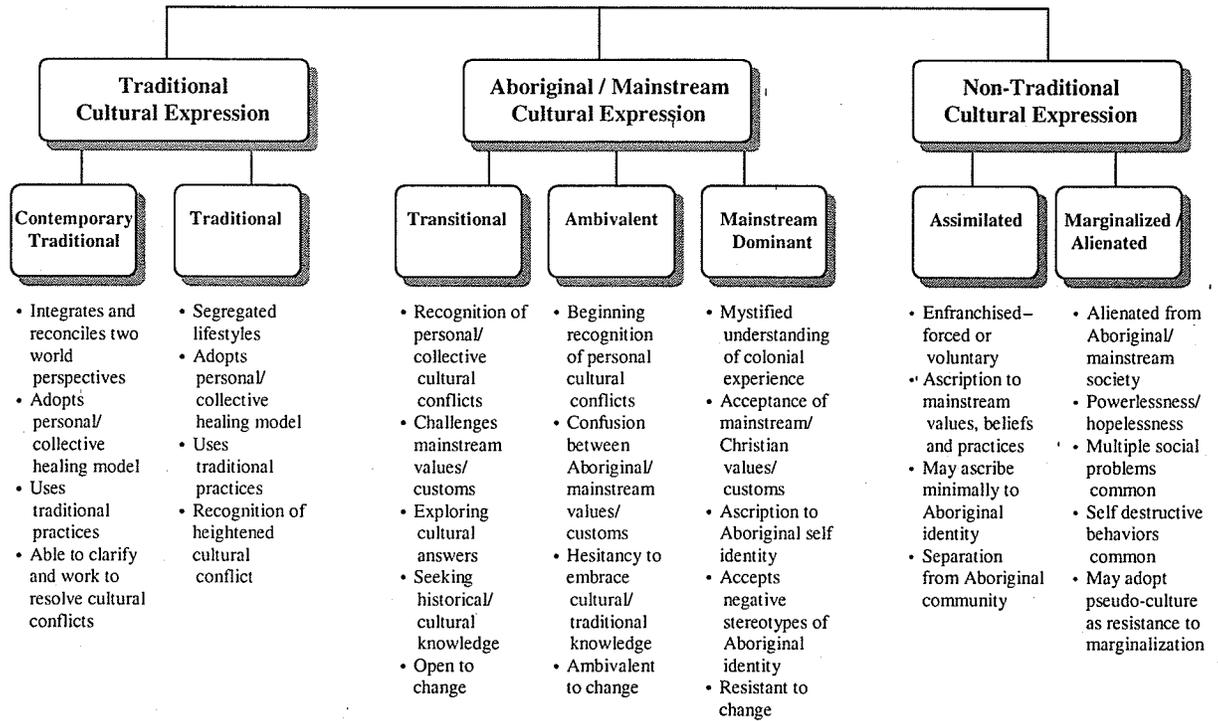
Aboriginal people must return to their 'own' foundational knowledge and theory to reconstruct new structures, processes and directions for the future.

These contentions of ideological dominance, the importance of an Aboriginal perspective, and the vision for the liberation of Aboriginal consciousness are shared by many other authors through varying perspectives, addressing a number of differing issues, and suggesting similar frameworks for addressing colonization and ideological domination. For example, Memmi's (1967) discussion on transcending the colonizer-colonized relationship highlights the need to understand how the relations between the colonizer and colonized creates and recreates domination and oppression and the need to transcend these two realities. Tuhiwai-Smith's (2001) research on creating new decolonizing methodologies for indigenous research locates Aboriginal epistemology and cultural and traditional imperatives and principles in the construction of research for Aboriginal people as the knowledge and theory which directs the whole research process from its inception through to its completion. Absolon and Willet's (2005) discussion on defining and developing new starting points for research through locating Aboriginal research in Aboriginal reality locates the subjective and inter-subjective voice of Aboriginal people. Ermine's (1995) discussion on the inward journey illustrates how Aboriginal epistemology defines and directs Aboriginal knowledge and truth differently than Euro-Canadians. And Battiste (2000) in her edited book, highlights and brings to bear the voices of several Aboriginal authors who locate Aboriginal reality through an Aboriginal based theme, the four doorways for mapping colonialism.

Research Problem

There are two major problems with the historical and current experiences under colonization which demand attention to the need for a strong, resilient and collective articulation of an Aboriginal perspective. First, it is suggested that colonial ideology has influenced an Aboriginal perspective effectively eroding, altering and changing this to fit Euro-Canadian ideology. McKenzie and Morrissette's (2003) discussion on the outcomes of colonization lend support to this where they suggest that Aboriginal identity is characterized by altered identities along a range of expression from assimilated through to cultural and traditional identification (see Figure 1). They say these varied expressions result from the mystification of the colonial experience and obfuscation of Aboriginal culture, and are seen as responses to the continued efforts of assimilation representing identity survival strategies. Further, these authors suggest that while these often allow a semblance of cultural identification and retention they often lead to ambivalence and confusion and have tremendous impact on the ability to decolonize and re-integrate identity at the individual level as well as acting as divisive barriers to cultural group identification, formation and agreement. This helps to partially explain both Adams (1999) and Alfred's (1999) contention that Aboriginal people have been so adversely affected by colonization that the challenge to exert an Aboriginal perspective is made more difficult and uncertain.

Figure 1:
Contemporary Expressions of Aboriginal Identity



Source: From: McKenzie & Morrissette (2003, p.266)

Second, an Aboriginal perspective is not well understood or appreciated beyond those in the Aboriginal community who promote this in their varying ways and similar articulations. And here there is tacit agreement that there is need for a strong and concerted voice and analysis based upon Aboriginal knowledge and theory. Without this Adams (1999) and Alfred (1999) suggest that ideological domination will continue unabated, albeit more gently and with a greater level of ideological sophistication.

Ladner and Orsini (2005) lend support to this contention when they point to the policy paradigm guiding Aboriginal/State relations in their discussion on Robert Nault's

doomed proposed First Nations Governance Act (FNGA). In comparing the FNGA to other federal policies aimed at Aboriginal people they say:

[T]he First Nations Governance Act represents a continuation of a policy paradigm that pre-dates the creation of the Indian Act... [And] that reflects the ideals of protection, civilization and assimilation. (p.196)

These authors support the idea of Aboriginal constituted paradigms in noting that, “A true paradigm shift requires abandoning the form of government imposed by the Indian Act and investing in the capacity of First Nations (as nations) to define and renew indigenous forms of governance” (p.196). Prince and Abele (2005) make a similar point in their discussion on the risks inherent in indigenizing federalism through the merging of an Aboriginal order of government with fiscal federalism, the intent of which is to equalize fiscal relations. One major concern raised by these authors in their overall discussion relates to the state’s earlier policy directions and they say that the history of policy formation in federal/Aboriginal fiscal relations has been characterized by “...[A] rhetoric of partnerships yet a reality of a hierarchical relationships...”(p.256), thus supporting the view that Aboriginal/federal relations have been driven by... “[T]he hierarchical supremacy of Ottawa” (p.257).

These two problems, the alteration, weakening and erosion of Aboriginal identity and concomitantly an Aboriginal perspective, and a lack of appreciation and understanding beyond the Aboriginal community are substantial barriers. These encumber the development and appreciation of a forceful and concerted expression of an Aboriginal perspective. Beyond these there are some additional and contributing factors which add to the challenge. One of these is that the development of Aboriginal knowledge and theory is a relatively new exploration (and I mean this in relation to

academia). In this sense old knowledge and theory are in the process of being explored for their application to current conditions. Great care and caution is being taken to ensure that this reconstruction of old knowledge and theory is respectful and consistent with the relentless struggle of Aboriginal ancestors to maintain identity and cultural traditional meanings and imperatives.

Another related factor is the 'diversity' of Aboriginal cultures and traditions across Canada. Each Nation is pressed to honour the ancestral struggle and to ensure that the cultural, traditional, intellectual knowledge and theory regenerated are respectfully and truthfully represented as this gets expressed in their voices and makes its way to paper. And here it is easily understood why great care and caution are necessary to ensure the respectful treatment and consistent expression of Aboriginal ancestral knowledge for each Nation.

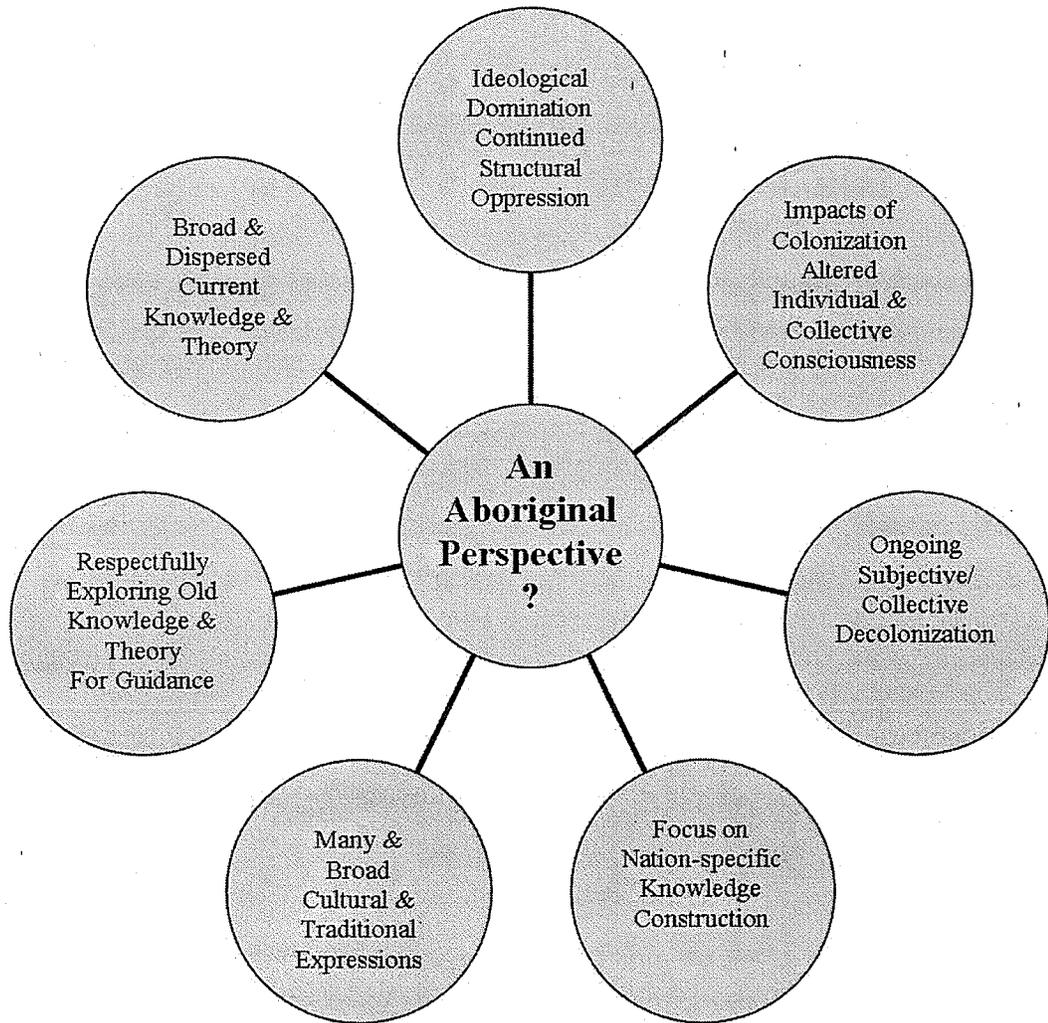
This knowledge reconstruction presents as probably the most internally challenging and sensitive of concerns and there is great hesitancy to share too quickly or to suggest that what is particular to one Nation may be applicable to another. It is correct and necessary to respect this process of knowledge reconstruction as each Nation has its own understanding of their relations to the earth and to each other. So, as well as having to deal with the impacts of colonization individually and collectively and continued colonization through ideological dominance there is an additional challenge confronting Aboriginal authors that comes from within each Nation respectively and as a larger Aboriginal scholarship. This dual challenge is recognizing the diversity of cultural expressions while at the same time as recognizing, identifying and articulating the fundamental and foundational similarity of all Aboriginal Nations in Canada as earth and

tribal peoples. This scholarship has the potential to contribute to a resilient and powerful Aboriginal perspective which can withstand the ideological domination and its related mission to slowly and incrementally change and alter Aboriginal reality to match Euro-Canadian reality.

The passion and strength of conviction that little has changed and the contention that there is a lack of understanding and appreciation of an Aboriginal voice and analysis beyond the Aboriginal community may then be understood as the continued and incomplete struggle to deal with these two primary problematic and contributing factors. The purpose of which is to locate and lift an Aboriginal perspective beyond its current articulation and encompassing the foundational premises which make up an Indigenous worldview as earth and tribal peoples of Canada (see Figure 2). This is what I understand to be the challenge presented by Adams (1999) and Alfred (1999) and Aboriginal authors who address the liberation of Aboriginal consciousness and the interrogation of ideological dominance.

It is my primary contention that alongside of each Nations effort to revitalize their cultural and traditional imperatives there is an equally important challenge to articulate a collective voice which captures the strength of ancestral convictions to maintain Aboriginal identities and worldviews and to interrogate and challenge the dominating force of Euro-Canadian ideology.

Figure 2 – Factors Affecting the Articulation of an Aboriginal Perspective



A graphic representation helps to visualize the multiple hidden factors which challenge and encumber the construction of a collective and resilient Aboriginal Perspective. Each of these can act to make the challenge even more daunting. This is particularly so with the continued imposition of the structural nature of ideological domination and the challenge for dealing with the historical impacts of this same phenomenon through decolonization and healing at the individual and collective levels. While the conditions which exist for Aboriginal people today were imposed, Aboriginal people are largely responsible for this project given the failure of Euro-Canadian society to deal with these. However, where there is resistance, either passive or active, the task becomes even more onerous.

Primary Research Questions

For the literature review on an Aboriginal perspective and ideological domination I take as a starting point two preliminary and primary research questions. These questions are dealt with following the ethnographic approach to research and particularly Silverman's (2004) funneling and grounding approach, conducive to the processing of these questions towards a sharper focus in the research. These are:

1. What is the basis for an Aboriginal perspective or from where does it derive its form and meaning, and
2. What does the literature on ideological domination, the colonization of Aboriginal people, and the social policy literature say for understanding the ideological domination of an Aboriginal perspective?

The first general question is posed to guide a broad literature review across varying interpretations and emerging from many different Aboriginal Nations. There is an assumption here that while there will be differing interpretations expressed in cultural and traditional knowledge, the underlying meanings which inform these illustrations will likely be similar in nature and in their foundational premises. A further assumption is that these foundational premises are relevant for understanding an Aboriginal perspective more generally across Nations, and more specifically within Nations.

With the second question the interest is to investigate the claims of Adams (1999) and Alfred (1999) on ideological domination as a more universal phenomenon, as a specific action taken through the colonization of Aboriginal people, and how this may be reflected in the social policy literature through treatment of Aboriginal people. There are two further assumptions here. First, ideological domination takes many forms from overt

and manifest expressions of racism, oppression and marginalization, and these forms can be found in the literature on ideological domination and colonization. Second, ideological domination can also be expressed covertly as a latent function expressed through misrepresentation, re-interpretation and exclusion. These forms represent the inherent nature of ideological domination as suggested by Adams (1999) and Alfred (1999). In reviewing the social policy literature the emphasis for review will be on the latter expression of these two. These two questions frame the preliminary literature review on an Aboriginal perspective and ideological domination and colonization more generally, and a more specific review of the social policy literature in relation to these.

Research Focus – Delimitations

The research design used here is a qualitative, social constructivist, ethnographic approach to research. For the research on an Aboriginal perspective, using a qualitative, social constructivist and ethnographic approach allows for consideration of the nature of social life as an ongoing social constructive project and where humans subjectively and inter-subjectively contribute to the over-arching social reality they are contained within. Following this approach the researcher is required to pay particular attention to the subjective and inter-subjective reality and to recognize that these can contribute to a fuller and more meaningful picture for the research.

The study begins with a broad view of Aboriginal culture and traditions. These are funneled and grounded towards a narrower focus, integrating the information through category development.

The methods of participation observation, textual data and observation, funneling, grounding, a quantitative measure of inclusion, and the use of oral tradition are all consistent with the design. These contribute to the progressive funneling and spiraling of the research towards exploration, description, interpretation and theory building.

The subject matter on both research questions are broad and encompassing and require some consideration on how best to manage the study from the beginning and throughout the research. Silverman (2004, p.70) in his discussion of ethnography suggests that the research process is characterized by an interweaving of observation, data collection hypothesis construction and theory building and that these are not simply discrete pieces of the research process, but are a dynamic of research throughout. In this sense even as research begins there may already be some general idea about where the research is heading. Further to this, Silverman (2004) also suggests that ethnographic research has a funneling and grounding characteristic where the research will be progressively focused and transformed, limiting the scope and internal structure for exploration. This notion of funneling and grounding is a helpful tool for processing the literature review, and in the research methods Silverman's (2004) ethnographic funneling and grounding is used extensively.

In my multiple roles in social work over the span of my career, and through personal experience with marginalization, oppression and ideological dominance, I have dealt with both of these questions in varying ways. This professional and personal knowledge and experience has provided a high degree of 'reflexivity' in my thinking and has helped to inform and guide my personal and intellectual thought processes. So for example, the assumptions stated previously immediately suggest that while the literature

review is broad in nature there is some forehand knowledge that the broad literature review can be 'funneled and grounded' towards a more specific focus that is helpful and relevant for directing a specific plan for further research.

In dealing with an Aboriginal perspective the literature begins with a broad representation of differing expressions and articulations of Aboriginal culture and traditions as illustrative of an Aboriginal perspective. These broad representations are assumed to have some similarities across Nations and will help to 'funnel' the review towards identifying these general similarities and comparing these to a narrower focus of expression found in the Cree and Ojibway peoples found here in Manitoba. And further, these expressions and their similarities are assumed to have a connection to the foundational premises of an Aboriginal worldview. In this way the literature review not only provides a means to initially consider the important elements of an Aboriginal perspective it also helps to identify where further study may be necessary. Additionally, the literature acts as a primary source for further exploration to continue the funneling characteristic of ethnography towards some end in the research.

Examples of these broad cultural themes include, Deloria Jr's. (1999 & 2003), comparative discussion of Native American religion. There is also Knutson and Suzuki's (1996) broad compendium of Indigenous stories relating to ecology, biology and evolutionary themes. There is Neihardt's (1988) presentation of the stories and teachings of the respected Oglala spiritual leader, Black Elk. Ahenakew (1987) presents the stories of the Cree people of Saskatchewan, of which one these story tellers our Bear Lodge has come through. Also, Bloomfield (1993) presents the sacred stories of the Sweet Grass Cree from Battleford Saskatchewan; and Young, Ingram, and Swartz (1989) present the

stories of Russell Willier, a Woods Cree Medicine man from Alberta. Stevens (1985) shares the stories of the respected Nishinabwe Aski Elder from Ontario, Thomas Fiddler. Neil (2000) presents the stories of respected Elders here in Manitoba; as well Kulchyski, McCaskill, and Newhouse (1999) provide a compendium from Canadian Elders and teachers. The Ojibway stories are shared by Benton-Benai's (1988) core teachings of the Ojibway people of the Three Fires Society (one of these fires burns [lives] here in Manitoba).

The literature review for the second research question also begins broadly starting with ideological domination. The purpose here is to explore the important elements or themes that can contribute to an understanding of the inherent nature of this phenomenon. Several sources are examined in this regard including for example: Marxist, feminist, anti-oppressive, and structural approaches. There is already substantial evidence to support the general contention of ideological dominance. For example, Kellner (2005) presents a western Marxism critique of ideology, the critical theory of the Frankfurt school, and western Marxism from the 60's to the present. Mullaly (2002) discusses the nature of oppression at the personal, cultural and structural levels and the anti-oppressive approaches necessary for social work. Shera's (2003) edited collection includes several authors who deal with the subject matter of anti-oppressive practice covering a number of different perspectives representing a number of oppressed groups. Dei and Calliste (2000) discuss anti-racist education through interrogating power as it relates to whiteness and privilege and a discussion of the elements and framework for anti-racist education. Memmi (1967) presents a classic and illuminating discussion on the colonizer, colonized dynamics and how each creates and recreates their condition. And Smith (1999 & 2006)

discusses a feminist sociology of knowledge, the standpoint of women, and the ruling relations of power characterizing patriarchal power as the ruling relations which objectifies the subjective experiences of women and other marginalized groups and in the process removes the individual and her/his experiences as a meaningful participant in the discourse.

Following from this, the literature on Canadian colonization theory was reviewed, funneling the review of this phenomenon further and exploring the important elements of colonization theory. There is Anderson's (2003) discussion on the oppression of Aboriginal women. Frideres and Gadacz (2001) discuss the historical and current social, political and economic issues facing Aboriginal people. Kellough (1980) presents a discussion on the structural and cultural colonization of Aboriginal people in Canada.

As a final part of the literature review a selected sample of social policy literature in social work were examined for their treatment of Aboriginal people in its subject matter. The reason for choosing social policy literature over say, practice literature, is twofold. First, my area of study is social policy and administration and this field is of particular interest to me as a student and an instructor. Second, and more important, social policy analysis is the foundation of the practice of social work and informs the analysis that will guide social workers as they work with people, agencies, systems, and governments. How they 'do' social work is dependant upon this analysis.

Exploring the discipline of social work as an extension of Euro-Canadian reality is also a practical means to focus and direct the research. And because Aboriginal people have been the recipients of social work interventions for a very long time (and these interventions have been largely experienced as social control in the most negative and

damaging ways) it makes practical sense to explore social work. The discipline of social work has come to recognize this 'contradiction of social work helping' and the current emphasis in the discipline is on social justice, equity and inclusion for all marginalized and oppressed people, and this includes Aboriginal people. For example, one of the main principles of the University of Manitoba, Faculty of Social Work Equity Plan, 2006, is the inclusion of an Aboriginal perspective and Aboriginal issues and concerns. As another example of the disciplines focus on social justice and equity for Aboriginal people, the Social Work Code of Ethics similarly commits and supports diversity and inclusion. And just as important as these commitments, Aboriginal people are a significant percentage of recipients of social work interventions and it is fair to assume some reasonable level of inclusion by this fact alone.

Having said this, it is reasonable to assume that social policy analysis and the literature which supports this aspect of social work should reflect the 'inclusion' of content consistent with this commitment to social justice and equity for Aboriginal people.

At a very basic level the review of the selected social policy literature was conducted to see how often and what ways Aboriginal people, their issues and concerns are included. The social policy literature sample was acquired in January of 2006 and are treated here as a 'selected convenience sample'. A convenience sample according to Jackson (2002) involves a choice about a particular category and in this instance the category is 'social policy literature'. These are not suggested to represent the specific curriculum of any particular course offering in this faculty. These simply represent a

selected sample of the 'kind' of literature which are available and used in social policy in social work and includes the following texts.

Armitage (1995) provides a discussion of social welfare in Canada in four parts. Part 1 deals with ideals and context. Part 2 addresses income distribution. Part 3 is a discussion on building communities. Part 4 deals with the political and ideological context of social welfare, and Part 5 is a discussion on the uncertainty of social welfare in Canada.. Chappel (2006) provides a broad discussion on the development of social welfare policy in Canada including an historical review, an analysis of development, impacts on service and delivery systems, programs and services to Canadians and a focus on specific groups affected by social welfare policy in Canada. Graham, Swift, and Delaney (2003) provide a broad and similar discussion as Chappel (2006). Hicks (2004) focusing on income security programs provides an historical overview, social welfare theory, income security initiatives and a focus on general categories affected by social policy/income security in Canada.

Rationale for the Study

Pursuing this research on an Aboriginal perspective and ideological dominance takes up the challenge from Adams (1999) and Alfred (1999) and the continuing need to interrogate ideological domination through articulating an Aboriginal perspective. As a member of the Aboriginal community who has struggled with colonization and decolonization over the greatest span of my life, I have a personal and vested interest in the liberation of Aboriginal consciousness and the realization of self-determination following the premises of an Aboriginal perspective. I also share in the tremendous

responsibility to honour the struggle of my ancestors who with unrelenting tenacity held firmly to the belief to maintain cultural identities as earth and tribal peoples and the responsibility this holds to the earth and to each other. Many have given their lives and their freedom, have been shunned, ridiculed and debased through the colonial experience as they held fast to their beliefs. In keeping with this thought there is also a present responsibility to the future generations of Aboriginal people to ensure that the cultural and traditional life-ways (Mino-Pimatisiwin) of their ancestors will be available to them as they forge a new place for Aboriginal societies.

Beyond this there are some other equally important and compelling reasons to pursue this line of research. First, the colonial process has not disappeared and to suggest that it has is to be caught up and held in the mystification and obfuscation of colonial reality. And as Memmi (1967) has taught us, we would have succumbed to the ugliness of colonial reality which "rots the colonizer and the colonized to the core" (p. xvii) and which detracts from our search for our full humanity. And I believe what Memmi (1967) suggests here is true for the Canadian experience as well. Should we allow the colonization process to continue through the ideological institutions and structures of a liberal democratic capitalist society we will eventually destroy the potential to realize a full humanity that recognizes our greatest attributes in favour of individual economic interests disguised as human progress and civil society.

Second, marginalization and oppression have been so pervasive that Aboriginal people have become marginalized from their own central existence as the First People of this country and are now denied their voices and their central place as the founding Nations of Canada. Aboriginal people have been mystified and obfuscated so well that

Aboriginal leadership now negotiates with governments for something that is already theirs. The settler societies, who have been complicit in massive human exploitation and earth destruction, still hold a balance sheet which has yet to be reconciled, and where it is the State which is in arrears as the illegitimate usurper of the Aboriginal ancestral home.

Third, it has been the institutions- the economic, political and social structural apparatus, its agents, processes and practices which have led to the current and deplorable conditions experienced by Aboriginal people and the place of privilege for Canadian settler society. Aboriginal societies did not create these conditions, nor did they choose to put the settlers in the position of power and dominance. So, there is no reason to accept this as the normative truth of Aboriginal existence. And again as Memmi (1967) has shown us it is colonial profit, privilege and usurpation which have created the conditions for this colonial normative 'truth'.

Fourth, and related to the above reasons, not challenging the institutions of Canadian liberal democratic society is akin to acquiescence and acceptance of this condition. Articulating an Aboriginal perspective which interrogates ideological domination is a natural, reasonable means for Aboriginal people to resist and demand radical changes in the way Aboriginal people are treated as well as the deplorable treatment of others, colony born and new settlers, who have experienced marginalization and oppression from their own people under a liberal democratic capitalist state.

Fifth, the path that we are all on under liberal democratic capitalist ideology is spinning the whole planet towards human and earth destruction. The positioning of an Aboriginal perspective which takes a different path holds promise for, if not immediately

halting our headlong journey into our own demise, at least highlighting this truth alongside many others who are expressing this deep concern.

It is my firm belief that an Aboriginal perspective holds great hope and possibility for not only helping Aboriginal people to recover their own indigenous humanity, but also a promise for helping Euro-Canadian society to change its current trajectory as well. These are all personal reasons for pursuing this research on an Aboriginal perspective. There are other compelling reasons grounded in the normative critique of ideological domination and social change and which fall into the arena of the discipline of social work.

We are currently located in a period of conservative politics and policy trajectories, and as social workers we are challenged to offer our voices and our critique and to interrogate domination and oppression in our analysis, and in our practice. So for example, the state of the art of social work encompasses anti-oppressive practice, structural social work, feminist theory, socialist and Marxist theory, all aimed at empowering individuals and groups in society to exercise their human right to dignity and freedom. One of the first and most predominant experiences of domination and oppression is readily found here in Canada and we need look no further than the colonization of the Indigenous peoples of 'this country' to express our chagrin and focus our attention and our energy for change. Most immediately it makes moral and ethical sense that this should be a central feature of social work and social theory and supported through these varying perspectives on ideological domination and the discipline.

There is also the current condition of Aboriginal knowledge and theory and an Aboriginal perspective and its representation in social work. This relates to the gaps and

the deficits for realizing inclusion in both academia and for systems and agencies in the field. First, from my experience over the last ten years as an instructor and practitioner it is clear that the practice of social work has made significant headway into the inclusion of marginalized and oppressed people, to a degree this includes Aboriginal people. I have seen that in many practice courses there are attempts at bringing to the curriculum, and into the classroom, both the analysis found in colonization theory and some selected aspects of Aboriginal knowledge and theory. These are accomplished through the use of things like the medicine wheel, the talking circle, and exposure to cultural and traditional practices as well as cultural competence and ethnic sensitive practice. And these initiatives are all important first steps toward recognition and inclusion. The further and active support, pursuit and use of emerging Aboriginal practice and perspectives and the concrete inclusion of these can help to further alter practice, analysis, theories, strategies and frameworks to benefit Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people and anti-oppressive social work practice.

However, drawing from my experience as an instructor I see a gap between what is brought to practice and what is contained in the foundational social policy courses. I believe that social policy analysis coursework is the foundation upon which students build their analysis and hence will inform their practice now and for the future. Having taught social policy I find that the greatest focus in social policy literature used in coursework is on the development of the welfare state and the British and French influences leading towards our current Canadian social political reality. And this is important to understand and appreciate so that we know how the historical roots have shaped the way social work operates. However, the literature has very little to say about Aboriginal people as

recipients and participants, directly or indirectly, with the social political evolution of the Canadian welfare state and social policy analysis. I refer here to the need to know how social policy impacted upon Aboriginal people as a major feature of this historical developmental discussion and not just as an aside or as a brief addendum. One of my experiences with this is found in the introductory course I have taught where students are introduced to an ideological framework for analyzing political ideologies. Here Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns are conspicuous by their absence in the literature and the use of this paradigm for analysis. My efforts to address this have been to include Aboriginal materials and discussion in this course and, while less than perfect, these have enriched the learning experience for all students and particularly for Aboriginal students.

The support and formal inclusion of an Aboriginal perspective can benefit social work in at least two ways. First, the 'picture' of the evolution of Canadian social policy and social welfare would be more complete if it included a substantial discussion of Aboriginal people. This discussion would include how colonization was a reflection of the social political evolution of the Canadian state and its mean-spirited and genocidal policies towards Aboriginal people. And this would illustrate how this was for the express benefit of the state and settler societies and their expansionary vision of progress and 'civilization'. Second, developing the content to include this perspective builds a bridge between policy and practice. Bringing Aboriginal practices to the classroom without fully understanding the underlying premises of this; and the analysis of the Canadian complicity in cultural/structural oppression from an Aboriginal perspective is not enough. It would be more helpful and meaningful if students came to their practice courses with a

strong and informed analysis, already in place, informing their reasons to know why an Aboriginal perspective should be a central aspect of their study and their knowledge base.

Giving credit where credit is due, the University of Manitoba, Faculty of Social Work, where I teach, is attempting to address Aboriginal inclusion and delivers a course titled, SWRK 4220, *Aboriginal People and Social Work* (APSW) which covers knowledge and theory on practice issues, policy issues, culture and traditions, oppression and marginalization, colonization and decolonization, political, gender and various other issues. However the difficulty with attempting to cover everything in one course is twofold. First, the expectations of this course are too much and too many and it would make sense to include a more in depth analysis of Aboriginal issues and concerns at the introductory social policy level and then to expand on this in the APSW course. Second, a student usually takes this course in their second year or later, after the introductory social policy courses, and it is surprising to note how little many students know about Aboriginal issues and concerns and an Aboriginal perspective.

Further, the faculty is currently involved in the Aboriginal Child Welfare Initiative, ending in July of 2007. This initiative, composed of three cohorts of Aboriginal students is a response from government and the new Aboriginal Child Welfare Authorities to address the shortfall of Aboriginal social workers, and to provide an Aboriginal focus for their learning to better prepare them for working in the new system. This focus is largely realized through the use of Aboriginal instructors in the delivery of some of the course offered. The Child Welfare Initiative Aboriginal Cohorts are an important but time limited initiative for the Aboriginal community and the faculty and

were it an ongoing feature an Aboriginal perspective could have some solid location for further development.

A second gap I have noted in my role as an educator and facilitator on cultural awareness in the social work community is the deficit in knowledge about the Aboriginal community and an Aboriginal perspective. This personal and professional observation indicates that as social workers enter their field of interest and begin to exercise social work knowledge and theory they are doing so without a full understanding of an Aboriginal perspective grounded in social policy analysis and connected to practice. Students, now practitioners, are at a deficit in their learning and their ability to properly serve the interests of their Aboriginal clientele and the Aboriginal community at large.

This gap between policy and practice and the deficit in their knowledge base disallows practitioners from addressing the shortfalls found in their respective agencies. In fact, without a strong knowledge base informed from an Aboriginal perspective they may not even have the analytical lens to see where gaps in services and programs may exist. It follows from this that their role as advocates, agents for social change, and the skill-sets necessary for challenging systems which do not properly address Aboriginal people will likely be limited and perhaps too weak to mount a meaningful challenge to change these conditions.

Following this rationale for research I believe that as social workers and as agents for social change, social work cannot ignore the tremendous importance and responsibility to support the pursuit of an Aboriginal perspective to inform social work. There is already the rhetoric for change in place and expressed by the discipline, its governing body and its watchdog for ethical practice and this needs to be followed by

concrete strategies and support for 'growing' Aboriginal knowledge, theory and an Aboriginal perspective.

Overview of the Thesis Content

The thesis begins with Chapter 1- 'The Overview of The Study', and includes a general discussion on the need for an Aboriginal perspective and for interrogating ideological domination. Following from this, the problem statement, preliminary research questions, focus of study and rationale are presented.

In Chapter 2, the 'Overview of the Literature' the two areas of focus, an Aboriginal perspective and ideological domination, are explored through an examination of the literature from a broad to narrower focus for both subject matter. The review on an Aboriginal perspective examines culture and traditional expressions of an Aboriginal perspective: from across the Americas; Canadian examples; a local focus; and selected texts dealing with epistemology and philosophy from an Aboriginal point of view. Ideological domination is reviewed through an examination of the literature on ideological domination, and an examination of colonization and social policy analysis in social work. Colonization was reviewed as an extension of ideological domination. The examination of social policy in social work was the means to focus the research towards exploring and understanding the phenomenon of ideological domination and its application in social policy analysis in social work. At the completion of these reviews a synopsis is provided as well as an indication of further research to be conducted in this thesis.

In Chapter 3, 'Research Design', is the introduction to the research and includes retaining the research questions which guided the literature review, and several sub-questions to guide the further study of the subject matter. A discussion is presented which describes the qualitative ethnographic approach to research following Silverman (2004), Creswell (1998, 2003), Babbie and Beaquist (2002), and Jackson (2003). The works of these authors are compatible to the subjective and inter-subjective nature of the study and this approach is conducive to exploration, description, interpretation and theory building. The methods described are taken from the same authors and include: the role of the participant observer; a quantitative measure of inclusion; textual data; funneling and grounding; and the oral tradition as method. The data analysis aspect of research follows Creswell's (1998, 2003) spiraling approach and includes: data management; reading and memoing; describing, clarifying and interpreting data; representing and visualizing; and reporting the results of the study as narrative and following the exploratory, descriptive, interpretive and theory building nature of this approach.

Chapter 4, 'Results and Analysis' are an interpretation of the results from the funneling and grounding of the data on an Aboriginal perspective and ideological domination and which led to the development of representative categories for describing and understanding each of these. This interpretive description includes the articulation of an Aboriginal worldview noting the similarities found in the broad to narrower focus. These are interpreted and listed as the following categories: ontology; epistemology; moral and ethical principle; values and beliefs; and symbolic meaning systems. Ideological domination was subjected to the same funneling and grounding leading to interpretive categories listed as manifest and latent function of ideological domination,

colonization and social policy analysis. Following this is a summary of the analysis leading to some implications for social policy analysis and for social work.

In chapter 5, 'Implication for Social Policy Analysis and Social Work', the results and analysis are located in a presentation and discussion of two paradigms and some implications for social work practice. The first paradigm deals with the analysis of political ideologies as presented in the course, SWRK 1310, *Introduction to Social Policy Analysis in Social Work*, and the eight elements which address several key areas for understanding the different political ideologies. These are presented using the results and analysis from an Aboriginal perspective to inform this paradigm. The second paradigm, *Progressive Social Work Ideals and Beliefs* (Mullaly, 1997), is processed in a similar way and this paradigm is changed to reflect an Aboriginal perspective on social work with each of the five elements listed in this paradigm receiving significant changes and re-interpretation.

Finally, in this chapter is presented some immediate implications for social work practice. These are presented as a means to connect social policy analysis and practice and to integrate the importance of an Aboriginal perspective and the interrogation of ideological domination as a central part of the subject matter of these.

In Chapter 5, "Conclusion", some final statements on the study and are presented and these represent the thoughts of the author on the relevancy of this research to Aboriginal people and to social policy analysis in social work.

CHAPTER 2

OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

It is important to recognize that the emergence of an Aboriginal perspective is first an individual and collective act of 'resistance' which emerges from subjective and intersubjective experience. Second, it is a method for locating emerging Aboriginal knowledge and theory. This perspective became most prominent during the activism of the 60's, 70's and the 80's and represents the struggle of Aboriginal people to reclaim their way of life from the colonial aftermath and to redress past injustices.

It continues today in a number of shapes and forms but most prominently in the expression of an Aboriginal perspective through cultural and traditional forms from many Nations, and by Aboriginal authors through their attempts at articulating the worldview of Aboriginal people for knowledge and theory building. Aboriginal people, in varying ways and to differing degrees, have taken up the challenge to reconstruct their cultural and traditional knowledge and theory for interrogating the current place of Aboriginal people in Canadian society.

One way to explore the earth and tribal knowledge and theory of Aboriginal people is to start with a broad view moving to a more specific focus. This literature review begins with selected representation of this broad view and then progresses to a more local representation found closer to home. Following from this the literature review explores some selected Aboriginal authors as they attempt to address the notion of an Aboriginal worldview from their specific cultural and traditional locations through a discussion of epistemology and philosophy from an Aboriginal perspective.

Cultural and Traditional Expressions of an Aboriginal Perspective

A Broad Representation

One of the most highly respected Aboriginal authors of our time who wrote for over thirty years about Aboriginal religion, the late Vine Deloria Jr. (2003) discusses Indian tribal religion and refers to several American Indian tribal beliefs on creation and an Aboriginal worldview and suggests the following:

Indian tribal religions also held a fundamental relationship between human beings and the rest of nature, but the conception was radically different. For many Indian tribal religions the whole of creation was good, and because the creation event did not include a "fall" (as in Christian religion) the meaning of creation was that all parts of it functioned together to sustain it. (p. 80)

Deloria Jr's. (2003) investigation of American Indian Tribal beliefs reveals a fundamental difference in the genesis of Aboriginal people which is reflected in the creation stories and the expression of the spiritual or religious foundations. These inform ones thinking about who we are, and how we behave towards the natural world and the people in it. Deloria Jr. (2003) contrasts the notion of the fall of Christian religion and which cast human nature and the natural world as inherently evil. Deloria Jr. (2003) states, "With the fall of Adam the rest of nature also falls out of grace with God, being a surrogate for the whole of creation." (p.78)

In speaking about American Native religion (spirituality) Deloria Jr. (2003) distills the thinking of several tribal religions and suggests:

The relationships that serve to form the unity of nature are of vastly more importance to most tribal religions. The Indian is confronted with a bountiful earth in which all things and experiences have a role to play. The task of the tribal

religion, if such a religion can be said to have a task, is to determine the proper relationship that the people of the tribe must have with other living things and to develop the self-discipline within the tribal community so that man can act harmoniously with the other creatures. (p.86)

This contrasting view to Christian religion is quite similar to many other Aboriginal people across the Americas. For example Ahenakew (1987) and Bloomfield (1993) present the day to reality of the Cree stories which are permeated with a similar sense of spirituality and the intimate connection and responsibility that Aboriginal people 'must' have for Creation. Neihardt (1997) presents the stories and the words of Black Elk, the highly respected holy man of the Oglala Sioux who eloquently, and with wisdom and humility, presents a similar worldview through historical and traditional story-telling and which capture the deep spiritual 'reverence' for Creation.

Knudtson and Suzuki (1993) also present belief systems of Indigenous people from across the Americas. These illustrate the striking similarities found in 'spirituality and connections' to creation among these geographically distant nations.

Kulchyski, McCaskill and Newhouse, (1999) chronicles Aboriginal stories from across Canada. These reflect the same 'spiritual nature' of Aboriginal life and the similar 'connection and responsibility to creation'.

This broad base of knowledge and theory from across the Americas share some important concepts which are inherent in the tribal or spiritual understanding of their genesis. First, in the same way that the earth was born, or emerged, the People emerge from the land as an integral and indivisible part of the whole of creation. The notion of grace, "...9.a, the freely given, unmerited favor and love of God. b., the influence or spirit of God operating in humans. c., a virtue or excellence of divine origin. d., the condition of being in God's favor or one of the elect..." (Random House Webster's College

Dictionary, 2001, p. 568) holds particular meaning here. Deloria Jr. (2003) points to the fall and the 'loss of grace' of Christians as described in the story of Adam and Eve. In contrast, in Aboriginal creation stories, there is no fall from grace. Aboriginal stories begin, and continue in grace making. For Aboriginal people the emergence of Creation establishes the notion that humans are naturally and inherently good. This very basic foundational premise is fundamentally different in its understanding of humanity and the world and has profound implications for how Aboriginal people lived and cooperated in this existential reality. Central to this premise are several assumptions: an inherent equality of all living things; a conjoined existence with the natural world making these one and the same; a responsibility to maintain harmony and balance amongst all of creation; the requirement of self-discipline and deep-awareness of the place in Creation and hence the responsibility towards this; and as all things emerged from the same source a spiritual and intimate connection to each other as human beings and all living matter.

A Narrower Focus of Culture and Traditions

Closer to home, the late Thomas Fiddler (in Young, 1985), a Cree Elder and Leader from Big Sandy Lake Ontario, shares the legends of Weesakayjac (the trickster) in a similar vein as the Ojibway teachings. In these stories we find the ancient wisdom of the oral tradition as shared through the character known as Weesakayjac and his relations with the natural world. What are central to these stories are the role of Weesakayjac as a teacher and the ethical and moral compass of the people. Fiddler (1985) tells the stories: which speak of being humble in Creation; of the cost of transgressing the responsibility to Creation as animals and humans are changed in a sometimes comical way when they

forget to show respect for all living things; and the sacredness and responsibility to all of the relations on the earth. In these legends Weesakayjac is characterized as having an affinity and responsibility to the natural world. He is instructed to go about and interact with the world and in the process to participate in establishing the relationships between man and the 'ecosphere' (the whole of Creation). These relationships are characterized as essentially good, natural, symbiotic, collateral and inter-dependent.

Ahenakew (1987) presents the stories of the Cree people of Saskatchewan, of which one these story tellers our Bear Lodge has come through. These simple stories told by Peter Vandall and Joe Douquette contain the value and belief systems that express a number of important concepts. For example: they tell of collective responsibility for survival; the intimate connection to the environment; the ceremonies which reflected this; the roles and responsibilities which lent themselves to group cohesion and which were based upon a deep-awareness of the relationship between the earth and human beings; the goodness, or as these Elders say "everything was clean" (p.41). Even where there were many people and many tribes "they did not commit violent crimes against one another, they lived together peacefully" (p.47). These words speak to the inherent notion of goodness as a natural feature of who these people were and how they lived their lives.

Also, Bloomfield (1993) presents the sacred stories of the Sweet Grass Cree from Battleford Saskatchewan. In relating these stories we see how as the people related to the natural world and the animals, they speak about these as if they were another human being and not a lesser creature giving us a sense of the equality between all life.

And Young, Ingram, and Swartz (1989) present their experiences with Russell Willier, a Woods Cree Medicine man from Alberta, who through his role as a medicine

man, illustrates the power of the natural world to heal and the spiritual relations illustrated in ceremony. This experience with Willier illustrates the most immediate reflection of cultural knowledge and theory which emerges and is intimately connected to the natural world. These experiences conveyed by Willier reflect: respect for the gifts of healing plants; the caution for transgressing the responsibility to the natural world; the proper use of ceremony as the method to guide ethical and moral action; and the spiritual connection and responsibility through protocol and a deep-awareness of earth/human relations.

There is also Neil (2000) who presents the stories of respected Elders here in Manitoba. As well, Kulchyski, McCaskill, and Newhouse (1999) provide a compendium of stories from Canadian Elders and teachers. All of these Elder/Teachers represent the stories and the teachings in relatively the same manner, following the principle that all living matter in the natural world holds some responsibility for balance and harmony. Further, all share in our roles and responsibilities to Creation and for the continuation of life with Mother Earth (Ni-Mama-Ashkey-the ecosphere).

These Canadian stories, legends, teachings and cultural knowledge and theory all illustrate some fundamental concepts either expressed directly or inherent in their telling. Their lessons are strikingly similar to the previous broad representations. For example, the function of Weesakayjac found in his actions, the stories of living on the land, and the expression of cultural imperatives and protocols as expressed through ceremony are all permeated by this inherent notion of goodness. These convey the moral and ethical code of conduct. Further, there is also: the notion of inherent equality; the responsibility for balance and harmony between the human and natural world; self discipline and deep-awareness as mechanisms to exercise restraint and to show respect for life. There is also

the sense of a collective and interconnected existence with all living matter, and the spiritual nature of this connectedness and responsibility.

Here in Manitoba, there is also a body of knowledge and theory that speaks in much the same way and with significant parallels and similarity of meaning.

Focus on the Cree and Ojibway of Manitoba

Benton-Benai (1988) a highly respected Elder, teacher, and spokesperson for the Ojibway Midewewin Society (Mide) shares the seven teachings of the Mide, and as an example of Aboriginal knowledge and theory they are highly representative and similar to the concepts illustrated thus far. These seven gifts, as they are referred to in the teachings (p.65), are the central framework that informs the progression of knowledge and theory acquisition over the life of the individual and the collective. They are, in essence, the rudimentary building blocks of an entire worldview and the teaching of this knowledge and theory becomes more sophisticated, increasing in complexity and responsibility as people move through their life's journey. With great respect, and acknowledging the careful work for keeping these alive they are presented here as given by Benton-Benai (1986). They are:

1. Wisdom-to cherish knowledge is to know wisdom
2. Love-is to know peace.
3. Respect-to honour all of the creation is to have respect.
4. Bravery-is to face the foe with integrity
5. Honesty-is facing a situation and to be brave

6. Humility-is to know yourself as a sacred part of Creation.
7. Truth-is to know all of these things

Benton-Benai (1988) presents these seven gifts in "The Mishomis Book" and the entire discussion found there is the premises and context for understanding these seven gifts. These gifts are related through story and legend and they convey to the reader a sense of both the responsibility one has to the relations with the earth and all living things and the responsibility to inculcate these inside of the social cultural reality of Aboriginal people. In doing this as a progression of teachings over the individual and collective life these become the ethical and moral codes to guide both individual behaviour and collective responsibility. These gifts capture the concepts illustrated in the broad representation and the representations given by Canadian Elders, traditional teachers and medicine peoples of Canada.

Further to this, and in relation to the creation stories of Aboriginal people from across Turtle Island (North America), Benton-Benai (1988) tells the story (e-ki-na-ma-di-win-teaching; p. 4) of how first man was the last to arrive on earth and was charged... "to live in brotherhood with all that was around him" (p.4). The exercise of brotherhood, in the sense given by Benton-Benai is characterized as inherently good, natural, symbiotic, collateral and inter-connected with all living things and whose essence emanates from the same source-Creation (p. 4), and this is strikingly similar to Deloria Jr's (2003) description.

Further to these teachings Hart (2002), A Manitoba Cree traditional man and academic, outlines similar principles to the Ojibway and describes these as the

foundational concepts found in the medicine wheel construct and used by many different Aboriginal Nations. He relates these from a Cree perspective and suggests that:

1. Wholeness-requires that we try to understand the medicine wheel by understanding how it is connected to all other parts. (p.40)
2. Balance-implies that each part of the whole requires attention in a manner where one part is not focused upon to the detriment of the other parts. (p.41)
3. Harmony-includes respect for one's relationship with others and within oneself, as well as the give and take between entities (p.42)
4. Healing-is the broad transitional process that restores the person, community and the nation to wholeness, connectedness and balance (p.43).

In addition Hart (2002) suggest a similar set of 'values' to the principles of the Ojibway and these are: respect, caring, faith, honesty, kindness and sharing.

Respectfully I suggest that the foundational concepts and the values Hart (2002) presents are very similar in definition and in their expression as both the moral and ethical principles of the people and reflect their foundational premises. The difference between the way Benton-Benai (1988) presents these and the way Hart (2002) presents them is that Hart (2002) has characterized these as active and directed principles intended to guide ones life for the individual and the community whereas Benton-Benai (1988) presents these from the overall context of teachings where the active meaning of these is found in the textual body of his work and in the exercise of these as a life's progression and a discipline. I suggest the reason for this is that Hart (2002) has used these as a means to understand what needs to guide Aboriginal social work as we work with Aboriginal

people in the de-colonization process. Inherent in all of these foundational concepts and values is the basis from which emerges an Aboriginal worldview. If I have misconstrued or misrepresented Benton-Benai (1988) or Hart (2002) in any way I offer my apologies.

In relation to Benton-Benai's (1988), Fiddler's (1985), Deloria's Jr. (2003), Hart's (2002) and the others who I have mentioned, and their views on Aboriginal life, there is another primary and foundational belief which supports the symbiosis of human and natural existence and the condition of an inherent goodness and complements the notions of equality, interdependence and reciprocity.

One of the most important moments in Aboriginal life is the birth of a child. The child is considered to be a direct spiritual connection to Creation and is the ultimate 'gift' to the community, and not just given to the mother and father. As the relations between humans and the world were considered to be positive, reciprocal, equal and connected through the essence of Creation, children emerged from Creation with the same fundamental spirit of all of Creation.

Ultimately then, from an Aboriginal perspective humans were 'inherently good', emerging from the fundamental connection to Creation and expressed in their relationships with each other and with the natural world. Humans, as a part of the natural world, are cast in a positive light where the relational dynamic and motivating force of human/nature interactions contributed to mutuality, balance, harmony and, respect for human and earth sustainability.

All of the stories, legends, teachings, principles and values presented by the diverse collection of authors of an Aboriginal worldview are complementary and have an inherent logic and consistency. The principles and concepts identified by Benton-Benai

(1988) and Hart (2002) as well as other authors, inhere in the ceremonies, teachings and stories of the Ojibway and Cree peoples. From first breath, children were inculcated to this worldview as a natural and conjoined process of becoming. As these principles and concepts were carried forward in further stories (teachings) their meanings were expanded and were applied at greater levels of sophistication, applicable to day to day-to-life as the people progressed through their journey in creation.

Selected Expressions of Aboriginal Epistemology and Philosophy

Further to the stories, legends, teachings and conceptual principles presented here there are some other additional Aboriginal authors to the ones already mentioned who are theorizing and building new knowledge from old and who remark on the epistemological and philosophical premises of an Aboriginal worldview. These 'traditional/academic teachers' have entered the halls of academia and are attempting the very difficult and delicate task of forging new/old ways of thinking and are promoting Aboriginal knowledge and theory as the means to arrest the progress of colonization and to fuel what appears to be an 'Aboriginal enlightenment' period finally emerging from a long and horrendous time of darkness. One of the first Aboriginal authors who struck me as having something very important to say on an Aboriginal worldview was Willie Ermine (1995). Ermine (1995) succinctly and sensitively captures Aboriginal ways of knowing as the 'inward journey to knowledge and truth' in contrast to the 'outward journey of western science'. In his view this inward journey is a more relevant and meaningful way of knowing for Aboriginal people because it encompasses the very premises of our existence. Ermine states, "Aboriginal people have the responsibility and the birthright to

take and develop an epistemology congruent with holism and the beneficial transformation of total human knowledge” (p. 102). As I see it, Ermine is suggesting here that Aboriginal people must take back the foundational truth of our existence and our epistemological guides in our search for knowledge and that these can offer a fuller exploration which encompasses the total matrix of Aboriginal knowledge. I believe this is what he means when he speaks of the inward journey process as:

The idea of our progenitors was to try to gain understanding of many of the greatest mysteries of the universe. They sought to do this by exploring existence subjectively; that is, by placing themselves in the stream of consciousness. (p.104)

I suggest here that Ermine (1995) is most immediately correct in saying that this is a subjective experience. But, I would respectfully add that it becomes an inter-subjective experience because in following the epistemology of our ancestors this journey represents a synthesis of the material world with our humanly constructed social world—a relational dance in the community of life. This relational dance is one that our ancestors shared in common as their taken for granted reality and their stream of consciousness.

Another Aboriginal author, Little Bear (2000) offers an additional, enlightening and interesting perspective on Aboriginal philosophy and which lends itself well to an understanding of an Aboriginal worldview. Little Bear asserts:

The idea of all things being in constant motion or flux leads to a holistic and cyclical view of the world. If everything is constantly moving and changing, then one has to look at the whole to begin to see patterns. For instance, the cosmic cycles are in constant motion, but they have regular patterns that result in recurrences such as the seasons of the year, the migration of the animals, renewal ceremonies, songs, and stories. Constant motion, as manifested in cyclical or repetitive patterns, emphasizes process as oppose to product. (p.78)

Little Bear's (2000) assertion about constant motion and flux and the need to look at the whole to see the patterns and the process is similar to Ermine's (1995) assertions in his discussion of the inward journey and the need for holism and the transformation of total human knowledge. In naming this cyclical view it is interesting and telling to note that Little Bear (200) includes the seasons, animals and then ceremonies, songs and stories all of which equally express the epistemic proposition of our conjoined existence. This holistic approach means seeing the totality of existence. Without this understanding and recognition of the natural existence of the cosmos as a state of flux, cyclical and patterned, it is impossible for us to ascertain our place in these patterns and processes. Hence, we would act from incomplete knowledge. This is similar to the earlier exploration of cultural and traditional expressions, as the ancestors lived it, and incorporated the natural and the human as the basis of knowledge and truth. As Little Bear (2000) notes:

The earth cannot be separated from the actual being of Indians. The earth is where the continuous or repetitive process of creation occurs...Creation is a continuity. (p.78)

These representations of epistemology and philosophy are an additional level of understanding for an Aboriginal perspective which are all inherently based inside of the earlier discussions of the cultural and traditional expressions of this view. These are powerful expressions of this perspective because they are getting at, and exposing the underlying knowledge and theory which would have informed cultural and traditional expressions. In this sense they represent the raw core of the knowledge and theory of an Aboriginal worldview. There is a consistency in Aboriginal logic in these expressions that hold promise for a rich and powerful expression of an Aboriginal perspective.

*Ideological Domination, Colonization and Social Policy**A Broad Review*

There is substantial literature to support the general contention on the presence of ideological domination. I draw here on a broad selected sample of literature to briefly introduce and examine ideological domination.

There is Kellner's synopsis (2005) which presents a western Marxist critique of ideology, the critical theory of the Frankfurt school, and western Marxism from the 60's to the present. In the critique of ideology Kellner (2005) begins with a brief introduction to Marx and Engels and the central idea of the German ideology that, "the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas" (p.155). Kellner (2005) follows Marx and Engels when he says that, "Ideology, describes how dominant ideas of a ruling class promote the interests of that class and help to mask oppression and injustices in any given society" (p.155). He goes on to say about Marxist theory that ideologies work to normalize ruling class ideas as the common ideas of a whole society and in this sense they become 'invisible' as the domination of one group over another. That they can do this is owed to fact that the means of production is owned by the ruling class and the forces and relations of production are under their direct physical and intellectual control. The ideas which emerge from their heads reflect their interests and not those of the proletariat. Unlike the ruling class the proletariat has little time or energy to sit around and think up these ideas as their time is spent on labouring to survive in a competitive and individualistic society which pits one human against another for scarce resources and favour. Kellner (2005) goes on to condense the central themes of other Marxist thinkers

to elucidate Marxian theory including Lukacs contribution in taking the standpoint of the proletariat to show how human beings are transformed by economic imperatives into 'things' in every aspects of their lives. What is suggested here is that humans become commodities losing their 'social nature' and in the process alienate ourselves and from each other and from the social. Kellner (2005) also introduces the notion of Gramsci's hegemony as the domination of ideas and cultural forms created and supported by the state and civil society and its institutions which act to support this hegemony. The Frankfurt School is noted as well for its contribution to an understanding that the social relations of a society are dominated by commodity forms and not just to money, value and exchange. And further to the domination of social relations Kellner (2005) presents Adorno and Horkheimer's contribution on the power of the mass media as systems of cultural production which support and maintain consumer capitalism and hence the ruling ideas and cultural forms. In looking at the 1960's onward Kellner (2005) presents the ideas of Marcuse and the 'One Dimensional Man' where the existing systems of a society, the media, industrial management and liberal knowledge theory and discourse all act together to produce acquiescence and the elimination of critical discourse in an advanced industrial society. Turning to the introduction of cultural studies in Britain and the United States Kellner (2005) introduces the Birmingham School. Here he examines the influence of youth culture which acts as a counter-hegemonic form of resistance to the hegemony of the state and ideological domination illustrating the exercise of an attempt to escape this hegemony. Turning to America Kellner (2005) refers to Hall's ideas on global postmodernism and the pluralizing of culture which has the potential to make room for narratives from the margins.

This brief overview by Kellner (2005) illustrates that the notion of ideological domination has at its central core the exercise of latent and manifest power at all levels, and in all strata of society. These all contribute to the continuation of ideological domination through the state, the media, the capitalist economic structure, the relations which occur between these and how these enter the individual and collective minds and psyche of a liberal democratic society obfuscating and mystifying social, economic and politic relations in support of capitalism as ideology.

Closer to my academic home-front Mullaly (2002) discusses the nature of oppression at the personal, cultural and structural levels and the anti-oppressive approaches necessary for social work. Mullaly (2002) presents marginalization and oppression as a feature of a liberal democratic society taking the conflict perspective which locates societal problems in the very structures of society and where a dominant groups benefits from this structural inequality. This perspective is clearly based in a Marxist analysis as Mullaly (2002) refers to the structures of oppression being originally created by a dominant class (the bourgeoisie) and who continue to hold sway through the transmission of their values, assumptions of society, and social positions. In doing so, they marginalize other groups in society who hold differing values, assumptions and social positions. For example, gays, lesbians, people of colour, and women.

Mullaly (2002) refers to ideology as a framework for understanding the social world; where there are many different ideological expressions of how society ought to operate there is usually one dominant ideology which subordinates others. In the Canadian context liberal democratic capitalist knowledge and theory is the dominant ideology and it reflects the interests of capitalism and of a privileged group as the

predominant force. In this ideological system oppression and marginalization are, and similar to Kellner's (2005) synopsis of Marxist theory, contained in the structures, social relations, and the institutions of society (including the economic structure of capitalism, education, religion, the state, and the mass media), making marginalization and oppression a central feature of this ideological system. Mullaly (2002) takes this discussion further and locates the outcomes of ideological domination and oppression at the levels of personal, cultural, structural, and internalized oppression illustrating both the manifest and latent force of these along with avenues for challenging and interrogating and liberating consciousness from this ideology. The role of social work is then discussed as agents of change towards anti-oppressive practice at these many levels.

Shera (2003) presents several authors dealing with the subject matter of anti-oppressive practice covering a number of different perspectives representing a number of oppressed groups. Central to the discussion in this edited book are the notions of power and domination by a liberal democratic capitalist society and how a capitalist ideology works to maintain itself, excluding numbers of different groups in similar and varying ways from full participation and benefit. Social work's role in anti-oppressive practice is to interrogate ideological exclusion and create an understanding of social exclusion and the acts of resistance to address this. Also, social work can adopt the view and analysis of 'margins as the centre of discourse' strategizing on how to address exclusion rather than simply a measurement or problem assessment approach. The notion of interlocking oppression across race, class and gender following an institutional ethnographic approach is presented a means to interrogate how 'single strand' analysis limits the understanding of oppression and permits the use of the individual pathologizing assessment approach

rather than a systemic analysis of the multi-layered character of oppression. An Aboriginal approach is presented comparing this with structural social work assessing its consistency with the needs and concerns of the Aboriginal community. This approach suggests that there are benefits to using a structural approach with Aboriginal people as it uncovers the inherent nature of oppression experienced by Aboriginal people. Further, the analysis also notes how structural social work alone cannot deal with the cultural and spiritual needs of the community suggesting a partnership or synthesis of structural and Aboriginal approaches. These varied discussions on anti-oppressive practice in social work represent a varied analysis of the underlying nature of ideological domination and several different and complementary means to interrogate oppression and locate marginalized groups as a part of the central discourse of social work.

Dei and Calliste (2000) discuss anti-racist education through interrogating power as it relates to whiteness and privilege and a discussion of the elements and framework for anti-racist education. Central to their discussion, and helpful to this research, is the notion that the interrogation of whiteness helps us to understand how privilege is afforded to a dominant group at the cost to a subordinate group. This is similar to Memmi's (1967) analysis on racism. Dei and Calliste (2000) tell us that privilege is the exercise of power. Memmi's (1967) work supports this contention and he shows us how this occurred through the marginalizing process and comes to be equated with a biological definition which suggests that the conditions of oppression are the fault of the oppressed and a supposed natural inferiority. So, according to Memmi (1967), this form of biological oppression then becomes institutionalized and in the process also becomes invisible to the oppressors and oppressed. And, according to Dei and Calliste (2000), exposing this helps

both white people and the oppressed group to locate themselves and to produce a new anti-racist identity. And there are other authors who discuss this feature of white privilege following the same argument including Sacks and Lindholm (2002); Razack (2000); and Bedford and Workman (2002).

Smith (1999 & 2006) makes an important contribution in discussing a feminist sociology of knowledge, the standpoint of women, and the ruling relations of power. In her analysis she characterizes how patriarchal power as the ruling relations objectifies the subjective experiences of women and other marginalized groups. In this process the individual and her/his experiences as a meaningful participant become removed in the discourse of the problematic. Smith's (1999 & 2006) theoretical articulation is particularly relevant here as she is able to show how the subjective experiences of people become dislocated from research under the 'rigor of objectivity' when in actual fact it is these subjective experiences that are the central subject matter of research.

There is also substantial literature dealing with the colonization, marginalization, and oppression of Indigenous people. Memmi (1967) presents an illuminating discussion on the colonizer, colonized dynamics and how each creates and recreates their condition. In his discussion Memmi (1967) exposes the development of racist ideology as a process based inside of privilege and exploitation and illuminates how this acts to destroy the humanity of both protagonists. And his ultimate answer to addressing this terrible and inhumane condition of colonization, and returning our humanity, is the total destruction of colonization for both oppressed and oppressor.

A Narrower Focus - Colonization

Anderson (2003) discusses the oppression of Aboriginal women as the intentional and directed policy of the state to destroy Aboriginal societies. According to Anderson (2003), the state recognized the central and foundational role women played in maintaining Aboriginal cultural and traditional societies through: the transmission of the values and life-ways to the next generation; the matri-local and matri-focal political and economic structures of sharing and collective responsibility; and women as the spiritual repository of meaning through their direct and symbolic connection to Creation and birth and renewal. The state was well aware of how the institutional order of Aboriginal societies inhered in women's roles and location in the social order. This natural social/political order opposed the patriarchal, individualistic and exploitative nature of Euro-Canadian ideology. Because of this, the role of Aboriginal women had to be destroyed so the state could continue the exercise of 'Manifest Destiny'.

Frideres and Gadacz's (2001) present the classic description of the seven parts of colonialism and the exercise of colonial power over Aboriginal people dismissing the notion that Aboriginal people had some choice in the matter. Similar to Memmi (1967) they say that racism was the underlying ideology which permitted the state and its agents to disregard the humanity and the sovereign rights of Aboriginal people. They also suggest that biological racism has given way to social/cultural racism which denies cultural equality and is now a function of the structures of Canadian-structural racism. This is similar to Dei and Calliste's (2000) analysis which illuminates how white privilege as the normative order obfuscates white people's racism and inability to see colour and oppression. Frideres and Gadacz (2001) continue in this vein and analyze

Aboriginal/state relation historically and up to our current conditions with their initial analysis informing the discussion throughout.

Kellough (1980) presents a similar analysis to Frideres and Gadacz (2001) on the structural and cultural colonization of Aboriginal people. Kellough's (1980) discussion on colonization suggests the colonial period can be characterized by the point at which power becomes exercised by one group over another. Two levels of analysis are suggested and structural (external factors) and cultural (internal factors) must be understood in developing a comprehensive perspective on the colonization of Aboriginal peoples. The structural level is characterized as the imposition of mercantilist/capitalist ideology and human and resource exploitation usurping and displacing Aboriginal peoples from their own means of existence as the initial phase. Following closely on the heels of this is the complete exemption of Aboriginal people from economic life, displacing them to the periphery of existence. Once the utility of Aboriginal people had been exhausted the state exercised its power and control over Aboriginal life through administrative structures and policy trajectories aimed at paving the way for settlement and the continued expansionary vision of the federal state-Manifest Destiny. This included such things as an Indian Affairs Department which acted as an autocracy directing all facets of Aboriginal life. The state forced Aboriginal people to acquiesce to the reserve system which froze mobility and captured Nations under an internal colony of unemployment, economic dependency and on the brink of starvation and death. Cultural colonialism, as a parallel process, sought to control the internal psychological and cognitive existence of Aboriginal people and the missionary zeal to convert was one of the first strategies used to this end. And again, much like Memmi (1967) has shown us,

Kellough (1980) describes the racist, demoralizing and disfiguring process imposed upon Aboriginal people through inferiorizing and marginalizing Aboriginal culture and traditions, inflating and proselytizing Christian Euro-Canadian reality. Further to this, multi-denominational incursion served to divide communities and the residential and day schools soon followed. These exercised their power of conversion through forced institutionalization of Aboriginal children and the destruction of the family, Clan and the collective unit. All of this led to the obfuscation and mystification of the colonial process; and it also altered the Aboriginal identity and way of life to a point that internalized colonialism became expressed in alcoholism, family dysfunction and the overall destruction of the logic, knowledge and theory which had previously guided Aboriginal living and the inherent and natural logic of their existence as tribal and earth people. Others have developed similar arguments; and for example Miller (1996) illustrates the disastrous state policy of assimilation imposed through the churches and their residential schools system. Lux (2001) in her discussion of medicine, disease, and the genocide of Aboriginal people in Canada shows the mean-spirited and destructive approach used by the state and the resiliency of Aboriginal resistance. And Yazzie (2000) discusses how the American Indian Policy was a form of social Darwinism.

A Specific Focus - Social Policy Literature

This part of the review covers the selected literature beyond the general and specific applications of ideological domination and the colonization of Aboriginal people and is a selected sample of social policy texts taken from the University of Manitoba bookstore, the social work readings and text shelf. While the literature review on

ideological domination dealt with the general theme of ideological domination this sample will be organized more specifically and will be reviewed for its treatment of Aboriginal people and the issue of inclusion. The treatment of social policy literature differs as this literature did not deal with the notions of ideological domination and colonization as specific aspects of their analysis of latent and manifest functions. Rather, the social policy literature addresses Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns in varying ways and the manifest and latent functions need to be revealed and named as such.

I have taken this narrower focus as an examination of Aboriginal inclusion and as beginning place to see how the notion of ideological domination may get expressed in this literature either as a latent or manifest expression. And this goes to the contention forwarded by Adams (1999) and Alfred (1999) and the other authors mentioned in the first part of this thesis which suggests the gentle, inherent and obfuscated nature of this phenomenon. One way that this can be explored is through examining the manner in which Aboriginal people, their issues and concerns receive treatment. While ideological domination becomes visible through critical analysis, and colonization as an extension of this is easily demarcated by its violent, exploitive and inhumane nature, ideological domination may be less visible and not so easily discernable in the literature on social policy.

Armitage (2003) provides a good discussion of social welfare in Canada and each of the five parts of his discussion address the important concerns of the Aboriginal community representing these in the context of his overall analysis and relating this to the specifics of Aboriginal people. It is clear that as well as considerable thought, Armitage

(2003) has attempted to provide a broad overview of the issues and concerns of the Aboriginal community and has made serious attempts to represent an Aboriginal perspective on the issues. In Part I on 'Ideals and Content' Armitage (2003) provides immediate support for the Aboriginal critique of social policy noting that the Aboriginal critique has distinctive features and that this perspective deserves independent recognition. This 'recognition' of an Aboriginal perspective is not as readily apparent in the other sources examined and as a result these do not have as powerful an impact as Armitage's (2003) work. In Part II, Armitage (2003) deals with the redistribution of income and it is noted here that in his coverage of the 'Five Reasons for Paying Social Welfare Benefits' he includes Aboriginal people in one these reasons; compensation for loss. Here he discusses the historic treaties as imposed rather than negotiated and asserts the need to compensate for rights lost through colonial relations. More could have been said in the other reasons and for example some discussion is possible in 'Insurance Against Risk' expanding this term to include the risk of the further polarization of Aboriginal people and in particular youth. The notion of risk can also be related to two other of the reasons, 'Investment in Human Potential'; and 'Economic Growth and Stability'. There is opportunity here to explore some discussion which deals with education and job-training programs and strategies. The emphasis here could be on penetrating the human resource capacity of the relatively young Aboriginal population and on concrete measures to address the extremely high rates of unemployment in the Aboriginal community; although Armitage (2003) does deal with the related issue of poverty and social assistance on reserves in Chapter 3. In Part III, 'Building Communities' Armitage (2003) deals with the theory, principles and resources of building

communities and this subject matter contains a significant inclusion of Aboriginal issues and concerns. For example, he includes Aboriginal people in his discussion on: urbanization in relation to the trend for Aboriginal people to re-locate from reserve to city; neo-colonial policy and the need for Aboriginal people and all people to challenge its continued imposition; and the current organizational services which attempt to address community need including mention of Aboriginal organizations. Further, Armitage (2003) provides a discussion on child welfare, child-care, youth corrections mental health, and substance abuse service with brief mention of First Nations in the initial discussion. To his credit, and following this generic discussion, he then focuses on First Nations and on-reserve social services. However, more could have been said in the generic discussion and inclusive of Aboriginal people. In Part IV, Armitage (2003) addresses the political and ideological context of social welfare and throughout this discussion Aboriginal people are pointed to as examples, and as a particular group to be addressed. Of note in this part are two things. First, there is a brief discussion of Aboriginal people and their less than fair treatment under the political and ideological expressions of the welfare state. Second, when discussing social welfare ideologies in chapter 7, he includes the 'Aboriginal School' of thought on theory and research. This reflects a serious consideration to an Aboriginal perspective not found in any of the other literature reviewed. In his conclusion, Armitage (2003) also includes an Aboriginal vision which lists some principle which are consistent with an Aboriginal perspective and worldview.

This fair and sensitive coverage of Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns is also apparent in another of his books (Armitage, 1995), where he provides a lengthy and focused discussion of Canadian assimilation policy comparing and

contrasting this with Australia and New Zealand. Although this book is not meant as a introductory guide to social welfare policy in Canada, as is the case with the other books reviewed, this discussion is helpful in delineating the larger universal process of colonization and its similarities and differences across a fairly broad representation of Indigenous peoples. Focusing upon Armitage's (1995) discussion of the Canadian Aboriginal experience it is immediately clear that his knowledge and appreciation of government policy towards Aboriginal people and an Aboriginal sense of this is well grounded. The introduction section sets the tone for the discussion and the position taken, clearly recognizes that the policies of the state were never anything but self interest even as the mean-spirited early policies evolved towards more 'egalitarian' reflections. Armitage (1995) is clear on the fact that policy development, under any banner of dispensation, was one dimensional and while in the early years this was characterized by exclusion this later came to be reflected in the gentle imposition of Euro-Canadian policy paradigms to guide the proposed negotiations, discussions and participation of Aboriginal peoples. This is similar to Ladner and Orsini's (2005) critique of the FNGA as an extension of the historical policy of assimilation. One important point made in Armitage's (1995) discussion, and a similar point is made in the rationale of this proposal, is the recognition that, "there are important differences between the situations of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal minorities" (p.9). Armitage (1995) recognizes the fact that Aboriginal people were the 'keepers' of this land and that the relationship to the land is a central aspect of Aboriginal life in ways quite different than the first settlers. He also notes that while immigrants have chosen, for varying reasons, to come to this country as a minority, Aboriginal people did not choose to live as minorities in their own country under laws

which are not their laws. This recognition expresses a genuine sensitivity and understanding about how many Aboriginal people view their relations with the state as diametrically opposed and antagonistic. Very early in his discussion there is a real sense that his analysis attempts to embrace the rudimentary elements of an Aboriginal perspective as he recognizes that Aboriginal people have continued to struggle against colonization and that this struggle has been contained by their own sense of cultural identity and special relations with the land. In his discussion of child welfare as a reflection of Canadian assimilation policy, Armitage (1995) outlines the character of policy and points to a number legislative tools to describe how these guided early policy development and this is a more encompassing view than his social policy text. For example, he mentions the Bagot Commission (1842) and its role in colonial Indian policy, the Davin Report (1879) which supported the use of the residential schools and the overall assimilationist policy of the state. Armitage (1995) goes on to describe the child welfare period from 1960 onwards noting the interventions of the Canadian Association of Social Workers to extend child welfare services to First Nations, and the Hawthorn Report's (1966) approval of the extension of a provincial role in First Nations child welfare. While the intent of these policy directions were likely in the spirit of helping the lack of specific policy direction, resources and administrative wherewithal to provide service other than crisis intervention, these policies led to a dramatic increase of Aboriginal children being removed from their homes and communities and placed in non-Aboriginal homes far and away from their families and communities. It is interesting to note here that there is no mention of the Kimmelman Report on child welfare in Manitoba nor the term 'the 60's scoop' which characterized this period, although there is mention

of the important and seminal work by McKenzie and Hudson who characterized this period as a deliberate assault on First Nations societies designed to change First Nations people. In recognizing the policy trajectory of the state Armitage (1995) suggests, that the child welfare system probably created more pressure to assimilate than the residential schools as once removed from their families and communities and placed in white homes all vestige of their identity were removed with no recourse other than to exist in an often abusive, negligent and often racist environment. Here Armitage's (1995) discussion parallels Memmi's (1967) discussion of the use religion conversion and intervention as a proposed source of assimilation with little intent to allow Aboriginal people actual participation in a racist Canadian society. Armitage (1995) makes this point when he states, "It was their visibility which prevented many First Nations peoples from being accepted in mainstream society and which consequently, made it impossible for them to assimilate" (p.121). There is, in this overall discussion, a strong emphasis on recognizing the unique position of Aboriginal people as the First people and their struggle to maintain themselves, and the state's intentions of assimilation throughout the relations even as these later may have reflected some sense of an egalitarian thrust. In both of the sources there is recognition that the trajectory and implementation of policy towards Aboriginal people came from the state, province and systems other than Aboriginal people, and the failure to achieve any meaningful changes is directly attributable to this fact.

Chappel (2006) provides a broad discussion on the development of social welfare policy in Canada including an historical review, an analysis of development, impacts on service and delivery systems, programs and services to Canadians and a focus on specific groups affected by social welfare policy in Canada including Aboriginal people. The

evolution of the subject matter follows a similar progression as found in the introductory course in social welfare beginning with a discussion of the welfare state, ideological paradigms, and a historical review of the development of the Canadian welfare state. There is some brief mention of Aboriginal people in the first twelve of fourteen chapters on the welfare state but for the most part the discussion is contained almost exclusively in a chapter dedicated to addressing Aboriginal people. Here Chappel (2006) presents a very brief overview of the history of relations noting the British North America Act of 1867 and the division of responsibility for Aboriginal people; and the Indian Act as the administrative apparatus of the state. Some attempts at reform are documented including the repealing of racist and discriminatory laws; but the discussion moves very quickly to the 1990's, focusing heavily on healing and wellness for Aboriginal communities. There is brief mention here of the residential schools and their impacts and then the discussion quickly turns to traditional versus mainstream approaches. The approach taken here is a micro/mezzo approach noting the issues facing Aboriginal people which include the, 'residential school syndrome', family violence and mental health problems. The next part of the discussion is a presentation of programs and services offered to Aboriginal people for healing, including the importance of control over these services as this relates to the efficacy and relevancy to Aboriginal ownership over services. The chapter ends with a brief discussion on social work with Aboriginal people noting the need for enhanced resources and a demand for Aboriginal social workers. Chappel (2006) presents the development of the welfare state and social policy development in a logic and coherent fashion and her discussion on Aboriginal people, although brief, addresses some important issues, however, little is said in any depth about the role played by the state in

the evolution of Canadian social welfare and its impacts upon Aboriginal people. Nor is there mention of the ideological repercussions of exclusion that are found in Armitage's (1995) discussion, for example. Generally speaking, there is little that is helpful for understanding the structural racism of the Canadian state or of the acts of resistance from Aboriginal people in struggling against this. Additionally, the emphasis on practice focuses analysis at primarily the micro and mezzo levels and the notion of healing becomes largely a social/psychological process ameliorated through programmatic and service orientations.

Graham, Swift, and Delaney (2003) provide a broad and similar discussion as Chappel (2006) but with a more in-depth discussion of the historical and legislative basis for the development of the welfare state. These include a description of the evolving benefits programs and initiatives of the state to deal with unemployment, poverty, equalization strategies and provincial federal jurisdictions over social welfare in Canada. Graham, Swift, and Delaney (1993) also provide a good discussion on political ideologies and their influences on the development of the welfare state and they note a number of theories of social welfare. The coverage of Aboriginal people is contained in the chapter on diversity and social policy, and while the discussion is succinct and well done there is not enough here to provide a complete picture on the role and impacts of the developing welfare state and social policy towards Aboriginal people. It is also interesting to note that there was no mention of Aboriginal people, self-government, self-determination, a developing emphasis on Aboriginal paradigms for state/Canadian relations at all in the section on social policy and emerging realities. One is to assume here that the use of ethno-racial relations, which does receive more coverage throughout as a category, is

meant to cover Aboriginal people as an aspect of this category although this is not directly stated as such. In the chapter on social policy and social work Graham, Swift, and Delaney (1993) provide an excellent discussion on the importance of understanding social policy, theory and practice models but what was conspicuous by its absence is some discussion on Aboriginal issues and concerns as they relate to these, including at least a brief discussion on an Aboriginal practice as an emerging trend in social work. In the final two chapters on policy making and implementing social policy these authors provide an excellent discussion of the number of different policy models available and the means by which to implement policy but once again there is no discussion on how these models and the implementation of policy has any relationship to Aboriginal people and their concerns and issues. So for example, it would be helpful to know how as a policy paradigm the state acts to control the agenda on self-government as Ladner and Orsini (2005) and Prince and Abele (2005) had pointed out in the overview section of this thesis. More generally, it would also be helpful to context how state policy paradigms are simply reflections of the policy of assimilation and where and if the paradigms presented may have some utility in addressing this criticism as Armitage (1995) has done.

Hicks (2004), who focuses on income security programs provides an historical overview of the emergence of social welfare, income security initiatives, and then focuses on general categories/groups who are affected by income security in Canada. His discussion is well laid out and progressively moves through the history, theory and then to examples of income security measures of the state. Hicks (2004) provides a comprehensive description of the labour market and employment, globalization and human rights, women and the family, people in the labour force, people living in poverty

including children and families, and the elderly and retired. His analysis shows the impact of changing policy and current outcomes for these several subjects and focus groups. It is clear that Hicks (2004) is sensitive to the changing circumstances as these relate to the evolving character of social welfare in Canada from the universal focus of the early years to the now more conservative and residual approaches to income security measures in Canada. Of note in his discussion is the mention of Aboriginal people at a number of points in his discussion. When he discusses the colonial period in Canada he mentions the advent of the reserve system in the same conversation as the poor laws linking the spirit of these laws to the treatment of Aboriginal people and the imposition of a system which in some sense paralleled the poorhouses. Further to this he equates the notion of the undeserving poor extending this use of policy to include Aboriginal people. As well he notes that the first Unemployment Insurance Act of 1940 excluded most Aboriginal people and later (1951 to 1966), how Aboriginal people were introduced as recipients of the mainstream welfare system as a means to assimilate them to mainstream society. These inclusions of Aboriginal people in the discussion of income security in Canada indicates an important recognition and attempt to include Aboriginal people as a part of the overall discussion of the evolving character of Canadian social welfare policy in Canada. And I believe that Hicks (2004) should be applauded for this effort. However, had these issues been dealt with as either a specific chapter on Aboriginal people, or with a more in-depth analysis on Aboriginal issues throughout in relation to the progression of the state's policy of assimilation, the coverage would have been strengthened significantly. This would have provided a solid representation and inclusion of Aboriginal people. Some examples that such a chapter could include are: the treat-making

process as incursion, exploitation and land and resource expropriation; the reserve system as an internal colony; the institutionalization of Aboriginal people through education, residential and day schools, and provincial and federal criminal institutions; child welfare; and self-government. Generally speaking though, Hicks (2004) illustrates a real concern and respect for the importance of including Aboriginal people in the analysis and the conversation where others have missed this important consideration.

Rice and Prince (2003) discuss the changes in Canadian social policy through a number of different eras and political climates and current social policy outcomes highlighting some specific issues and emerging perspectives on social policy including gender, social capital and globalization. Similar to Hicks (2004) and some of the other authors dealing with social policy, Rice and Prince (2003) provide an historical presentation of the developing and evolving character of social policy and income security in Canada through a number of different eras starting in 1867. There is a discussion on: the crisis in social welfare as Canada evolved towards more a conservative political era; global capitalism and its impact upon the welfare state and social policy; gender and feminist perspectives; the advent of community capacity building as a response to and as means to have some control over policy trajectories; and the future and a new policy agenda which considers the role of the welfare state in a pluralist, globalized, and a changing social, economic and social welfare milieu. This coverage of the changing scene of Canadian social welfare policy is also well organized and provides a fairly comprehensive treatment 'sprinkling' Aboriginal issues and concerns throughout the discussion and pointing to these where they have relevance to any one of the subjects under discussion. So for example, in the discussion of nation building Aboriginal self-

government is pointed to on three occasions as an example of the state's measure for reforming the political climate to match the prevailing and evolving circumstances of the Canadian state. In their discussion on a mixed welfare approach as a response to the crisis in social welfare policy they again point to Aboriginal communities, First Nations and urban organizations as important considerations. There are numerous other mentions of Aboriginal people throughout the discussion and where there is some relevance they are mentioned briefly without a full discussion on what these mentions mean in their entirety for understanding the issue at hand and what this means to Aboriginal people and the welfare state, including social welfare policy analysis.

The discussion on social welfare policy in Canada presented by these authors provides a fairly comprehensive understanding of the changing terrain of social policy and the welfare state. These discussions highlight concerns and issues for consideration for the future recognizing that there are multiple factors impacting on the Canadian welfare state and that the role of social policy and the welfare state are as relevant as ever albeit now under rapidly changing circumstances and a more globalized, pluralized world. The shortfall of this discussion generally, is that while Aboriginal people and their concerns do receive attention these are often brief and without a full discussion and analysis as this relates to Aboriginal people in the subject matter being discussed.

*Synopsis of the Literature**Aboriginal Perspective*

From a broad perspective the literature review revealed that there are some very rich and insightful expressions of an Aboriginal perspective across a wide range of representations from many different nations. It also revealed that these varying expressions have significant similarities in meaning but they are not connected and linked in a way that paints a full and panoramic view of the landscape of an Aboriginal perspective. These expressions are like multiple and single snapshots where each only capture a small piece of the whole and when viewed separately tell us only a part of the story so that we don't see how they are connected and linked to each other in some very fundamental ways.

The literature also revealed that while there are differing expressions of cultural and traditional forms these have a shape and substance that suggest a kinship to each other. These differing cultural and traditional expressions are like a changing and shifting landscape with connections and linkages that, when examined more closely, fit together as a stream of consciousness expressing a relationship to the earth and its energy and life-force and strikingly similar and foundationally co-located. It is easy to miss these without seeing the broader picture and exploring this as a conscious effort and as a process of discovery. Taking an approach which examines the specific expressions from many sources and linking these to the broad picture helps us to understand how they emanate from the same source of meaning-Creation.

Moreover, all of these expressions provided through the authors, persons, stories, legends, teachings, relationships, responsibilities and ceremonies speak from a similar voice even where they express their differing articulations. This voice is one of respect, reverence, humility, goodness, reciprocity, interconnectedness, balance, harmony, relationally located, deep-awareness, and emanates from a deep spiritual connection to the earth as a fundamental and indivisible aspect of Aboriginal consciousness.

What I mean by this is that all of the broad representations are revealed as a spiritual and interconnected relationship to the land beyond the economic imperatives of survival and encompassing something much more fundamental to life. And similar across all of these expressions, these act as the moral and ethical compass to guide human interaction and relationships indivisible from the relationship to the earth. This 'sense' of an Aboriginal perspective is partially captured through the discussions of an Aboriginal world view, epistemology and philosophy. But here again, the exploration of an Aboriginal perspective and the fundamental connections seemed not entirely complete. I am not detracting from the importance of these explorations but I suggest this must to be taken further and conjoined and grounded showing their inherent and collective nature for an Aboriginal perspective.

The challenge for completing this research was accomplished through a process which explored, described, interpreted and illuminated the broad view, the narrower view and the selected view into one representative articulation of an Aboriginal perspective. Having developed this further the research contributes to the articulation of a theoretical construct on an Aboriginal worldview locating ideological dominance from an Aboriginal perspective. It is argued that this can contribute to an understanding on how social work

addresses Aboriginal issues and concerns in social policy analysis and practice, and to the emergence of an Aboriginal social work practice.

The process for this research was an extremely sensitive one that needed to be handled appropriately so that the meaning of the cultural and traditional expressions would not be misconstrued or receive only superficial attention. The research proceeded carefully and considered the varying perspectives with a deep-awareness of the emotional and psycho-social circumstances that are the legacy of a colonized existence. As the research progressed it was necessary to have a heightened sensitivity, awareness, and to provide a respectful treatment of the traditional and cultural knowledge of Aboriginal people. This was accomplished through the intimate and subjective inter-subjective knowledge of the researcher as a participant observer and as an informed member of the Aboriginal and traditional community.

The research design dealt with this issue throughout and was constructed with this important consideration in mind.

Ideological Domination

The discussion on the inherent nature of ideological domination is clearly located in a long and protracted discourse steeped in the evolution of western society that began long before it expressed itself here in the Americas. This phenomenon is located in the historical development from at least feudalism, to mercantilism, to capitalism, and found in the relations between the oppressed and marginalized and the dominant forces of an emerging capitalist society (see Coffin, Stacey, Lerner, and Meacham, 2002; Noss, 2003; Southern, 1990; and especially Tarnas, 1993 on the development of western civilization).

The literature used in this review is a more recent interpretation and articulation of ideological domination but still expresses the same fundamental characteristics of this phenomenon as a question of power of one group over another. The literature, and I begin with Marx, illustrates how a dominant force is able to have its cultural, societal values and beliefs articulated and accepted as the normative, predominant and institutional standard for creating meaning and for guiding and directing the ever-day life of individuals in a capitalist society. The progression and complexity of this phenomenon to increased levels of ideological sophistication and domination are traced by social theorists with increasingly more complex explanations which capture the changing conditions of society and are therefore able to explain how ideological domination is able to continue and strengthen its force of power, persuasion and obfuscation. Marx's economic analysis of capitalism and the inherent nature of capitalist ideology is the foundation upon which is constructed this increasingly more complex social theory.

These explanations include the state's support of capitalism as the economic system of 'choice' which contributes and supports its dominating force. There is also the explanation of how knowledge and information disseminating agencies of society including the mass media, the industrial and business complex, administrative, bureaucratic and governmental agents as structures of a capitalist society support domination. It also includes the educational and religious institutions of capitalist society and are characterized by the culture of individualism, private property, private ownership of production and capital accumulation, and the overall pursuit of progress and civil society characterized by more, bigger and better.

Ideological domination clearly has an inherent nature and the literature suggests its continued application to marginalized and oppressed groups for the benefit of a privileged group. The literature also indicates that the discourse on ideological domination emerged from a foreign place embracing a foreign system of thought and was transposed here to the Americas. Considering the preliminary review of an Aboriginal perspective we are already made aware of the fact that this system of thought was imposed upon Aboriginal people usurping their own knowledge and theory and through the history of relations has incrementally pulled Aboriginal people into a western conversation. This has acted to move Aboriginal people further and further away from an Aboriginal perspective and analysis of this phenomenon. The outcome of this is the dislocation of an Aboriginal critique from its own source of knowledge and theory and the use of foreign knowledge and theory to understand Aboriginal reality and truth. The problem with this most immediately is that Aboriginal people have dislocated themselves from their own perspective informed by their own worldview.

As important, ideological domination not only acts to distance Aboriginal people from their own knowledge and theory it also acts to distance and neutralize Euro-Canadians from their complicity and responsibility in this process. For the first visitors ideological legitimation began with first contact as they applied their expansionary and exploitive ideology found in the notions of terra nullius, conquest, manifest destiny and the Christian civilizing mission.

A further review of ideological domination was necessary to link this discussion with the previous one on an Aboriginal perspective. At the very least, it was necessary to highlight the elements of ideological domination and clearly locate these in the western

discourse leaving space to review these further in relation to an Aboriginal perspective as it unfolded more clearly.

The review of social policy literature revealed at least this larger ideological disposition which has some immediate implications for the discipline of social work and for student learning and which can be mentioned briefly here. Considering that student learning is an encompassing project and that the foundations of learning, in terms of their beginning analysis, are located in social policy and social welfare an immediate deficit is noted. The literature fails to deal with the ideological conceptual baggage which fueled and legitimized the marginalization of Aboriginal people. So, failing to mention the policy of Terra Nullius for example, which guided the initial mindset for exploration and exploitation is a tacit acceptance of this policy. Further, failing to deal with the notions of conquest and manifest destiny as a social myth, and which again fueled and permitted the state and the settler societies to apply domination and to oppress Aboriginal people, is also tacit acceptance of these strategies. Where this is missing in analysis students leave the faculty with their own skewed sense of history and Aboriginal/Euro-Canadian relations and an incomplete understanding and appreciation for the force of ideological domination which Aboriginal people have been struggling against since first contact. This deficit is effectively carried into the practice of social work as students leave the faculty to practice in their chosen fields.

Exploring the nature of ideological domination and its implications for social policy analysis and for student learning/practice was a part of the task of this research and was a further exploration of ideological domination as one aspect of the overall research.

Colonization

Similar to the review of ideological domination colonization points to the exercise of power of a ruling class or dominate group. In this case it was the first visitors, and following this, the settler societies and the state which exerted this power for profit and privilege and usurpation. This review is similar to the review on ideological domination as both address the inherent nature of ideological domination and colonization contained in the institutions, structures and processes of a capitalist ideology. Further, they are similar as they illustrate the process over time where the dominant ideology is able to erode, alter and replace the alternative perspective in favor of capitalist ideology as supported by the largest majority of constituents. They are similar as the discussion of ideological domination addresses the notion of the adoption of a false consciousness, hegemony, colonization, and the obfuscation of an Aboriginal perspective, mystification of the colonial experience, and continued assimilation.

What is perhaps not different, but contrasting, is that the discussion of ideological dominance is taking place long after its historical imposition and the discussion of colonization is occurring as it happens, relatively speaking. That is, the conversation on dominance is located in an historical discussion tracing its roots to a long and protracted history of western development and the inherent dominating nature is imbedded in western development. For Aboriginal people the conversation of colonization locates the discussion of dominance in most recent history and in our current social reality. Colonization as a process used to marginalize and oppress indigenous people across the globe is not a new phenomenon. However, it is a new 'experience' relatively speaking for Aboriginal people. This experience of colonization certainly has its roots in the relations

between Aboriginal people and Euro-Canadians from the 1600's onward. But it has been the period from the 1800's to today which has been the crucible of the most oppressive experiences and in this sense is recent history and is very much a 'lived memory'. Moreover, as Euro-Canadians have ignored the plight of Aboriginal people up to most recently, and have denied their complicity in the outcomes still being experienced today, colonization as a felt experience is still very much alive and 'unwell' for most all Aboriginal people.

Having an appreciation of this is helpful because it reveals the similar and obfuscated character of domination and which colonization has the potential to express as well. As important, considering colonization as a felt and recent experience clearly illustrates the inhumane and subversive power of capitalist ideology to change and destroy a people for the benefit of its ideological imperatives. In other words colonization as the reckless child of Eurocentric thought illustrates quite clearly the graphic, violent, destructive and obvious form of ideological domination.

This overview of colonization theory against a backdrop of ideological domination exposes the immediate, destructive and inhumane lie that is colonization linking ideological domination and colonization. Once again this is the challenge issued by Adams (1999) and Alfred (1999) for uncovering the full impact of ideological domination. In the next part, social policy analysis is examined following a process of critical and careful investigation which reveals how this contributes to the continued ideological dominance of Aboriginal people. More important, the research contributes to an analysis 'located' in an Aboriginal perspective for interrogating ideological dominance.

Social Policy

The literature review on social policy analysis followed a slightly different process than the previous two reviews. First, the intention here is to get at where the expression of ideological dominance has found its way into the literature on social policy analysis. This has particular relevance to the practice of social work, student learning and our understanding of the continued application of ideological domination. First, by exposing the previous two these act as a backdrop to review the relationship between ideological dominance, colonization and their connection to social policy analysis. Second, treating social policy analysis as a separate piece of this work focuses the study on social work. And finally, the social policy analysis literature did not deal with domination in the same overt sense as the previous two and required that dominance be revealed as a function of the systemic and hidden nature of domination. It is placed in this last position for review as a logical sequence.

The literature review on social policy followed the general question posed earlier which is to see how often and what ways are Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns included. First, there is evidence to suggest that consideration is given to Aboriginal people in the social policy literature but in varying ways and to different degrees of inclusion and magnitude of treatment. For example Armitage (1995) does an excellent job of discussing Aboriginal issues and concerns in both his social welfare text and his comparative analysis and it is clear that he represents something more than just a Eurocentric view. There is a sense throughout that he is making a serious attempt to capture the perspective of Aboriginal people and to inject this into his overall discussion

and his analysis of the policy of the state are enlightening and informing and lend credence to what was found in the review of ideological dominance and colonization.

Hicks (2004), also makes important points with reference to Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns and includes these as a part of the overall discussion of the particular subject matter he is dealing with. As well, he also points to these as examples where Aboriginal people and concerns are not the primary subject of concern. There is evidence of inclusion in the overall discussion on the development of the welfare state and Canadian social policy from the historical to the current and this is noteworthy as inclusion.

The other authors, Graham, Swift, and Delaney (2003), Chappel (2006), and Rice and Prince (2003) all provide good discussions on social welfare policy in Canada to varying degrees of inclusion. Graham, Swift, and Delaney (2003) for example, provide little in the way of inclusion, and Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns receive very brief mention and usually as an aside or pointed to as example and not with any discussion helpful for understanding these more fully. Of particular note was the absence of a discussion on self-government, self-determination, emerging Aboriginal paradigms in the section dealing with social policy and emerging realities. And in the chapter on social work and social policy analysis First Nations is mentioned once as an example and used in the context of community organization approaches and there is no mention of an emerging Aboriginal practice in either practice or policy discussions.

Chappel (2006) follows a somewhat similar approach as the previous authors in the treatment of Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns providing some small discussion throughout but in very brief form. However, Chappel (2006) does dedicate a

chapter to Aboriginal people. This chapter provides a very quick discussion of the history of relations and then just as quickly turns attention to a micro/mezzo approach focusing on the healing of Aboriginal people and the services and programs aimed at this purpose. Again, there is very little that helps to understand the macro level analysis of ideological domination, colonization and the inherent structural oppression of Aboriginal people and their struggle against these. As important there is little which illustrates how the development of social welfare policy and analysis has affected Aboriginal people historically and currently.

And finally Rice and Prince (2003) also provide an informative discussion on social welfare policy in the Canadian context and mention Aboriginal people fairly often throughout their discussion. Again, however, these discussions are of a cursory type or as an example and there is no real discussion that places these in the context of the overall subject matter at hand; thus, these provide very little for understanding Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns.

This examination of selected policy literature indicates quite clearly that there is some selective depth of understanding on Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns. It also illustrates that Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns does fit into the discussion of the welfare state and social policy analysis for social work both historically and currently as Armitage (1005) and Hicks (2004) have shown. Where this occurs in the literature it enlightens and enriches the discussion of social policy and shows an important attempt at inclusion. It also takes the analysis of social policy further and begins to address the nature of ideological domination as a continuing force of marginalization and oppression of Aboriginal people. Where it does not occur may

indicate that the inclusion of Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns may not be important enough or well enough understood to make inclusion a necessary aspect of the discussion on the welfare state and social policy analysis for social work.

With this in mind the research continued with a selected convenience sample beyond the literature discussed here on social policy analysis, and includes some additional texts taken from social work and social theory. This additional research followed the funneling and grounding ethnographic approach suggested by Silverman (2004) using categories, themes and a quantitative measure of inclusion of the larger sample of social policy literature. The aim here was to substantiate the preliminary directions in the literature.

Summary and Further Research

The literature revealed that while there is significant coverage of an Aboriginal perspective this is spread across a broad range of articulations and there is no one integrative approach which brings this knowledge and theory together in one collective and concerted articulation. The further research in Chapters 4 and 5 continued with this task and the important elements, concepts and constructs were subjected to a further analysis, integration, theory building for articulating an Aboriginal perspective for social policy analysis.

The literature on ideological domination, colonization and social policy revealed that there are similarities between ideological domination and colonization and that the application of these concepts were/are applied to Aboriginal people. It is easy to appreciate the marginalizing and oppressing force of these concepts in both their manifest

(overt) and latent (covert) forms and which have led to the current conditions faced by Aboriginal people. In looking at the social policy analysis literature from the viewpoint of inclusion, there is a preliminary indication of some small level of inclusion as Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns are addressed by two authors with some degree of fairness. It cannot be said that these used an Aboriginal perspective or provided an extensive coverage of Aboriginal people in the discussion on the development of social welfare in Canada. The other authors provided only a general and often-times fleeting discussion of Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns, and here it is clear that there is not enough to consider this as fair treatment or reflective of the inclusion of an Aboriginal perspective. How these reflect domination is not clear. However, in a preliminary way it can be suggested that the minimal treatment afforded Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns in social policy seems to indicate that a pre-dominance of Euro-Canadian knowledge and theory is used in the discussion on the development of the welfare state in Canada. In this regard, this pre-dominance of Euro-Canadian knowledge and theory overshadows the inclusion of Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns in a significant way.

To explore social policy further with regard to dominance, an expanded sample of literature provided a broader review, and included social policy readings packages, and some selected additional texts. The readings packages were chosen because these are specific materials used in social policy and much like the previous literature reviewed, the readings packages deal extensively with social policy and the development of the welfare state in Canada. The additional Canadian social policy texts were chosen because they represent the main subject matter of social policy much like the texts

reviewed in the literature review. Related social work texts were chosen as these deal with the analysis which informs social policy and are highly relevant to the discussion. Finally, some selected social theory and ideology texts were chosen to go beyond the specific discipline of social work to include a wider review of the theory which informs Euro-Canadian knowledge and theory. While these final texts do not address social work specifically they are representative of the state of knowledge on Canadian social theory and inform the general discussion of policy. There is a general assumption or expectation which guides the choice of texts. As stated earlier in the overview in Chapter One, Aboriginal people have been actively resisting Euro-Canadian ideology and its knowledge, theory, and policy trajectories since at least the late 60's. It would seem to make some sense that this resistance would be considered significant enough to warrant at least some small mention in the textual materials which represent Canadian knowledge and theory in social work specifically and beyond the discipline. In the further research these texts were subjected to a 'quantitative measure of inclusion' which demonstrated 'inclusion' to varying degrees and contributed to the analysis of ideological domination in relation to social policy as an 'inherent source' of marginalization and oppression. Additionally, once an Aboriginal perspective was developed more fully, this acted as an additional backdrop to the research on dominance and colonization leading to the integration of the results into an analysis of these from an Aboriginal perspective.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN

Introduction to the Research Design

To explore an Aboriginal perspective and ideological domination further as a personal, subjective, and inter-subjective experience I have used an ethnographic approach based on Silverman (2004) and Creswell (1998, 2003) and their discussions on ethnography. Silverman's (2004) funneling and grounding approach was helpful as well as Creswell (1998, 2003). Creswell suggests that:

The narrative assumes many forms—a theory, a description, a detailed view, an abstract model...The narrative will, in the end, reflect the creativity of the writer, although the plan for the study, the proposal, might follow several of the procedures being discussed. (p. 24)

This study represents several layers of research including exploration, description, interpretation and theorizing and a selective borrowing of several research elements. All of these were necessary to answering the questions provided to guide this study.

Research Questions

The two primary research questions which guided the literature review are retained here; as well, there are several sub-questions designed to take the research beyond the literature review.

Question 1 is: "What is an Aboriginal perspective, its elements and conceptual framework and from where do these emerge?"

The *sub-questions* for question 1 are as follows:

- a. What constitutes an Aboriginal perspective?

- b. Using a broad range of cultural expression, a narrower range found in local expressions, and the expressions found in the scholarly work of Aboriginal scholars are there similarities in these expressions?
- c. What are the related meanings, conceptual premises and foundational principles found in these?

Question 2 is: "What does the literature on ideological domination, the colonization of Aboriginal people, and the social policy literature say which is helpful for understanding the ideological domination of an Aboriginal perspective?"

The *sub-questions* for Question 2 are as follows:

- a. What are the primary elements of the discussion in the literature on ideological domination that are helpful for understanding the domination of an Aboriginal perspective?
- b. What are the primary elements of the discussion in the literature on colonization theory that are helpful for understanding the domination of an Aboriginal perspective?
- c. What are the primary elements of the discussion on social policy analysis that are helpful for understanding the domination of an Aboriginal perspective?
- d. In the social policy literature is there mention of Aboriginal people, their issues and concerns?
- e. In the same literature how often are Aboriginal people, their issues and concerns mentioned?
- f. In the same literature in what general context do these receive treatment?

- g. In the same literature what specific paradigm is used to process the discussion of Aboriginal issues and concerns?
- h. In the same literature is there an articulation of an Aboriginal perspective?

For the questions on an Aboriginal perspective the research further developed the information from the literature review as data sets that were used to extend and develop a representative and collective articulation of an Aboriginal perspective for social policy analysis. Following the funneling approach as described by Silverman (2004) and the spiraling approach described by Creswell (1998) the textual information was processed through category and theme analysis. Through exploration, interpretation and analysis a representative articulation of an Aboriginal perspective was achieved. Further this approach led to the development of a theoretical representation of this perspective or worldview of Aboriginal people.

The research on ideological domination, colonization and social policy analysis continued beyond the literature review which dealt with the first three sub-questions (a to c). Following the same funneling and spiraling approach the convenience sample of social policy literature was then subjected to the final five questions (d to h). The purpose of this exploration was to get at the ways in which ideological dominance, colonization and social policy express similar attributes and to gain some understanding on the inherent and relentless character of ideological domination and colonization more generally, and social policy more specifically.

This aspect of research was processed through a quantitative measure of inclusion. The findings from the quantitative measure of inclusion act as supporting evidence to the

imposition of ideological domination as they demonstrate whether or not the selected convenience sample reflects inclusion of Aboriginal issues and concerns. These supplemental materials were also taken from the University of Manitoba Bookstore, the social work required readings and textbook for coursework in social work, as well as texts on social theory taken from the Sociology stack in the same bookstore, January 2006.

Following some selected aspects of Silverman's (2004) discussion on content analysis, the quantitative measure of inclusion addressed the sub-questions, d to h, and are illustrated in Figure 10 (p.139) showing, 1) the source of data, 2) the five questions, and 3) the results of being subjected to an analysis following the operational definitions provided in Figure 9 (p. 138). This measure was intended to get at the inclusion of Aboriginal people in social policy analysis and their issues and concerns at several levels.

This exploration, investigation, description, interpretation and theorizing of an Aboriginal perspective and ideological dominance were conducted using the following research design.

Qualitative, Ethnographic Research

Both questions were subjected to a qualitative research design located in the social constructivist knowledge claims, an ethnographic strategy of inquiry and methods consistent with this approach. The design was amenable to the exploration of an Aboriginal perspective and ideological dominance for the following reasons. Creswell (1998) states, "Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The

researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting.” (p.15)

In addition, Rubin and Babbie (2001) state that qualitative research:

...[E]mphasizes the depth of understanding associated with idiographic concerns. They attempt to tap the deeper meanings of particular human experience and are intended to generate theoretically rich observations that are not easily reduced to numbers. (p.391)

Further, Silverman (2004), Smith (1999 & 2006), and Creswell (1998 & 2003) all suggest that the qualitative social constructivist framework and the ethnographic strategy for inquiry are based upon some basic assumptions. Creswell's (2003) summary of these are noted below,

1. Meanings are constructed by human beings as they engage with the world they are interpreting. Qualitative researchers tend to use open ended questions so that participants can express their views.
2. Humans engage with their world and make sense of it based on their historical and social perspective-we are born into a world of meaning bestowed upon us by our culture. Thus, qualitative researchers seek to understand the context or setting of the participants through visiting this context and gathering information personally. They also make an interpretation of what they find, an interpretation shaped by the researchers' own experiences and background.
3. The basic generation of meaning is always social, arising in and out of interaction with the human community. The process of qualitative research

is largely inductive, with the inquirer generating meaning from the data collected in the field. (p.9)

These knowledge claims were central to the research on an Aboriginal perspective for the following reasons. These knowledge claims permit the researcher to be positioned as a part of the research process. They promote an appreciation of emergent knowledge and theory, and in this case it is the emergent knowledge and theory of Aboriginal people under study. There is recognition of the legitimate nature of these interpretations for understanding an Aboriginal perspective. And, these knowledge claims support the subjective nature of knowledge construction as an avenue for developing a rich and meaningful description, narrative and theoretical proposition.

In exploring ideological dominance and social policy in social work the research process was in large part a deconstruction for the purpose of uncovering where social policy may act as a dominating force either as a latent or manifest function. Aspects of Smith's (1999 & 2006) institutional ethnographic approach and her critique of patriarchy, power and ruling relations were helpful and were used here. For example one of her main contentions is that the ruling relations are 'textually' based objectified social constructions of aggregate subjective experiences which then come to reflect the normative discourse of the institutions of society on any particular subject matter, including academia and its textual sub-universe. This normative and 'objectified' discourse directs, informs and guides how we see, perceive, understand and react to the subject matter as we enter this field of discourse. The problem for Smith (1999 & 2006) is that this objectified normative textual construction attains an a priori quality which resists or dismisses the subjective experience and reacts defensively to any challenge to

its normative and textual based construction. What is contradictory to this reaction is that the aggregate and objectified social construction of the subject matter is composed initially of the individual and subjective experiences. To my understanding, this is how this comes to reflect the ruling relations and the exercise of power. That is, it excludes the subjective challenge in favour of the 'objectified' and reified social construction. So following Smith (1999 & 2006) I have taken the position that it is the subjective and emic experience which gets to the heart of the subject matter and is the most useful means to deconstruct ideological domination.

Further to ethnographic, qualitative research, Creswell (1998) suggests that ethnography is a descriptive and interpretive process focused on examining group behaviours, learned patterns, and requires prolonged observations where the researcher is a participant observer who is immersed in the day to day lives of group interaction. Babbie and Benaquisto (2002) suggest that ethnography involves naturalistic, holistic observations which provide an intimate sense of what is being observed. Jackson (2003) suggests that ethnography is a prolonged examination which attempts to understand human behaviour in an imbedded cultural context from an emic or insider view and to make explicit what is implicit in the culture under study. Silverman (2004) suggests that:

Ethnography encompasses a much broader range of work, from studies of groups in one's own culture to experimental writings to political interventions. Moreover, ethnographers today do not always 'observe', at least directly. They may work with cultural artefacts like written texts or study recordings of interactions they did not observe firsthand. (p.45)

This study followed the approach suggested by these authors. Silverman's (2004) funneling and grounding approach; and the creation of categories and fine-tuning through ethnographic funneling were helpful and central to the study. Silverman (2004) was

particularly helpful in describing the dynamic, constructive and progressive nature of research and his description of this approach is helpful in the exploration for both an Aboriginal perspective and ideological dominance and social policy analysis.

The exploration of both research questions progressed through a categorical process beginning at a broad level that identifies larger themes. This is also similar to theme analysis as described by Jackson (2002), which funnels these categories and themes towards a narrower focus becoming progressively more defined. As the research on an Aboriginal perspective progressed through each level, themes and concepts were noted and were recorded from the broad, to the narrow. While this use of a grounded approach did not completely represent the specific coding categories used in grounded theory, as described by other research authors, or the technical language used therein, the use of category and fine-tuning are consistent with Silverman (2004) and were used in this study.

The same use of categories were followed for ideological domination starting with the broad general theories, moving to colonization theory; and culminating with the sample chosen and used for the literature review of social policy analysis. These are illustrated in Figures 6 to 8 (p.p. 131, 133, 136) and represent an aspect of the overall funneling approach, data gathering and analysis.

Taking this category and themes analysis to a further level of study, selected elements of Silverman's (2004) discussion on content analysis were used to construct a quantitative measure of inclusion and are used to support and expand upon the categories created through this funneling and grounding approach.

The aim in exploring both of these research questions was to develop some understanding, from a broad to a more specific view that fairly represents the subject matter of each of these.

Research Methods

The methods used included a primary and central role for the participant observation method as described by Silverman (2004), Creswell (1998 & 2003) and Smith (1999 & 2006) and introduced in the previous section. In addition, the use of this role interweaves the autobiographical experiences of the researcher into the research as a central aspect of the research and I suggest that this role acts as the cognitive, social, psychological lens for discovery, description, interpretation and theory building. I also incorporated location and standpoint theory as described by Smith (1999 & 2006); textual analysis following Silverman (2004) and Smith (1999 & 2006) and the use of funneling and grounding, textual observation, a quantitative measure of inclusion, and the oral tradition of Aboriginal people.

Participant Observation

In the role of the researcher Jackson (2002), along with Babbie and Benaquisto (2002) recognize the value of the participant observer role in research and all caution against over-involvement suggesting the need to exercise reflexivity and/or bracketing of the researchers opinions and beliefs about the subject matter. Some of these authors also mention the term 'going native' as a cautionary note, and while it is understood to be a term used in only a descriptive sense to capture the potential for bias and over-

involvement with the subject of study I can't help but be amused by the use of this term. As I am member of the cultural group in the research I am subjectively and, inter-subjectively located here. In this sense not 'going native' is not an option for me.

Contrary to this advice, I suggest that my personal and professional development has contributed to a personal and professional 'reflexivity' owing to participation in both Aboriginal and Euro-Canadian social realities as well as my personal and professional experiences dealing with colonization and decolonization. This reflexivity is an outcome of the process of colonization/decolonization and personal/professional development which guided my thinking in my professional career as a social worker. I suggest that it serves the same function in my role as the researcher and participant observer.

This method also captures the concerns of many Aboriginal academics about research methods and methodology, including the critical importance of locating self as an interrogation of western ideology, knowledge and theory and for recognizing the specific and subjective contribution of Aboriginal people to research. Absolon and Willet (2005) state:

When researching Aboriginal knowledge and Aboriginal peoples, Aboriginal Elders and communities expect researchers to foster a knowledge creation process that accounts for many variables, including, epistemological, cultural, colonial, historical, and contemporary contexts of both the researched and the researcher. It is putting ourselves forward that establishes these contexts, guides the research process, and determines research outcomes. Research outcomes, in turn, affect policy, programming, practice, and societal perceptions. (p.123)

Further, Tuhiwai-Smith's (2001) discussion on research and the twenty-five Indigenous projects of Indigenous people, which are ways that indigenous people are reforming and reconstituting indigenous culture, is helpful here. These include such things as 'claiming' or asserting indigenous rights. Others include 'testimonies,' like the

use of the oral tradition, and much like the oral tradition 'storytelling' is used to pass down the culture and traditions of Aboriginal people. Tuhiwai-Smith suggests that:

Representation of indigenous peoples by indigenous people is about countering the dominant society's image of indigenous people, their lifestyles and their belief systems. It is also about proposing solutions to the real dilemmas that indigenous communities confront and trying to capture the complexities of being indigenous. (p.151)

And, Tuhiwai-Smith (2001) also cites Lester Rigney an Aboriginal researcher in New south Wales who, "names the approach he takes as indigenist research, an approach which borrows freely from feminist research and critical approaches to research, but privileges Indigenous voices". (p.147)

This method for research was a means to create space for Aboriginal people in research which are respectful to culture and the need to be clear about our place in the work we do.

Smith (1999 & 2006) shares a similar belief and deviates from the notion of becoming too subjective and promotes a more relevant position to this research on subjectivity and the interests of the researcher. In her discussion on standpoint theory and location she suggests that, in terms of a feminist approach, it is the everyday, every-night, subjective reality which provides the greatest meaning to the research and it is in fact the actual source of the research itself.

Following Smith's (1999 & 2006) feminist critique and the valuing of the subjective experiences as a central element to understanding and Absolon and Willet's (2005) assertion, I positioned and located myself as the researcher, participant observer and as a primary source of information and method in the exploration of both an Aboriginal perspective and ideological dominance.

This double insider or emic view was a central aspect of the research and both my experience over the last thirty years in the culture and traditions of Aboriginal people and my participation in Euro-Canadian society personally and academically was a primary aspect of the observational and emic view informing the research. So, the prescribed prolonged participation as discussed by the previous research authors is considered here to be a legitimate form of participant observation and as a highly relevant source for inquiry into an Aboriginal perspective.

A more insightful outcome is possible where there is direct experience with ideological domination beyond its conceptual and intellectual understanding. In concert with the development of categories for ideological dominance, the participant observation role of the researcher was again captured through field notes or recording procedures or what I simply call observation of themes found in the textual data and captured in Figures from the broad to the specific. These written observations are subjective, interpretive and exploratory and were used to further funnel the research towards analysis and comparing, contrasting and developing these further.

Quantitative Measure of Inclusion

For the further analysis on social policy I chose a 'convenience sample' (Jackson, 2002) of social policy literature as the textual source of data. While this kind of measure is usually associated with quantitative analysis Jackson (2002) suggests that: "...[C]lassifying messages into various categories may involve qualitative choices as to what categories are relevant" (p.206). In the analysis of the social policy literature the five sub-questions listed (d to h,) led the investigation of inclusion based upon operational

definitions for each of the questions and are found in Figure 9 (p. 138). The purpose for this quantitative measure of inclusion was to take the review of the literature further and to see how Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns get addressed.

So, the first question, "In the social policy literature is there mention of Aboriginal people their issues and concerns?", is simply a measure of whether or not Aboriginal people are mentioned in the literature. For the first question a simple yes or no response indicates whether Aboriginal people and their issues and concern received mention. The definitions are, where yes is = 1 to 21+ mentions, and no is = 0 mentions.

The second question, "In the same literature how often are Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns mentioned?", is posed to see how often there is mention of Aboriginal people and their concerns and is intended to get a 'feel' for the magnitude of inclusion. With the second question the interest was to count the frequency which Aboriginal issues and concerns receive mention in each of the sources reviewed. These were operationalized as: 0 = no mention; 1-5 = a marginal mention; 6-20 = general mention; and 21+ = extensive mention. The 'choice' for using these numbers of mentions for each were based upon a reasonable measure of inclusiveness but this judgment remains a subjective decision of the researcher. The purpose here was to gain some understanding on the magnitude of inclusion based upon a simple nominal approach.

The third question, "In the same literature in what context do these receive treatment?" is posed to get a sense of how these are dealt with in the discussion, or some sense of the quality of treatment. The third question was posed to gain some understanding on the quality of the treatment through the context within which Aboriginal issues and concerns are addressed. The definition N/A means not applicable as there is

none or 0 mentions of Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns. The definition marginal means a cursory treatment where cursory is defined as the inclusion of Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns but no inclusion in the overall discussion. For example, the subject may be poor people and income security policies and Aboriginal people are mentioned as simply an example with no discussion of their specific circumstance in relation to the subject matter. The definition of general means the inclusion of Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns as a part of the discussion in the subject matter. The definition extensive means the inclusion of Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns as the main subject matter (the statement 'Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns' is a liberal and broad definition that allows for capturing wherever these are mentioned and under any type of issue or concern).

The fourth question, "In the same literature what specific paradigm is used to process the discussion of Aboriginal issues and concerns?". This question is intended to gain some understanding on how the treatment of Aboriginal issues and concerns are processed and the purpose here is to see what framework, paradigm or kind of discussion is used. With the fourth question, what paradigm or framework is used to process the discussion, there are three operational definitions used here. The category 'Ideology' is simply used to covers the wide range of discussion in the social policy literature included the following kinds of discussion/analysis: comparative; ideological; pluralist/diversity; social policy; political theory/political economy; and state theories including Marxist, feminist, social democracy, liberal, conservative, social economy. A second category used was a structural paradigm and refers to the use of a specific structural analysis and for example anti-oppressive, Canadian colonization theory, social work empowerment

approaches, etc.. A third category was a research paradigm and refers to the specific inclusion in some research focus.

The final category is a wide definition and was the use of an Aboriginal paradigm, framework or some semblance of an Aboriginal Paradigm. The final question, "In the same literature is there an articulation of an Aboriginal perspective?" was posed to see if any expression of an Aboriginal perspective was used in the discussion and processing of Aboriginal issues and concerns. An Aboriginal paradigm was defined as the use of Aboriginal based principles as constructed by an Aboriginal persons or the Aboriginal community. There was liberal use of this definition so where it was not clear that it was an Aboriginal person or the community which had defined the analysis, but the principles are consistent with an Aboriginal definition, this was be captured under this definition.

Textual Data

Silverman (2004), and Smith (1999 & 2006) both mention the use of textual observation as a research method. Silverman (2004) says two things which are relevant here. First, when he is talking about observation his view is not limited to objects or people but includes the use of textual information for observation. I chose the representations of culture and traditional expressions from a broad range of sources in written form and used the literature review section to begin the preliminary exploration. As well, the textual material from the literature review on ideological domination, colonization and social policy literature, and the supplemental materials were also textual sources. These were subjected to category and thematic observation and the quantitative measure of inclusion as described previously. These more focused and formal

observations were applied to help discover the linkages between ideological domination, colonization and social policy analysis and for discovering the general themes and categories similar in their expressions.

Funneling and Grounding

Additionally, the ethnographic funneling approach described by Silverman (2004) was a textual method for processing the discovery of themes and helped to create relevant categories for an overall understanding and appreciation and for funneling these progressively towards a richer interpretation of the data leading to analysis.

This funneling was guided by a number of general and evolving questions beyond the stated research questions for exploring the textual material dealing with the broad themes for an Aboriginal perspective, ideological domination, colonization and social policy analysis. So for example, I was interested in the broad sense to understand, other than what was most immediately being said in the text, "What underlying meanings were contained therein?" In the case of an Aboriginal perspective, I wanted to understand, "How the illustrations of culture and traditions reflected meaning which were similar across Nations through identifying categories of meaning?" Here there was also a similarity to examining narrative structures as method as these categories also represented themes which emerge from cultural and traditional expressions. So for instance, in exploring the representations of an Aboriginal perspective the expression of a cultural theme led to an understanding of how these characterize a foundational premise. Further, where these cultural themes were similar in nature from the broad to the specific these

also led to the same or similar premise illustrating their connection and their utility in articulating a representative expression of an Aboriginal perspective.

Oral Tradition

The oral tradition of Aboriginal people expresses the richer and underlying textual information not found in the written textual material on culture and traditions. This is an extremely difficult concept to wrap one's head around because its meaning is contained in a history that has occurred over millennia and which is fundamentally different than the Euro-Canadian experience. However, some attempt to clarify its usage here are necessary. I think that the oral tradition is somewhat similar to Silverman's (2004) discussion on 'naturally occurring talk', although I recognize that I am probably stretching Silverman's (2004) use of the term beyond the boundaries of his intent. However, because there is no other means to address this in the research literature it was necessary to take the creative highroad as suggested by Creswell (1998) and to create a new way for understanding this. Silverman (2004) talks about scripts, for example, and say:

[A] script is a way of invoking the routine character of described events in order to imply that they are features of some (approved or disapproved) general patterns. Through this device, participants assemble descriptions that attend to matters of appropriateness, responsibility and blame.... (p.184)

Berger and Luckman (1991) also discuss a similar concept to this when they speak about 'typifications' as the behaviours and the actions which are built up over time inside of a shared history, and are unspoken and are the backdrop to social interaction. Goffman (1967) also discusses a similar concept when he talks about face-work. Here he suggests:

The term face-work may be defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact, face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes-albeit an image that others share, as when a person makes a good showing for his profession or religion by making a good showing for himself. (p.5)

The oral tradition has elements of these descriptions but they did not fit neatly into any one of them. For instance the oral tradition represents the scripts as described by Silverman (2004) in the sense that the oral tradition contains the routinized discourse about cultural, traditional and ethical and moral codes which guide the individual and shape their interactions, their roles and their sense of responsibility. It is also somewhat similar to Berger and Luckman's (1991) typifications as these are the shared knowledge built up over time which is also the backdrop to social interaction in terms of the cultural and traditional expressions. And there is similarity to Goffman's (1967) face-work as the individual responds to, and is responded back, in terms of their actions and behaviours receiving either positive responses or negative sanctions which then guide future actions and behaviours. The oral tradition acts as the repository of the historical experiences in relation to the cultural and traditional ethical and moral codes. It expresses itself in appropriate or inappropriate uses of the knowledge of culture and traditions. And it sanctions or punishes through acceptance or rejection on the use of these oral traditions. And this whole process occurs in what appears to be an 'intuitive' and shared process of understanding. So, it is my contention that the oral tradition is more than something just 'remembered'; and contributes to this research through the development of deeper meanings and far richer descriptions. It is, for lack of a better way of describing it, an intuitive method for inquiry that is appropriate for Aboriginal research, particularly as this relates to cultural and traditional expressions.

Here the exploration of the broad themes, the more specific illustration of these found in the cultural and traditional expressions of the Cree and Ojibway people of Manitoba, and the intimate knowledge of the researcher as participant observer, were all funneled towards a point where it was possible to triangulate these sources and with the use of the oral textual information, bring a more finer tuned understanding for articulating and Aboriginal perspective. This oral tradition differs from the written representations of culture and traditions in that these are the underlying knowledge and theory which inform the expressions themselves. They are largely left unspoken by most Aboriginal people but are contained in the participant observer method described just previously. Moreover, the research attempted to make the linkages between the broad and narrower representations, the subjective knowledge of the researcher as participant, and the philosophical and epistemological discussions on an Aboriginal perspective. And it is here that the oral tradition held particular relevance for understanding the richness of meaning that is shared intuitively by Aboriginal people across Nations and that does not often get conveyed or understood in the written word.

Data Analysis

Creswell (1998) describes the analysis of research data as a 'data analysis spiral' and this is similar to Silverman's (2004) notion of the funneling and grounding characteristic of ethnography carried throughout the research. This way of conceptualizing data analysis was helpful to this research. Creswell says of the data analysis spiral:

Data analysis is not off-the-shelf; rather, it is custom-built, revised, and 'choreographed' (Huberman & Miles 1994). Qualitative researchers learn by doing (Dey, 1995, p.6)...The contour [of research] is best represented in a spiral image, a data analysis spiral...to analyze qualitative research data, the researcher engages in the process of moving in analytical circles rather than using a fixed linear approach. One enters with data or text of images...and exits with an account of a narrative. In between the researcher touches on several facets of analysis and circles around and around. (p.142)

Here there is an appreciation of the dynamics of research that parallels the cognitive/social/psychological process of analysis and is an attempt at describing the creative capacity of the thinking process. And this way of conceptualizing the research process is attractive as it parallels my own way of thinking which is more free-flowing and circular in nature.

Data Management

Following Creswell (1998) and beginning with data management and continuing the funneling and spiraling approach, the research yielded a number of categories capturing the themes from both the research on an Aboriginal perspective and ideological domination and these are illustrated in figures for each respective category generated. So for example the research on both questions had a broad category, a narrower category and a specific category. Inside of each was represented the themes which emerged from these.

In addition the notes and observations generated through the method of participant observation and through grounding these observations in category and themes, also yielded some raw narrative (field) data for comparison and for processing the categories and this was the first phase of data analysis as described by Creswell (1998). All of these

form the raw data for managing the research and processing the research questions to the next phase.

The quantitative measure of inclusion of social policy literature was managed through capturing the findings through figures that listed the sources of data, the five questions, response and the brief definitions for each question posed. The results of this analysis are discussed in the representing and visualizing aspect of the spiral.

Reading and Memoing

The next level of the spiral concerns reflection and writing across questions. The categories and themes for an Aboriginal perspective and ideological analysis were subjected to a preliminary analysis and ordering of the data sets. Narratives and field notes were reflexively focused on identifying similarities in themes and the linkages between categories using the figures generated and the 'field notes' or written observational notes. This aspect of research was the further fine-tuning and is captured graphically and through the preliminary drafting of narrative which includes description and interpretation. These were then taken to the next phase of the research spiral.

The next level of the spiral concerns the refinement of the categories, field notes, and observations and was the fine tuning aspect of the data spiral. Here the categories generated on each question were compared and contrasted describing the characteristic of these noting where there was an agreement across categories in relation to themes. So for example, categories were further defined for an Aboriginal perspective and include: ontology, epistemology, ethical and moral principles, values and beliefs and symbolic meaning systems. This part of data analysis was concerned with the interpretation of the

meanings of each of these themes. Creswell (1998) suggests here that the researcher is attempting to get a 'sense' of the whole data and through reading through and 'immersing' self in the data the researcher is able to break the data down into meaningful parts, or in this case themes across categories. This helps to create a context and clarity for the next phase of the spiral. It is in this phase of the spiral that the researcher brought to bear his own views of the literature.

Describing, Classifying and Interpreting

In this phase of research the data was 'packaged' in a form which leads the reader through the process of research to the outcomes and findings. Categories and themes for each of the research questions were presented in a combined graphic and narrative form showing first the broad and discrete categories, their relations and then the final outcomes illustrated in a progressive figure.

The quantitative measure of inclusion was processed as follows. First, the convenience sample of sources were reviewed and response to the five questions were recorded on a data gathering sheet. Second, these were classified as figures for each question noting the response for each and listed as a nominal value and a percentage value. Following from this an analysis was conducted to highlight the findings of this measure and which revealed the amount of treatment Aboriginal issues and concerns received. Further, the analysis revealed the 'kind' of treatment afforded Aboriginal issues and concerns and were presented as narrative. These results are found in Figures 11 through to 15 and are presented in their entirety in the results and analysis section of Chapter 4.

Representing and Visualizing

Finally, the results from data analysis were presented as a narrative for each of the research questions. First, an Aboriginal perspective was presented which discussed the progression of the study from the broad themes to the more specific showing the relationship among these and suggesting an expression of this perspective that captures the themes in a collective and representative articulation of an Aboriginal perspective. Further to this a theoretical proposition was forwarded which is a preliminary attempt at capturing the thematic and underlying logic of this progression as a metaphorical construct. This construct is the researcher's own understanding of the outcome of the research and the interpretation of this towards some preliminary theory for creating a contextual understanding of an Aboriginal perspective.

Second, treatment of ideological domination, colonization and social policy analysis followed the same process from the broad to the progressively narrower focus showing the linkages and the thematic similarities between these categories.

Third, the further elaboration of the social policy literature was presented through several figures representing the results of the quantitative measure of inclusion. A further analysis of these figures was provided as a narrative form and which led to some observations and findings about the direction this pointed to in terms of inclusion/exclusion, representation, and how these do or do not reflect ideological domination of an Aboriginal perspective.

Reporting the Results

Reporting the results from the research on an Aboriginal perspective and domination were processed through a narrative which discussed the findings in three areas that emerged from this research.

First, a narrative on an Aboriginal perspective included a brief summary of the process of research, the findings and a narrative discussion of these referring back to some of the specific literature used here. In addition, the presentation of a theoretical construct for suggesting a collective and resilient Aboriginal perspective was presented as well as a narrative which represents a synthesis and construction for a theoretical statement on an Aboriginal worldview. This statement captures all the elements discussed and suggests the ontological and epistemological bases for understanding this world view.

Second, ideological domination, colonization and social policy received a narrative discussion referring back to some of the specific literature used here. This narrative included a statement which captures the findings of the research and suggests an Aboriginal perspective and analysis of these three and noting how these acts to continue the dominion experienced by Aboriginal people and an Aboriginal perspective on this domination.

Third, the research and findings on social policy are briefly presented through narrative. And these are used to supplement and strengthen the findings of the previous exploration on dominance, colonization and social policy linking these two as supportive evidence.

As a final aspect of the research the results from both the research on an Aboriginal perspective and ideological domination are extended to include a preliminary analytical discussion of how these findings impact on social policy analysis. This discussion includes a narrative on the implications for social policy analysis, social work practice and the inclusion of an Aboriginal perspective for social work.

CHAPTER 4

THE RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The results and analysis from the ethnographic funneling and grounding approach are presented here beginning with an Aboriginal perspective. The cultural and traditional expressions are illustrated by category and then compared and contrasted leading to a categorical statement on the similar themes which emerge from these. Figures 3, 4 and 5 are the progressive categories for each and Figure 5 is the interpretive category combining all three sub categories. The same processes are followed with ideological domination, colonization and social policy and these illustrations are found in Figures 6, 7, and 8, with Figure 8 representing the interpretive category combining all three. The further and specific research on social policy and inclusion using the quantitative measure of inclusion are found in Figures 9, 10 and 11. The following results and analysis emerge from exploration, description and interpretation of the research.

Results and Analysis from an Aboriginal Perspective

Results

Figure 3 represents the raw textual data and observation taken from the broad, local and selected discussions on epistemology and philosophical representations. Each of these expressions can be described metaphorically as separate paintings drawn by the hands and hearts of many different artists (Nations) and which capture the symbiotic and conjoined existence of an Aboriginal worldview. And while there is a 'diversity' of expression found in each, the landscape captured through these different eyes and brushstrokes has the same pulse and energy, and all express the same language of creation

Figure 3: Raw Data (Short Form) Broad, Local and Selected Representations

Broad	Local	Selected
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - fundamental relationship with the land - all creation was good - deep spiritual reverence for all living things - human & natural world functioned together, - symbiosis - spiritual foundation - unity in nature, - proper relations with all living things - act harmoniously through self-discipline - humans responsible to establish & maintain relationships - intimate connection - sacred responsibility - bountiful earth - inherent equality - equality of all life - hyper-awareness - humans indivisible from the natural world - knowledge through oral tradition - humility - respect - spirituality - responsible for earth/human relations - group cohesion through roles and responsibilities to earth/human relations - responsible for balance and harmony with all of creation - shared responsibility for continuation of life - existence is good, symbiotic, collateral, interdependent - collective responsibility - inherent goodness-everything clean - ceremonies, songs, dance - ceremonial protocols reflect proper relations to guide moral and ethical behaviours - healing power of natural World 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - teachings as knowledge and theory - teachings are rudimentary building blocks which increase in complexity paralleling earth relations - wisdom - love - respect - bravery - humility - truth - responsibility to earth - creation as the source of all meaning - ethical and moral code - first man - brotherhood - reverence for creation - everything interconnected - symbiosis - earth and humans indivisibly connected - the earth is healing - having faith in creation - wholeness - caring/sharing - honesty - kindness - sacred objects as edifices of meaning - humans are responsible for balance and harmony for human/earth relations - roles and responsibilities contained in lodge structure - ceremony - mide/lodge teachings - knowledge through oral traditions - progressive teachings guide human/earth relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - learning is an inward journey - basic premise of existence is survival and earth relations-bountiful earth - holism - human knowledge is transformed through the connecting of human and, natural world - subjective-inter-subjective - synthesis of human world with the natural world - one conjoined and continuous stream of consciousness - constant motion and flux - cyclical nature - cycles - constant change and flux - look at whole to see the patterns - process as opposed to product - full exploration of the total matrix of knowledge-existence - balance - harmony - interconnected - life as a journey - spiritual - equality - responsibility to the earth - collective responsibility - ceremony - songs - inward journey-ceremony - seeing totality of existence to understand human beings place in existence/creation

in grounded in earth and tribal knowledge. Each of these characterizes Creation as fundamentally 'good,' absent of the 'fall of humanity' found in Christian religion which cast human nature in the duality of good and evil as an intrinsic part of humanity. These foundational premises also speak to the notion of a fundamental relationship with the earth that over millennia have forged both human and earth relations as one conjoined and indivisible and symbiotic ontology. They also cast the relationship between humans and creation as a sacred and spiritual relationship inhering in the responsibility as the keepers of this relationship and a respect for all living things. And, the transmission of this ontological and symbiotic relationship is realized through the cultural and traditional expressions and the ceremonies and life-ways which direct everyday human and earth life.

Figure 4, illustrates the results of the raw data converging and integrating the similar themes across the three broad categories and which are then captured through five categorical constructs: 1) foundational, 2) epistemological, 3) moral and ethical, 4) values and beliefs, and 5) symbolic meaning systems. These categorical constructs reflect the different levels of expression of culture and traditions and are the interpretive means to capture the stream of consciousness which parallels the earth knowledge and wisdom and which became conjoined, inherent in the social reality of Aboriginal peoples.

All of these representations suggest some similar foundational premises, or ontology. These are located in human/earth relations evolving over millennia and are a symbiosis of the human and the natural world motivated by survival in direct participation in the ecosphere. Inherent in these expressions of cultural and traditional representations are the epistemological guides or 'ways of knowing' which inform the

Figure 4: Categorized Data for Broad, Local and Selected Representations

Broad	Local	Selected
<p>FOUNDATIONAL</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - fundamental relationship with land - all creation was good - deep spiritual reverence for all living things - symbiosis <p>EPISTEMOLOGY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - human & natural world functioned together, intimate connection - spiritual foundation, sacred responsibility - unity in nature, bountiful earth - inherent equality - healing power of natural world - humans indivisible from the natural world - hyper-awareness <p>MORAL AND ETHICAL PRINCIPLES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - proper relations with all living things - responsible for earth/human relations - act harmoniously through self-discipline - group cohesion through roles and responsibilities to earth/human relations - responsible for balance and harmony with all of creation <p>VALUES & BELIEFS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - humility - respect - humans responsible to establish & maintain relationships - existence is good, symbiotic, collateral, interdependent - collective responsibility - Inherent goodness-everything clean - equality of all life - shared responsibility for continuation of life <p>SYMBOLIC MEANING SYSTEMS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - spirituality - ceremonies, songs, dance - knowledge through oral tradition - ceremonial protocols reflect proper relations to guide moral and ethical behaviours 	<p>FOUNDATIONAL</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - responsibility to earth - creation as the source of all meaning - deep reverence for creation - everything interconnected - symbiosis <p>EPISTEMOLOGY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - teachings as knowledge and theory - teachings are rudimentary building blocks which increase in complexity paralleling earth relations - the earth is healing - having faith in creation - earth and humans indivisibly connected <p>MORAL AND ETHICAL PRINCIPLES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - humans are responsible for balance and harmony in human/earth relations - roles and responsibilities contained in lodge structure - progressive teachings guide human/earth relations <p>VALUES AND BELIEFS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - wisdom - love - respect - bravery - honesty - humility - truth - wholeness - caring/sharing - honesty - kindness <p>SYMBOLIC MEANING SYSTEMS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ceremony - mide/lodge teachings - knowledge through oral traditions - sacred objects as edifices of meaning 	<p>FOUNDATIONAL</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - basic premise of existence is survival and earth relations-bountiful earth - synthesis of human world with the natural world - one conjoined and continuous stream of consciousness - constant motion and flux - cyclical nature <p>EPISTEMOLOGY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - learning is an inward journey - human knowledge is transformed through the connecting of human and natural world - full exploration of the total matrix of knowledge - subjective-inter-subjective existence - look at whole to see the patterns - process as opposed to product - seeing totality of existence to understand human beings place in existence/creation <p>VALUES AND BELIEFS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - balance - harmony - holism - interconnected - constant change and flux - life as a journey - spiritual - equality - responsibility to the earth - collective responsibility <p>SYMBOLIC MEANING SYSTEMS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ceremony - songs - cycles - inward journey-ceremony

discourse from which knowledge and theory about the world are informed and co-created. This human/earth discourse also contains the ethical and moral codes for conducting relationships between humans and the natural world. These ethical and moral codes are the result of the symbiosis of human/earth relations and are the canopy of taken for granted socially constructed knowledge formed over millennia through trial and error and the discourse between humans and Creation. The values and beliefs which emerge from the ethical and moral codes guide actions and behaviours in the social/earth constructed reality of Aboriginal day to day life. The symbolic meaning systems are the edifices of knowledge and theory which act as the storehouse or the receptacles of ancient wisdom. For lack of better way to describe these they are the indigenous libraries and archival history over millennia.

Interpretation and Analysis for an Aboriginal Perspective

Figure 5 represents a further distillation and integrating of these categories as one representative and collective interpretation of an Aboriginal perspective and which reflect the essence of the broad, narrower and scholarly representations and the interpretive categories found in each of these. This interpretive category is presented here following the five categorical constructs and is intended to capture the conjoined stream of consciousness of human/earth relations.

Foundations - Ontology

An Aboriginal view of existence can be seen metaphorically as a 'relational dance' where all living matter finds and maintains their place in the web of life. At the

very basic material level this ontological statement emerges from the pragmatic and practical exigencies of survival and the absolute necessity for humans to conjoin their human capacities in concert with the natural world.

Benton-Benai (1988), Deloria Jr. (2003), Ermine (1995), Hart (2002), Knudtson and Suzuki (1993) Little Bear (2000), and the many other authors all point to the notion that Aboriginal people were the last to be placed here as 'one' of the many living things of creation suggesting a greater power or source of life than ourselves. The creation story of the Ojibway parallels the creation stories from across the Americas and for the Ojibway, humans were placed here by Creator and directed to live side by side with all living things. This is similar to the Cree stories which speak about a healing and giving natural world. This is also similar to Deloria Jr's (2003) description of American tribal religion and creation stories. What is central to these stories is the pragmatic nature for living on the earth that demanded a deep-awareness and sensitivity to the earth's capacity in relation to human needs. The earth's capacity was generated through a constant flux and change as Little Bear (2000) tells us. As well as it is conjoined and interconnected as Ermine (1995) illustrates through the inner journey (the fast or vision quest is one of the major means to achieve this inner journey but is not the only one). Both of these authors are referring to the central location of knowledge and theory which are contained in the earth's natural integrity, expressed and paralleled in the social world and human/earth relations. Both Ermine (1995) and Little Bear (2000) speak to Aboriginal people as immersed in the continuous stream of consciousness of the earth indivisible from its cycles and its matrix of meaning.

Figure 5: Combined Categories for an Aboriginal Perspective

<p>FOUNDATIONAL</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - human survival in a bountiful world - all of creation was good - creation contains the source of all meaning - the source is the same for all living things - this source was spirit of which all things shared - deep reverence for all of creation - humans responsible to understand their place in relations to all living things - synthesis fo human world with natural world - all things equal - natural world in constant motion and flux - everthing is interconnected - one conjoined continuous stream of consciousness 	<p>EPISTEMOLOGY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - human and natural world function together - unity in nature/unity in human beings - human knowledge is transformed through the connection of human and natural world - inherent equality of creation - ife is a subjective and intersubjective journey - hyper-awareness of earth.human relations/connections - he earth is healing - look at the whole to see the patterns - full exploration of the total matrix of knowledge - process as opposed to product - inward journey to knowledge and truth - seeing totality of existence to see humans place in existence/creation - earth and humans indivisibly connected - earth human relations are basic building blocks of knowledge and theory - these have increased in complexity over millennia and contained in cultural and traditional teachings - spiritual foundations – sacred responsibility
<p>MORAL AND ETHICAL PRINCIPLES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - earth/human relations inform relationship to other humans – parallel systems - humans musat have proper relations with all living things - humans are responsible for earth/human balance and harmony through self-discipline - traditional teachings, values and beliefs and lodge reflect earth.human relations - progressive teachings are the ethical and moral guides for actions and behaviours - the continued existence of the earth and humans are dependant upon understanding and respecting the principles which emerge from these relations 	<p>VALUES AND BELIEFS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - wisdom, love, respect, bravery, honesty, humility, truth, caring/sharing, kindness, balance, harmony, holism, interconnected, collective responsibility - humans are directly responsible to maintain relationships - shared responsibility for the continuation of life on the planet - equality of life - life is spiritual - life is a journey
<p style="text-align: center;">SYMBOLIC MEANING SYSTEM</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - spirituality - oral tradition - ceremonial objects as edifices of meaning - ceremonial protocols reflect earth/human protocols - natural earth cycles are reflected in symbiosis of earth/human relations - cultural and traditional teachings 	

The fundamental reason for this immersion comes from a deep sense of humility as Aboriginal ancestors recognized the human dependence upon the natural world to provide for survival as well as recognizing the inconsequential nature of our existence without the natural world. The Elders share a teaching about faith and dependence. They say that rocks represent our faith and our dependence as the rocks teach us that they were here long before we arrived and will be here long after we leave, illustrating the resiliency of the natural world and the fleeting importance of our presence here. So for the traditional teachings rocks symbolically represent the spirit of the grandfathers and grandmothers and remind us of our place and responsibility and how we owe our very existence to creation.

Epistemology

There are at least four epistemic propositions which emerge from this ontology. First, the natural world is defined by the complete and honest integrity of its natural condition. That is, the life and energy of the natural world follows its own patterns of existence from birth, death to renewal. These patterns have a beginning, middle and end where the end of this cycle represents, not a finite nature of existence, but the infinite and ongoing participation in the relational dance. This is similar to Little Bear's (2000) descriptive concepts. In the natural world this dance is illustrated through the seasonal cycles, each of which presents a multiplicity of its living matter in a relatively constant and determinate manner. At the same time, these constants of the natural world accommodate the flux and changeable conditions of a living planet as Ermine (1995) and Little Bear (2000) have shown us.

Second, humans, and as we are located in the natural world, are imbued with a capacity to observe and to witness the integrity of this natural truth. Deloria Jr. (2003), Benton-Benai (1988), Hart (2002), Knudtson and Suzuki (1993), and others have all shown us this in their presentations and discussions of the place of Aboriginal people on the earth. Further, humans are resilient and malleable, able to use their particular intellectual and physical attributes to understand and act, and to identify at which junctures the natural condition and their condition could meet and provide the necessary stuff upon which survival was dependent. Through the inward journey and the purposeful act of introspection and reflection practiced through fasting and vision quests which spilled over into ever-day life, Aboriginal people learned the principles for living in the world by observing the other members of the community of life (all Creation.) And this is what Little Bear (2000) speaks to when he says that Indians cannot be separated from the earth suggesting an integrated and natural condition conjoined with the natural world. This view of life suggests a symbiosis in the community of life and Aboriginal people reflected this same symbiosis in their social relations between and amongst other people and Nations. Recognizing this suggests that this principle for living should guide all our relations and should encompass all of the community of life for sustainability and the future of our planet.

Third, identifying these junctures required an impeccable and intimate awareness of the manifold and changeable temperament of the natural world which required the complete immersion of the individual and the community in the honest integrity of the natural condition. All of the authors reviewed speak to a symbiosis of Aboriginal people with the natural world and from this a sense of natural equality is realized as a pragmatic expression of the human/earth condition.

And fourth, Aboriginal people integrated and conjoined these views culminating in an understanding that their relations with the natural world were spiritual, interconnected, symbiotic and an indivisible existence. As a principle for living this same view of existence should inform our relations with all people as it acts as the moral and ethical compass to guide our actions and behaviours and that respectfully defines our equality as simply one member of the community of life, each carrying a responsibility to ensure its continued existence.

With the fear of oversimplification stated at the outset, for centuries in the western tradition the ontological statement of existence, or the nature of being, has been debated vigorously and often with divisive ambivalence following numerous ecclesiastical and materialist forms and premises, and permutations thereof. Generally speaking the ecclesiastical argument is informed from numerous religious doctrines, the concept of a supreme being, divine creation, the fall/or retrograde condition of man, the duality of heaven and earth, good and evil, and human and divine salvation in its many and diverse permutations (see Coffin, Stacey, Lerner, & Meacham, 2002; Noss, 2003; Southern, 1990; and Tarnas, 1993). The materialist school is informed by an objective or neutral science emanating from at least the enlightenment period and based upon facts, reasoning, and the notion that the objects of existence and their relations can be broken down to their constituent parts discernable and understandable, in and of themselves, without necessarily the need to suggest a spiritual dimension (see Harrington, 2005 on the enlightenment, pp. 20 to 39).

Both of these views promote a mastery over the natural world and an exercise of either extra-human or human power and influence over nature and itself or, a combination of the two. The ecclesiastical view exercises and imposes the extra-human power of

religious dogma over humanity stemming from an omnipotent God and the retro-grade corporeal existence of humanity in the natural world (Noss (2003). Deloria Jr. speaks to the notion of 'the fall', and the genesis story of creation casts humans to hold 'dominion' over the world. This view of earth/human relations effectively splits the human and natural world into two disparate entities, one against the other. Humans in this view are the dominant force over nature evoking a superior arrogance and an emotional/psychological/spiritual rupture from the relations with the natural world. This rupture destroys the symbiosis of the community of life. In this view the world can be viewed as a non-living entity at the disposal of humanity to deal with for their own benefit and without consideration to what this means to our true existence as members who share equal responsibility for sustainability.

The materialist view imposes human power through science over nature, as an object of study, and expropriation and exploitation for the benefit of man and intellectual and human material 'progress' (Harrington, 2005; Tarnas, 1993). So for example, Locke's (in Jones, 1980, p.271) notion of 'mixing his labour with' expresses the materialist and rationalist idea which justified private property as a natural condition of man's freedom and liberty in the state of nature. As man applied the labour of his body (which he certainly owned) to the land, he removes out of the state of nature what has been provided for all human beings to participate in (natural equality). In mixing his labour with the land, the land by extension, becomes an extension of his labour and an extension of his body which then become his private property and for his 'exclusive use and benefit'.

In relation to the genesis of Aboriginal people and their philosophy of existence the ontological roots of existence encompass a different understanding of the categories

used in the ecclesiastical and materialist arguments and different definitional forms and functional imperatives. So, when I suggest that an Aboriginal worldview is different from the ecclesiastical category I mean that the Aboriginal view defines creation, not as an omnipotent God exercising power and punishment, but functionally and pragmatically as a relational characteristic of existence in the natural world. And, when I suggest that there is a difference with the materialist notion I mean that an Aboriginal view has naturally co-existed with the materialist imperatives of the natural condition. For Aboriginal people theirs was an integration of these two, and rather than a disparate view of existence as seen by the western tradition, they became complementary.

“How is this so?”. In relation to the first epistemic proposition I suggested, the world exists and acts following its own precepts, rhyme and reason. This is what I mean when I say that the natural world has a complete and honest integrity of its natural condition, a multiplicity of its living matter in a relatively constant and determinate manner, and able to accommodate the flux and changeable conditions of a living planet. The most immediate reality for this existence for Aboriginal people was a pragmatic materialist reality and not the humanly constructed philosophical materialism which searches for ultimate and causal truth. For Aboriginal people the search is a pragmatic and necessary everyday aspect where life, in all its manifestations, searches out the means for continued corporeal existence. This is a basic and honest truth of existence.

In relation to the second principle, we are located in the world by accident or otherwise, and it is possible for us as thinking animals to come to know the nature of this existence through observation, reason, deduction and experience. And, I theorize that this pragmatic material cognition, “first science”, or ‘wisdom and knowledge of the community of life’, is exactly what my ancestors exercised as they took their first steps

upon the land, and were immediately encountered by the absolute and unavoidable necessity of survival. It was natural for my ancestors to systematically study the world as a means to first understand its reality and second, to participate in its existence and allow for the continuation of life. Hence, over millennia and through observation, reasoning, experimentation, trial and error (first science) they developed the basic knowledge structures and theories which allowed them to say with relative certainty how existence was constituted for them.

And in relation to the third proposition, identifying the junctures with impeccable and deep-awareness and the immersion of self and community in the honest integrity of the natural condition, my ancestors not only systematically studied the existence of the natural world they also “co-created” their own social reality paralleling that same natural existence. That it is to say, the pragmatic materialist knowledge, theory and wisdom of the natural world came to be reflected in the knowledge, theory and wisdom of the social world merging these two truths as one body of integrated knowledge and theory. So, the ontological statement and epistemic proposition of an Aboriginal worldview were exercised with the same honest integrity of the natural world in their social world, and, rather than a mastery of the natural world, an Aboriginal ontology represents a “relational dance of the community of life’ eventually encompassing the metaphysical reality of existence.

The fourth epistemic proposition is the conjoined pragmatic and metaphysical existence of Aboriginal people. As is the case with all humans, Aboriginal ancestors were highly creative, social/cultural and world producing people. Out of necessity, and through human wonder and awe, they furthered integrated and conjoined these views and came to

understand their relations with the natural world as a spiritual, inter-connected, and symbiotic existence.

It is important here to differentiate spirituality from religion. Spirituality is, for all intents and purposes, the relational dance in the community of life I spoke of earlier and which recognizes that members of this community are all imbued and animated by spirit emanating from the same source. Religion is an ordered body of doctrine subordinating humanity under the egress of an omnipotent God. The former is joined and equal with the natural world whereas the latter is separate, apart and above the natural world. This spiritual nature of my ancestors was at the heart of the relations with the land and emerged naturally as they invested and merged their sense of being with their experiences of discovery. That is to say, in their convergence with the conditions of the natural world and in their quest for the satisfaction of their human needs-survival, the knowledge gained at the 'nexus' of the human and natural condition took on an additional quality and came to be understood as the relational link between the essence of human existence and the essence of the natural condition. My ancestors took their immediate knowledge of the material world and merged this with their sense of awe and wonder and came to apprehend the world as connected through the same source, energy and pulse of the land. This source, energy and pulse was spirit, of which all of Creation shared and participated in and therefore established the equality of relations of all living things in Creation.

Moral and Ethical Principles

This conjoining of the human and natural world included the social construction of a framework that paralleled the relations and lessons learned and is somewhat similar to the 'typifications' of Berger and Luckman (1991) and Goffman's (1967) interaction

rituals. And they also perform a similar function as the religious doctrines of western people as they guide the actions and behaviours of people toward each other and in all facets of human relations. Where they differ from the latter is that human relations also include the relations with the earth, and all its living matter, as co-equals and indivisible from social relations.

So for instance, Benton-Benai (1988) speaks to the notion that all humans 'must' have proper relations with the earth and its living matter and this is illustrated in the role of first man to walk the earth and name and establish 'good' relations between all living things. This role addresses the responsibility of human beings as members of the community of life and for the sacred and spiritual relations which guide this existence. Further Benton-Benai (1988) suggests the need for balance and harmony through self-discipline where the expression of this is guided by the traditional teachings, and the use of ceremony and protocol, as a reflection of the ethical and moral responsibility of humans to each other and to the earth.

Values and Beliefs

The ontology, epistemology, and the ethical and moral code for existence transformed human/earth relations as a conjoined existence and are reflected in the values and belief systems of Aboriginal peoples. Respectfully I offer the following re-interpretation and theorizing on values and beliefs informed from the previous authors and the categorical constructs presented.

1. Wisdom

The full meaning of the concept wisdom requires an understanding of the concepts 'knowledge' and 'cherish'. 'Knowledge' can be understood as emerging from the ontology and epistemology of Aboriginal reality and includes understanding the relationship between the natural world-Creation, and the human world-culture, and is the relational dance in the community of life referred to earlier. Further, it requires understanding why and how these two modes of existence interacted, were integrated, and merged to become one conjoined reality, and how this came to be understood as a spiritual relationship with the same source or essence of being (i.e., the four epistemic propositions). As I interpret this, Benton-Benai (1988) inherently presents the ontological and epistemic premises for the reader as he speaks to all of the teachings. The concept 'cherish' also derives its meaning from the ontology and epistemology of an Aboriginal worldview. 'Cherish' speaks directly to the sacred responsibility to protect and to hold dear the knowledge of existence as Anishinabe/Inniniwak (the people) and as the children of Creation to ensure that this knowledge is completely understood in both the genesis sense and the lived sense-where it comes from and how it guides our life. So, to know and have wisdom is both a state of being and a way of living to maintain this state of being. That is to say, we are required to understand the ontological and epistemological foundations of our worldview and to protect and to maintain this through the teachings of the traditional ways.

2. Love

As Benton-Benai (1988) tells us the concept of love is connected to the notion of peace. While one might simply interpret love to mean the relations between two people, the concept of love as peace appears to have a larger and broader meaning, and can be considered a conceptual framework from where we exercise the capacity to express our sense of belonging and connection to something other than ourselves and our individual existence. In this sense, it is grounded in our psychological, emotional and spiritual connection to our ontology and epistemology. So, as I see it, as we know about our place in the universe- the foundation of our existence, and as we understand how we are interconnected to life in all its forms-our spirituality, and how this contributes to balance, harmony and the good relations we have with all life-our roles and responsibilities, we come to an understanding of our purpose and our sense of belonging as a spiritual and sacred thing-peace. This place of peace, in this sense, is the springboard that creates our individual capacities to express this love as a feeling and an outward expression of ontological and epistemological existence.

3. Respect

I once asked a very good friend of mine, Little Bear (a traditional man and Pipe-Carrier from Grand Rapids, Manitoba), who is fluent in Cree-the old language as he called it, what 'respect' meant in Cree. After ruminating on this for quite some time he finally said, that as he understood it, respect meant that you are responsible to care and honour something enough to watch over it and to protect it. He added, after a little more thought, that it also meant you also loved whatever it is you respected. Thinking some more he added again, when you respect something you are also committed to it and are

willing to sacrifice to ensure that it is protected from harm. What is striking about his answer is the complexity of the term and the tremendous responsibility this word carries and locates our role as the keepers of the community of life. And this is considerably different from the western definition which equates respect with such things as 'respect my property', or 'respect my privacy', or 'respect me'. All of these speak to the individualistic notion of existence. And as I immerse myself in the teaching and the value of this concept I am struck by the same complexity, commitment and responsibility proposed by Little Bear. So, when Benton-Benai (1988) says that respect is to honour all of the Creation I suggest that this is keeping with the ontology and epistemology presented earlier. The relational dynamic at the very foundation of our worldview is the honouring and respecting of Creation and the reciprocity of this relationship for continued good relations.

4. Bravery

There are two ways of conveying the meaning of this value. First, at the genesis of relations-the interaction of human and natural existence, my ancestors chose to live with the natural world in a positive and sustaining way. Out of pragmatic necessity they faced their fears in an existence where life continued on despite their presence and their immediate need to survive. From this life sustaining choice they based their relations with the natural world from a place of wholeness, balance and harmony. The integrity of these relations allowed them to face their greatest fears, overcome these, and to merge their human needs with the natural world eventually coming to understand this as a spiritual and symbiotic journey. Second, in the first stories as told by Benton-Benai (1988) and others, there was a time when the people fell off the path of the red road-the good life or

Mino-Pimatisiwin (Hart, 2002), and through the interventions of the grandfathers and a little boy were saved from destruction and returned to the sacred teachings and understanding of their sacred place in Creation. As I think about bravery I think about the rites of passage and the ceremonies and healing circles I have been honoured to participate in. In all of these experiences my greatest enemy was myself. The first time I fasted it was my own self-doubt and fear which impeded me. As I sat in my first circle it was my own fear that got in the way of my honest sharing and healing. Later, as I was asked to take on the responsibility of the lodge and ceremony it was again my fear of failure and not being able to do this right that caused me the greatest difficulty. In all of these cases I was my greatest foe. The common thread for both of these examples, the story of the grandfathers and the little boy, and my own fear, is the idea of having lost the way. Here, the notion of integrity is the guiding word. In the case of those who had lost the way, they had lost their wholeness, their understanding of their existence and their responsibility to Creation, and, could not face themselves or Creation because they did not know either. In my case, because of my skeptical nature, my own sense of inferiority sustained by the degree to which I had been colonized and indoctrinated to the western world, and because I felt that I did not know enough to take on these responsibilities, I was also lost. In both cases it was impossible to come from integrity. Further, what stands out for me about this notion of bravery is, that in my case, the choice I was confronted with was an existential and philosophical one that required me to choose either to continue to live my life as a lie, and in a colonized existence, or live my life as an Aboriginal person cognizant of the ontological and epistemological truths of that existence. I think that for many Aboriginal people this is an extremely difficult place to

be, particularly when there gaps in the knowledge of our existence and our worldview. So for example, the message Benton-Benai (1988) offers is just this, and the gifts he provides are the entry way to the ontology and epistemology of an Aboriginal way of life.

5. Honesty

Similar to the notion of bravery and following the same line of thought presented there, the gift of honesty acts as a guiding principle for our ability to act with integrity and bravery. Before we can face our relations with the natural world, our family, nations and community, we must have faced ourselves and our fears and misgivings, including the loss of our understanding of our worldview and our place in Creation. This too is an ontological and epistemological journey in its deepest sense as it requires us to see how we have been affected by the last four hundred years of occupation. I think here of having sat in the circle over these many years and noting a very similar experience that I have had, and a great many other Aboriginal people have also experienced. This is what I have come to know as the 'aha' moments, or epiphanies as they are called. That is, as a traditional teaching was revealed about the genesis of our culture and how this made us who we were there was an instant connection to life experiences including the confusion and pain experienced by not knowing who we are. It was as if the light went on and someone was now home. I have come to understand this as the re-connection of our ontological and epistemological substance to our cognitive, emotional and spiritual essence or a de-mystification of our obfuscated existence. The immediacy of emotion that propels itself from this knowledge of self is grounded in the affirmation and the merging of the separated, disjointed and injured parts of our existential reality.

6. Humility

The fourth epistemic proposition I presented earlier was the merging of human and natural worlds as one integrated, intimate and spiritual existence. This epistemic moment can be characterized also as the merging of self into the cosmos or the stream of consciousness of creation. I think the accompanying human experience for my ancestors was a complete and honest humility which must have emerged from the recognition of our spiritual and sacred place in the scheme of things. And as Benton-Benai (1988) asserts humility is to know yourself as a 'sacred part' of Creation.

7. Truth

As I consider sitting in the lodge, attending ceremony, and sitting amongst my people in the circle what I experience is a profound sense of connectedness, belonging and groundedness. The feelings which accompany this are: safety, centeredness, warmth, acceptance, kindness and freedom. When I read Benton-Benai's (1988) and Hart's (2002) presentation of the teachings, throughout their discussion there is sense of all of these things. As they unfold the beauty of an Aboriginal worldview they create a sense of order and calm which emanates from the knowledge of belonging to such a simple yet complex way of being in the world. Both the actual experience of belonging and reading and hearing of the place from which this emerges profoundly touches the core of my spirit and I am overwhelmed with a sense of "peace". Returning to the ontological and epistemological discussion, this sense of belonging which touches the spirit would not be possible without having some affinity and commitment to all of Creation beyond the cognitive and encompassing the physical, emotional and spiritual aspect of our existence. The times when I sit with my people and make the connections to all of the teachings and

experience the connection to my community I am also feeling the connection to myself and to the beauty and the simple complexity of my ancestral worldview. For that moment I intuitively and spiritually know all these things.

8. Caring and Sharing

Caring/sharing is similar to respect, honesty and humility and are the active exercise of the belief that we all contribute to human/earth sustainability and the community of life. And caring and sharing emerges from the ontological premise of co-existence and the epistemological guide which informs us as subjective and intersubjective beings. The notion of caring and sharing are exemplified in the distribution of human and earth resources for the overall well-being of life. This includes the distribution of the ways and means of survival and the extension of social relations to support collective life as a process inherent in human/earth relations. These are also the extension of reciprocity and of the inherent equality which exists in the community of life.

9. Kindness

Kindness emerges from the interconnected nature of human/earth life and represents the responsibility for human beings to walk gently upon the earth and amongst each other. Kindness in this sense is similar to the notion of humility and respect as these are the guiding forces for recognizing our co-dependence and the delicate balance of life on the planet.

10. Balance, Harmony, Holism, Inter-dependence

These four values reflect the conjoined nature of existence as illustrated in the epistemic proposition and the natural integrity of the human/earth relations. As natural keepers of the land, and as a people located in the stream of consciousness of existence,

there is an inherent responsibility to insure the continued life of the planet and of Ansihnibe/Inniwak for at least seven generations. This future thinking is only possible with the exercise of self-discipline, deep-awareness and self-constraint in the relations with the earth and with community. Recognizing the inter-connected nature of our existence demands that we proceed through our lives with great care and caution continuing the conversation with the natural world that has sustained us over millennia.

11. Equality of Life

The natural condition of equality emerged from the conjoined existence and out of the pragmatic relationship with the earth and all of its living matter. For my ancestors it made perfect sense as they 'scienced' the world to establish this sense of equality in order to sustain their own existence. Quite simply, overexploitation or destruction of the resources for survival meant starvation and death. This equality of life came to be reflected in the ceremonial practices of returning something for something taken and was meant to equalize and 'set things right' in relations. This setting things right was practiced in the natural world when resources were taken and in the social world when resources were shared paralleling the natural and the human worlds.

12. Spiritual Nature

The central and primary core of existence is the notion that all things share the same source of existence-creation. All living things on the planet find their source of existence, their pulse and energy, from the same place and all share in the same pool of life. This spiritual sense of existence is how my ancestors came to understand the relational dance in the community of life and spirituality came to represent the immediate connection we had with the cosmos and is reflected in all aspects of social life from the

birth of child through to all of the rites of passage we experience as people grounded in culture and traditions and traditional life. Spirituality, like an umbilical cord, links all aspects of our life and grounds us to the genesis of our existence.

13. Life is a Journey

One of the epistemic moments is the notion that we are one of the many vessels of the infinite life-force sharing the same pool of the pulse and energy of the cosmos. As we enter the world we do so as spiritual beings, a direct gift from creation. As we leave the world it is our spirit which travels to its original source completing the circle of life. This progression following the rites of passage and the responsibilities that come with this immerses us in the stream of consciousness of the world. As we progress through life and reach the end of our corporeal journey on the planet the spirit we share with all living things continues onward and feeds and grows new life regenerating the earth through another cycle of the journey. In this sense our life journey never ends but simply takes on a new form and purpose for the overall existence of humanity and the planet.

Symbolic Meaning Systems

The ontology, epistemology, moral and ethical principles, and the values and beliefs are the building blocks of an Aboriginal worldview. These building blocks reflect the stream of consciousness and are similar across all Nations. Over millennia of co-existence with the natural world all of these became infused with the social constructed reality of Aboriginal people and represent their symbolic sub-universes of meaning. These sub-universes of meaning are as important to Aboriginal people as is the historical, philosophical and intellectual development of western people as contained in their stories,

legends, teachings, religious doctrine and the knowledge repositories of books, libraries and folkways.

The primary symbolic universe of meaning for Aboriginal people is their sense of spirituality as this is the composite of earth/human relations and is the foundational premise upon which is reflected the epistemic propositions to guide Aboriginal life. There are other sub-universes including the teachings of the lodge and societies which are permeated with the human/earth knowledge. There are also the oral traditions contained in the sacred stories and legends which speak to the experiences of Aboriginal people over millennia chronicling their successes and failures and providing important lessons for living in the world. There are the sacred objects found in the lodge which carry the specific teachings about who we are, how we should conduct ourselves, and what our roles are as individuals, families, communities and nations in the community of life. The sweat lodge addresses birth and renewal and the connection to the spiritual world and it also represents healing and balance and harmony as the specific ceremonies are conducted. The pipe addresses the role of men and women and the basic lesson of life including truth, faith and responsibility to self, family and community. The eagle feathers, medicines, and other bundle items all carry specific teachings for all facets of our existence and responsibilities to the earth and to human beings. And our names and clans are directional instructions and signposts for exercising our roles and responsibilities, or our gifts as they are called, as individuals in support of our existence and the continued existence of our sacred journey through life.

All of these and more are the storehouses of knowledge and wisdom gleaned over millennia. Further, our 'traditional Elders' and the oral tradition both represent two of the

primary receptacles of this ancient wisdom and this is why they are held in such high regard in the Aboriginal community. These are all the edifices of meaning for Aboriginal people and all of these are equivalent to the books, libraries and other means which contain the knowledge and theory for western people.

Analysis of an Aboriginal Perspective

An Aboriginal perspective and worldview is fundamentally different in its origins and its evolution leading to a different way of being in the world than the western capitalist ideological reality. In considering each in turn and as preliminary and general statements, the interpretive categories indicate some important directions for the general application of this worldview to the contemporary reality of Aboriginal people. The general directions stated here are further developed in the implications section of this thesis and are applied to some specific subject matter as this relates to social work so they will not be fully developed here.

At the ontological level, Aboriginal analysis and thinking should be guided by the notion that all creation is good and contains the source of meaning for Aboriginal existence. The human and the natural world are a conjoined existence and it is the responsibility of humans to do nothing to disturb the balance, harmony and equality. And the world is in constant change and flux and this also reflects the natural condition and the need to be constantly aware of these changing conditions in our deliberations about the relational dance in the community of life. If everything is good, including human beings, then the treatment of the natural world and social relations must reflect this and all people would be responsible to protect each life (all Creation) from harm as equals and as

spiritual beings. The role of Aboriginal people, and all people for that matter, is to act as the human agents of creation to ensure that however we express ourselves in the world it should be focused upon maintaining equality and responding to the changing conditions of the human and natural world with balance, harmony and goodness in mind as a major principle for living. Where there is a contravention of this principle our critique and analysis should identify its source and we should respond to restore balance, harmony and the inherent goodness of humanity.

The epistemological principles of an Aboriginal worldview suggest that the human and natural world should function together in unity and that this unity and its relations are informed from the total matrix of earth/human knowledge and truth. This matrix of knowledge informs and transforms our humanly constructed knowledge and theory to match the connection to the natural world. And this whole process of being situates humans subjectively and inter-subjectively within, and as a part of the natural world sharing equally and responsibly to foster and cultivate the community of life. The knowledge and theory which emerges from this for humans and the natural world is a healing knowledge and theory are informed by the same unified spiritual core of our existence. Following this epistemology then the primary direction for human/earth life should be focused upon the proper functioning of the community of life. The knowledge and theory that are generated and the uses that these are put towards should reflect the knowledge and the wisdom of our integrated and equal existence and the unity expressed in our spiritual being.

The values and beliefs which emerge from an Aboriginal perspective all require that humans exercise their day to day living following the sacred responsibility that we have

to ourselves and to each other. This sacred responsibility is given through the ontological premises of our place as members of the community of life. Through this sacred role we have an obligation to accept responsibility for enacting our epistemological knowledge and theory to this end. The notion of wisdom, for example, is interpreted as awareness and full understanding of the matrix of meaning and an understanding of the stream of consciousness that we can all share. Being immersed in this truth requires us as members of the human family to share in our collective responsibility to each other and to ensure that creation is honoured and respected with the seventh generation in mind. These values and beliefs recognize that what we do today affects the future generation and an Aboriginal view looks far into the future in this regard. The exercise of these values and beliefs by Aboriginal people are not separated, secularized and compartmentalized as is often found in the western tradition and its institutions. Aboriginal values and beliefs and their exercise are central to all aspects of living. So, for instance, the notion of justice must reflect these and cannot be based upon an objectified and narrow view of individual rights over collective responsibilities. In this case, collective responsibilities supersede the individual's desires simply because it is the individual's duty to contribute to the health and well-being of the community of which we are members. One of the basic premises of Aboriginal life is the notion of the importance of the collective and the individual's contribution to this through their special gifts, skills and attributes. Ermine (2000) captures some sense of this when he discusses the inward journey. Through this process of self-discovery the individual finds a place to express their individual nature in support of the community of life and this is not a forced sense of compliance but emerges from the responsibility that each of us has to the overall health and well-being of our existence.

Justice in this sense is returning balance to the collective and the individual through the exercise of truth, caring, respect, honesty, harmony and through the use of the wisdom which locates us in a continuous stream of collective consciousness and responsibility.

The symbolic meaning systems of which spirituality is the fullest expression demands immediately the need to be guided by the sacred relationship we have with each other and the planet. It means that is impossible to remove this sacred responsibility from any of our institutions that guide our existence in contemporary society. This sacred responsibility must be imbedded in all of our institutional relations, including justice, health, politics and our economic structures. All of these should reflect the natural equality of our existence, the responsibility we have for maintaining the relations with the community of life and the long range view of the seventh generation.

Results from Ideological Domination, Colonization and Social Policy Analysis

Figure 6, 7, and 8 are the data derived from the ethnographic funneling and grounding approach on ideological domination, colonization and social policy. Figure 6 is the raw data taken from the literature and represents the important elements of the discussions on ideological domination, colonization and social policy analysis. These are explained more fully later as the manifest functions of domination which are evident upon examination through analysis, and latent characteristics which are the invisible character of domination needing to be revealed and demonstrated for their dominating character. These are illustrated in figure 7 and 8.

Figures 9, 10 and 11 represent the quantitative measure of inclusion of the supplemental social policy and theory literature. Figure 9 is the operational definitions

which guided the analysis. Figure 10 is the quantitative measure of inclusion data sheet. This sheet lists the textual sources under review, and proceeding to the right, each of the five research sub-question (d to h) are listed as Question 1 (Q1) through to Question 5 (Q5). The operational definitions of these five questions are found in Figure 9. Figure 11 is the data sheet which captures the overall findings from the measurement of inclusion and is illustrated as a nominal and percentage value for the literature reviewed.

Figure 6 Results

Figure 6 is the converging of the raw data across the three broad categories of ideological domination, colonization and social policy. This is the first level for integrating the overall data through funneling and grounding. These representations of the three main categories demonstrate their descriptions of how marginalization and oppression occurs. For example, the category ideological domination and colonization clearly contain elements which are markedly similar. They address for example, the process by which a ruling class is able to dominate. They address normalization of the dominant ideology of capitalism. And they address obfuscation and acceptance of domination as the normative order and the mechanisms which maintain this order including the role of the state, religion, education, the mass media, the industrial/business complex and the manipulation of consciousness as a social/psychological process inherent in capitalist ideology over time.

For social policy not all of the literature reviewed is as readily reflective of the elements found in the first two categories but there are some elements of this which are similar as well. For example, some of this literature addresses the exclusion of Aboriginal people from the history and development of the Canadian welfare state

Figure 6: Raw Data-Ideological Domination, Colonization and Social Policy

Ideological Domination	Colonization	Social Policy
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - promotes interests of ruling class - masks oppression and injustice in any given society - bourgeois ideas become normalized, become the common ideas - oppression becomes invisible - means of production under direct physical and intellectual control of ruling class - proletariat compete for scarce resource jobs, pits one against the other - transforms by economic imperatives humans into things in all aspects of their lives - become communities losing the social - domination of ideas and cultural forms - supported by the state and civil society-hegemony - mass media as systems of cultural reproduction which support Capitalism, liberal knowledge and theory and eliminates critical discourse - oppression at personal, cultural, structural levels - oppression is a feature of democratic societies - ideology as a framework for understanding the social world - oppression contained by structure, education, religion, state, mass media - marginalization a central feature of ideological system - anti-oppressive practice interrogates ideological exclusion-liberate consciousness - address systemic exclusion not problem centred approach - interlocking oppression - Aboriginal approach consistent with structural - can't deal with culture and spirituality - whiteness & privilege-can't see colour or oppression - Memmi process - standpoint of women - ruling relations objectifies subjective - removes individual discourse 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - creates and recreates the condition of colonization. - racist ideology starts from privilege - oppression of Aboriginal women intentional & directed by state - state recognized power of matri-local, matri-focal power of women - women were spiritual repository - natural social, political order opposed patriarchy - Frideres classic seven part analysis, dismisses notion that Aboriginal people had choice - racism underlying ideology - Canada structurally racist - white privilege obfuscates their own racism, inability to see colour and oppression - structural cultural colonialism - mercantilist/capitalist exploitation displaced economies of scale - power and control through state administrative structures - forced settlement to reserves-internal colonies - missionary zeal, day schools, residential schools - demoralizing and disfiguring process/Memmi again - destruction of family, kinship, clan, community, nation - obfuscation and mystification of colonial process and altering of identities - widespread family dysfunction 	<p>Armitage</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - illustrates universal themes of colonization - argues that policy of the state always self-interest - exclusion of Aboriginal people from Canadian society - early process brutal, later process gentle imposition - recognizes Aboriginal people were owners did not choose to live as minority in own and unlike immigrants had a special relationship with the land, cultural identity - child welfare as a reflection of assimilationist policy - residential schools were assimilation tools - child welfare extension in 60's has no policy direction, resources, or administration & led to mass removal of children - more pressure to assimilate, total loss of culture - white homes - deliberate assault to change Aboriginal people <p>Chappel</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - broad discussion of social welfare - focus on Canadian context - brief overview of history of relations - focuses on micro and mezzo, focus on traditional vs. mainstream practice - focus on residential school syndrome, family violence and health - focus on programs and services to help healing - little depth on Aboriginal issues <p>Graham, Swift & Delaney, also Rice & Prince</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - no discussion on Aboriginal people on development of welfare state, political ideologies, ideological exclusion, structural racism, acts of resistance, emerging practice - focus on social/ psychological not structural - no mention of self- government, self-determination <p>Hicks</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - historical overview, theory and income security programs - mentions Aboriginal people on several Occasions, parallels reserve system to extension of poor-laws - undeserving poor policy applied to Aboriginal people - need more in-depth analysis - good coverage of history, development in Canadian context - discusses feminist, gender, community capacity building - numerous mentions of Aboriginal people throughout but without full discussion or context for understanding

through specific government policies and biological, structural and cultural racism and this speaks to the specific strategies of marginalization and oppression. There is also some small degree of explanation and description of the process of marginalization, oppression, the mystifying of the colonial process and obfuscation of Aboriginal identity. However, where there was an assumption that the social policy literature should provide a fairly in depth analysis of Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns it was found that treatment was either very general, absent of a full enough discussion or exclusionary of Aboriginal people. And this goes to the latent functions of ideological domination, colonization, marginalization and oppression. These are discussed further in the results following from Figures 7 and 8.

Figure 7 Results

Figure 7 is the further progressive funneling of these three categories. Similar elements are included for ideological domination and colonization under two primary functions, 1) the manifest functions which are the characteristics that are evident upon examination and through the analysis of domination and colonization, and 2) the latent functions for ideological domination and colonization which are the invisible character of domination that need to be revealed and demonstrated for this domination.. For social policy literature the manifest functions are listed leaving out the latent functions for the analysis following figure 8. Unlike the literature on domination and colonization, the latent functions of domination must be uncovered in the social policy literature. The manifest functions are more obvious so they are shown here, but, the latent functions are

Figure 7: Categorized Data Domination, Colonization and Social Policy

Ideological Domination	Colonization	Social Policy
<p>Manifest Analysis</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - provides historical analysis of the evolution of domination-western - explains the process by which dominance of a ruling class or group develops - explains how oppression of a class or group develops in favour of capitalist ideology - shows how capitalist economic interests are predominant - explains states role in maintaining capitalist development - explains institutional & societal support of capitalist interests and how this developed - explains specific strategies of exclusion through wage, social position, discrimination, racism, gender etc. - explanation of the objectification and normalizing of capitalist ideology as a normative standard <p>Analysis of Latent Function</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - explains mystification, obfuscation, commodification, alienation and hegemony - explains micro, mezzo, and macro oppression and marginalization - explains hidden features of mass media, education, religion and industrial complex in support of oppression and marginalization - explains interlocking oppression - explains process for quelling critical consciousness and discourse - interrogates exclusion - suggests anti-oppressive practice as strategy for challenging oppression and marginalization - explains whiteness and privilege 	<p>Manifest Analysis</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - provides historical analysis of colonization - explains colonization as a process - explains role of racism in the colonization process - explains the role of the State - analysis of capitalism as the dominating ideology for oppression and marginalization - explains exploitation for capitalist development - explains forced nature of colonization through institutional structures of the state - explains racism as structural feature - Explains specific strategies for colonizing - explanation of the objectification and normalizing of capitalist ideology as a normative standard <p>Analysis of Latent Functions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - explains mystification, obfuscation, altered identities and inferiorization - explains micro, mezzo and macro oppression and marginalization - explains legislative control over Aboriginal life - explains use of residential schools, child welfare and other strategies to assimilate - explains outcomes of cultural genocide - explains current conditions relating to historical and current process of colonization - explains importance of culture and tradition for identity retention and human survival 	<p>Manifest Analysis</p> <p>Armitage</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - provides historical analysis of welfare state and colonization - illustrates colonization as a universal process - argues role of state always self-interest - explains purposeful exclusion of Aboriginal people from Canadian society - explains special relations of Aboriginal people to the land - explains racism as underlying ideology - explains use of state supported initiatives to assimilate <p>Chappel</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - provides brief historical analysis of welfare state with only brief mention of Aboriginal people involvement - focus on micro and mezzo no macro analysis - treatment focus as opposed to structural analysis - no significant mention of self-government, self-determination and other macro issues <p>Hicks</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - provides brief overview of welfare state with several mentions of Aboriginal people - links poor laws and income security measures to poor treatment and attempts at assimilation - reasonable treatment of Aboriginal people their issues and concerns <p>Rice & Prince also Graham, Swift & Dealney</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Several mentions of Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns but only in passing, as example with No discussion of the context and full treatment - no meaningful discussion which helps to understand the role of Aboriginal people in the history of the welfare state, colonization, assimilation and continued oppression

less obvious and require a further analysis which takes place as the next step and are demonstrated in figure 8. The categories ideological domination, and colonization demonstrate the results on how ideological domination and colonization occurs. This obfuscating and mystifying process is a relentless and intentional strategy which benefits one group over another. The manifest structural analysis reveals that both ideological domination and colonization address the historical context. Further, the understanding of ideological domination is a prolonged intellectual and philosophical tradition and colonization is a more recent phenomenon which reflects similar attributes to ideological domination. However, colonization is more obvious in its destructive and inhumane application and this is an important variation. Both of these also manifestly illustrate the role of the state and the institutions of a mercantilist, capitalist society to support the predominant role of a particular way of life and the mechanism of the media, education, religion and business/industry as purveyors and supporters of capitalist ideology. In the latent functions of ideological domination and colonization these two explain alienation and false consciousness through ideological domination and obfuscation and mystification through colonialism as the hidden and pervasive process which aims to normalize the values and beliefs of the dominant group as collective interests. Both ideological domination and colonization address the multiple factors which have an impact upon the strength of this process to maintain itself over history as well as the multiple and interlocking factors which constrain individual and group liberation from the capitalist ideology.

The elements found in social policy analysis are listed initially as manifest functions only. This was recorded this way as there is no evidence of the latent functions

of social policy as was readily found with ideological domination and colonization. The latent functions are more hidden and are revealed in the discussion of Figure 8. Most immediately however, the social policy analysis literature revealed that there is some clear analysis of the historical conditions of Aboriginal people in the context of marginalization and oppression and exclusion from Canadian society as an intentional and directed strategy. Further this literature addresses to some small degree the specifics of Aboriginal issues and concerns in terms of social policy concerns and these are often dealt with at a micro/mezzo level of analysis, exempting two authors who do provide a varied macro level analysis.

Figure 8 Results

Figure 8 displays the combined categories for ideological domination and colonization, and the separate categorization of social policy analysis into manifest and latent functions.

For ideological domination and colonization there is a consistency in the analysis and treatment of the process of marginalization and oppression of a subordinate group. The literature on ideological domination and colonization demonstrate a clear analysis of the manifest and latent functions as discussed in the previous results provided in Figure 7. Where they differ, or contrast, is in the expression, or the analytical sense of these two. As has previously been mentioned ideological domination is located in a long and protracted history of intellectual and philosophical evolution and the colonization for Aboriginal people is a more recent variety of the same process. With colonization, the destructive and inhumane nature of ideological domination is revealed and clearly places

Figure 8: Combined Data For Domination, Colonization and Social Policy Analysis

Ideological Domination and Colonization

Social Policy Analysis

<p>Analysis of Manifest Function</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - both provide a historical analysis of the condition of each where ideological domination finds its intellectual roots in western theoretical development and where colonization is informed from this but reflects the Canadian context specific to Aboriginal peoples. - both contain the notion of marginalization and oppression but differ in the qualitative sense of each. The discussion of western ideological dominance has a historic reified and objective nature and colonization has an effectual and imposed subjective character - both express the state and the institutional structures of societies role in domination but ideological domination has a monolithic character and colonization has a specific and focused character which creates an intellectual, psychological and emotional gap between the two giving a sense that the former is somehow removed from the latter - with ideological dominance there is a tacit agreement and assumption of the existence of ideological domination as a function of the historical and intellectual development of western people and with colonization there is an after the fact tacit acceptance of colonization as a 'natural' function of the relations between these two differing groups of people <p>Analysis of Latent Function</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - both explain the process by which people come to accept the condition of marginalization and oppression where ideological domination mystifies, western people and becomes largely accepted as the best of alternatives. Colonization also mystifies and obfuscates but there is a rejection of this condition even as there is continued and forceful imposition to change and assimilate clearly locating the source of ideological domination in western ideology - both present the inherent nature of ideological domination to alter consciousness through the institutions of society where ideological domination inheres in its institutional structures and is embedded in its intellectual and philosophical history and which has normalized this condition. - Colonization on the other hand, illustrates the inhumane quality of this condition exposing it as a subjective experience while the monolithic nature of ideological domination remains hidden to western people even as they impose this upon another people 	<p>Analysis of Manifest Function – Inclusion?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - generally speaking Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns receives varying levelsof treatment in the social policy literature. - the treatment by two authors reveals that there is a central place for Aboriginal issues and concerns in the discussion of the development of the welfare state in Canada and that this development directly affected Aboriginal people - generally there is a recognition of the structural conditions of oppression by several authors and only peripherally by others who take either a cursory approach or a micro/mezzo approach - one author clearly identifies elements of an Aboriginal perspective in the analysis while the remaining contain their discussion to more western located thinking - only one author discusses the inherent nature of racism historically and in its current manifestations <p>Analysis of Latent Function – Exclusion?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - generally, there is no in-depth discussion of Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns which include a sufficient coverage of self-government, self-determination, structural/cultural colonization, emerging Aboriginal paradigms in practice and an - the inclusion of Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns as example or pointed to in relation to a larger discussion minimizes and marginalizes the importance of this discussion for understanding the particular conditions of Aboriginal people - other than two authors the approach to dealing with Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns occurs at the micro/mezzo level dismisses the importance for understanding how these micro level conditions are directly related to the \ macro-structural analysis - simply mentioning Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns in passing is the same as exclusion as there is no attempt to deal seriously with these other than in side of an analysis which focuses upon different groups, situation or conditions and therefore cannot address the specific concerns of Aboriginal people
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the responsibility for this in the imposition of a foreign system of thought upon Aboriginal people. With ideological domination this discussion is taking place inside of the historical and intellectual framework of western discourse and because of this it gains a sense of the normative objectified truth of western capitalist history and existence. An Aboriginal perspective on ideological domination and colonization should highlight this inherent tendency and the continued resistance to colonization should include this in its analysis as an argument against simply using western intellectual thought to guide thinking and action in addressing Aboriginal people their issue and concerns. This will be dealt with in more depth in the analysis and following the presentation of the results.

Results from the Quantitative Measurement of Inclusion

Figure 9 is the. 'Operational Definitions for the Quantitative Measure of Inclusion'. The operational definitions of a quantitative measure of inclusion have been assigned a numbers for each of the categories listed in each of the Figures 10 to 15. These numbers are the qualitative decisions of the researcher and represent a reasonable nominal value to represent each category. For question 1 (Q1), a simple yes or no response is required. For question 2 (Q2), mentions are broken down to give a sense of how often Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns receive mention from no mention to extensive. Question 3 (Q3), context applies to: 'Marginal' or brief mention and is inclusion in a general context as example but no discussion; 'General' is inclusion in the context of discussion; and 'Extensive' as the main subject matter. Question 4 (Q4), shows four categories which are simply meant to illustrate a range of Euro-Canadian knowledge

and theory and are shown as; Ideology, Structural, Research and Aboriginal. Question 5 (Q5), is meant to capture where an Aboriginal paradigm is used exclusively.

Figure 9: Operational Definitions of Inclusion

Definitions for Quantitative Measure of Inclusion (QMI)

Q1 = Aboriginal Issues	Yes	= mention of Aboriginal issues and concerns
	No	= no mention of Aboriginal issues and concerns
Q2 = # of Times mention	0	= no mention (N/A)
	1-5	= marginal
	6-20	= general
	21+	= extensive
Q3 = Context	n/a	= not applicable as no mention of Aboriginal issues
	Marginal	= cursory treatment where there is brief mention but no inclusion in the overall discussion
	General	= is the inclusion of Aboriginal issues in the general context of the discussion
	Extensive	= is inclusion of Aboriginal issues as the main subject matter
Q4 = Paradigm	Ideology	= is the use of a framework for addressing Aboriginal issues including the following categories: comparative ideology, pluralist, social policy, political theory, political economy, diversity, state theories, social democracy, liberalism, Marxist theory, social economy, policy models.
	Structural	= the use of a structural model
	Research	= inclusion in research
	Aboriginal	= use of Aboriginal principles or reference to Aboriginal paradigm
Q5 -	Aboriginal Paradigm	= is there a use of an Aboriginal paradigm in the discussion of Aboriginal issues

Figure 10 is the 'Data Gathering Sheet' (Data Sheet) for processing the five questions of the 'Quantitative Measure of Inquiry' (QMI) and which are then represented in the five Figures, 11 to 15, which demonstrate the finding from each of the five

questions. The Data Sheet lists the; social policy texts; social theory/ideology texts; readings packages; and related social work texts.

Figure 10: Data Gathering Sheet for QMI

Texts Used in 'QMI'	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5
Social Policy Texts					
1. Armitage (1995)	yes	Extensive	specific	comparative	Quasi-Aboriginal
2. Kufeldt and McKenzie (2003)	yes	Extensive	general	research	yes
3. Graham, Swift and Delaney	yes	2X	general	diversity	no
4. Gough (1979)	no	0	n/a	Political economy	no
5. Guest (1999)	yes	4X	general	Political economy	no
6. Lavallette and Pratt (2001)	no	0	n/a	Political economy	no
7. Olsen (2002)	no	0	n/a	Political economy	no
8. Rice and Prince (2003)	yes	18X	general	pluralism	no
9. Wharf and McKenzie (1998)	yes	4X		Policy models	yes
10. Vaillancourt and Tremblay (2002)	yes	6X	4X	Social economy	no
Social Theory/Ideology Texts					
11. Ball and Dagger (2003)	yes	extensive	extensive	Aboriginal epistemology	yes
12. Bailey and Gale (2003)	no	0	n/a	ideology	no
13. Carnoy (1984)	no	0	n/a	Political economy	no
14. Eagleton (1991)	no	0	n/a	ideology	no
15. Knuttila and Kublik (2000)	no	0	n/a	State theories	no
16. Payne (1997)	yes	1	general	General	no
17. Zizek (1994)	no	0	n/a	ideology	no
Readings Packages					
18. Bracken (2005)	no	1	specific	pluralist	no
19. Bracken (2005)	no	0	n/a	Social policy	no
20. Kaminski and McKenzie (2005)	no	0	n/a	Social policy	no
21. Kaminski (2005)	no	0	n/a	foundations	no
Related Social Work Texts					
22. Al-Krenawi and Graham (2003)	yes	extensive	specific	Structural	comparative
23. Brown and Strega (2006)	yes	extensive	specific	research	comparative
24. Mullaly (2002)	yes	extensive	Specific	structural	comparative
25. Mullay (1997)	yes	extensive	specific	structural	no
26. Shera (2003)	yes	extensive	specific	structural	no

Following from the above 'Data Gathering Sheet' is the Figures 11 through to 15 which capture the aggregate responses recorded from the above sheet. Each Figure relates to each one of the five questions.

In Figure 11, 'Mentions' simply means, "Do Aboriginal people and/or their issues receive mention", and here there is no concern with the kind of issue, or the depth of discussion, and is only a basic raw nominal value. The intent is to simply see which texts did or did not mention Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns. In Figure 11, of the 26 materials reviewed 15 or 57.7% of the materials reviewed had mentioned Aboriginal people and 11 or 42.3% had no mention.

Figure 11: Aggregate Response for Question 1

Responses	Mentions	Percentage
yes	15	57.7
no	11	42.3
Total	26	100.0

In Figure 12, 'Number of Mentions' the intent was to see how often each of the texts reviewed mentioned Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns. Again there is no concern here with the kind of treatment these received or the context of the discussion. This is meant as a 'rough' measure of the magnitude of inclusion in each text reviewed to get a sense of whether there was marginal, general or extensive treatment. Of the 26 texts

reviewed 11 had non treatment; 5 had marginal treatment; 2 had general treatment and only 8 or 30.8% received extensive treatment.

Figure 12: Aggregate Response for Question 2

Responses	Number of Mentions	Percentage
No treatment = 0	11	42.3
Marginal treatment = 1-5	5	19.2
General treatment = 6-20	2	7.7
Extensive treatment = 21+	8	30.8
Total	26	100.0

In Figure 13, 'Treatment within a Context' the intent here was to get some sense of the 'quality' of treatment. 'Quality' means the degree to which Aboriginal issues and concerns were a part of the discussion. A marginal treatment means that there is only brief mention but no inclusion in the overall discussion. Here, Aboriginal issues and concerns may be used simply as an example in the discussion or simply mentioned in passing with no real connection to the discussion. General treatment means that Aboriginal issues and concerns are a part of the context of the discussion. An example used previously, and extended here, would be where poverty is the subject and Aboriginal poverty is discussed as a part of the context and not just as an example. Extensive means that Aboriginal issues and concerns were the main subject matter of discussion in a particular context. In Figure 13, of the 26 texts reviewed 11 or 42.3% were N/A, or not applicable as these material gave no treatment. For marginal treatment 4 or 15.5% of the

materials gave a marginal treatment. In the general treatment category 3 or 11.5% received gave general treatment. And in the specific category 8 or 30.8% received inclusion as the main subject matter.

Figure 13: Aggregate Response for Question 3

Responses	Number	Percentage
n/a	11	42.3
Marginal treatment	4	15.4
General	3	11.5
Specific	8	30.8
Total	26	100.0

In Figure 14, 'Use of Particular Paradigm', the intent was to see what particular paradigm was used to process the discussion of Aboriginal issues and concerns. This question was meant to demarcate the use of Euro-Canadian knowledge and theory paradigms from an Aboriginal paradigm, framework of discussion. The concern is not so much with understanding the variety of paradigms used to process the discussion on Aboriginal issues and concerns but was simply intended to differentiate between Euro-Canadian and Aboriginal. Of the 26 texts reviewed, 25 or 97.1% dealt with Aboriginal issues and concerns through other than an Aboriginal paradigm or framework. These are broken down as follow: 19 or 73% used ideology/political theory paradigms; 4 or 15.4% used a structural approach; and 2 or 7.7% used a contemporary research paradigm.

Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns were discussed following an Aboriginal paradigm or framework in 1 or 3.9% of the materials.

Figure 14: Aggregate Response for Question 4

Response	Number	Percentage
Ideology/political theory	19	73.0
Structural	4	15.4
Research	2	7.7
Aboriginal perspective	1	3.9
Total	26	100.0

Figure 15, 'Use of an Aboriginal Paradigm' was included as a question to provide some degree of latitude on interpretation of an Aboriginal paradigm and to give 'the benefit of the doubt' where there was at least some attempts to represent an Aboriginal perspective. In the final analysis, however, the results are largely the same as Figure 14. An Aboriginal Paradigm or framework was defined as the use of an Aboriginal paradigm or framework constructed by an Aboriginal person or the community, or at least the use of some principles of an Aboriginal perspective. Where it was not clear if an Aboriginal person had some hand the analysis or the discussion, it was counted as an Aboriginal paradigm. Of the texts reviewed 19 or 73.1% did not discuss an Aboriginal paradigm, 4 or 15.4% did discuss an Aboriginal paradigm using the 'benefit of the doubt definition'. And, 4 or 15.4% conducted a comparative analysis using some principle(s) of an Aboriginal paradigm.

Figure 15: Aggregate Response for Question 5

Response	Number	Percentage
Yes	3	15.4
no	19	73.1
Comparative	3	11.5
Total	26	100.0

Synopsis of the Results

From the quantitative measure of inclusion there is some indication that Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns are receiving some attention. The number of mentions of Aboriginal issues in Figure 11 demonstrates that 15 or 57.7% did at least mention Aboriginal issues and concerns. However, 11 or 42.3%; or almost half had no mention whatsoever of Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns. Further, when looking at Figure 12 and adding marginal and general treatments together ($5+2=7$); 26.9% of the texts reviewed gave Aboriginal issues and concerns at best, a general treatment. This best case scenario of general treatment combined with no treatment ($7+11=18$); demonstrates that 70.0% or almost a full three quarters of the texts reviewed provided, only at best, a general treatment.

A more significant indication on the issue of inclusion is demonstrated by examining Figure 13. Recall that Figure 13 represents treatment with a context. Combining marginal and general treatment (Aboriginal issues and concerns are a part of the context of the discussion), ($4+3=7$) or 26.9% dealt with Aboriginal issues and

concerns within the context of the discussion. This seems, at least, to be an attempt to address inclusion. In combining marginal, general and specific categories (4+3+8=15) or 57.7% discussed Aboriginal issues and concerns. This appears somewhat better than the 26.9% of the general treatment. However, in considering Figure 14, Use of a Particular Paradigm, these treatments are discussed through contemporary analytical paradigms; 96.1%, with only 3.9% or 1 mention, considering an Aboriginal perspective. Again this diminishes significantly the impression that Aboriginal issues are receiving meaningful treatment in the materials reviewed.

Figure 15 is somewhat misleading and needs some explaining. As mentioned earlier in this part of the discussion, because of the latitude given when reviewing the materials a "yes" count was given even with a minimal use of an Aboriginal paradigm. So for example in 2 of 4 cases in the yes count each of these mentioned a specific Aboriginal paradigm in a chapter and as one small piece of their discussion. In these two cases a yes count was recorded. One other of the 4 cases included in the yes count included the conversation of an Elder who spoke of an Aboriginal worldview and was thus also given a yes count. Additionally, in the category of a comparative analysis, one of the materials compared and contrasted indigenous policy from Canada, New Zealand and Australia and included in the discussion three Aboriginal perspectives on assimilation policy and was thus given a yes count. Two more of the materials reviewed in the comparative category were also given a yes count as each of these made reference to an Aboriginal perspective in research and in comparing structural analysis in relation to Aboriginal issues. In consideration of these circumstances Table 15 represents the same results of inclusion as found in Table 14.

In summary, Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns certainly receive mention in the literature reviewed but these mentions demonstrate that the issues of inclusion has a questionable status for Aboriginal people when only half of the literature reviewed demonstrates some type of inclusion. What is the most interesting from this review of the literature is that an Aboriginal perspective was mentioned, or used, only once and this clearly demonstrates exclusion. Even where the liberal use of the definition of an Aboriginal perspective/ paradigm/framework was applied the numbers represent a minimal inclusion of Aboriginal issues and concerns.

The preliminary contention, forwarded in the review summary of the social policy literature, that Euro-Canadian knowledge and theory holds a preponderance of representation over an Aboriginal perspective is supported through these findings of the quantitative measure of inclusion. This preponderance is clearly an indicator of ideological dominance.

Analysis of Ideological Domination, Colonization and Social Policy Analysis

Taken together the results from the analysis of ideological domination, colonization, and social policy, including the quantitative measure of inclusion of the literature on social policy, reveals a number of things.

Considering ideological domination first, it is my contention that ideological domination, as an analytical construct, subtly apprehends Euro-Canadian consciousness, reifying this to the service of objectification, nihilation, and neutralization of a full and complete understanding of dominations inherent obfuscating character. In this sense, consciousness is unwittingly 'held captive' by its historical, intellectual, analytical

structure of domination. And this is the a priori character which directs its application in a particular way; it exists in the mind as analysis and is somehow independent from direct experience. This a priori character of objectification informs its usage contributing to the continued obfuscated application toward Aboriginal people who 'experience' ideological domination as a 'felt and personal' experience. This is partly what Adams (1999) and Alfred (1999) are trying to get at when they suggest the pervasive nature of ideological domination. This same character is found in colonization and social policy.

The previous discussion on dominance, colonization and social policy revealed that there is preponderance of Euro-Canadian knowledge and theory in the discussion of these subject matters. It also revealed that there is an absence of inclusion on an 'Aboriginal perspective' in social policy analysis relating to the same reasons. So, the previous discussion did reveal the force and preponderance of Euro-Canadian knowledge and theory but the central question (why is this so?) for understanding this further and for 'getting at' the inherent and obfuscating nature of this phenomenon is still not completely answered. Some answers to this can be found in, at least, the a priori nature of dominance. As well, there is the social psychological propensity of human beings to use some particular strategies, individually and collectively, to protect their canopy of meaning from penetration, and hence from potential harm or injury. The following discussion and analysis 'gets at' this further and beyond just the notion of dominance as an analytical construct.

This becomes clearer when contrasting ideological domination against colonization. While at first blush it appears that these similar analyses are denoting the same meaning it is revealed that there is a variation in the interpretation and appreciation

of these two. In the main, and for non-Aboriginal people, there is a tacit acceptance and acquiescence to the monolithic a priori character of ideological domination. Colonization theory, as an analytical concept has been used and applied over time to describe other indigenous experiences with marginalization and oppression and to some degree also has some growing sense of this a priori analysis. However, this is more the case for non-Aboriginal people who are outside of this experience. Aboriginal people on the other hand, have had direct and recent experience with marginalization and oppression; and colonization theory still retains the quality of experience beyond just the cognitive, analytical dimension. For Aboriginal people of the Americas colonization is still a felt subjective and inter-subjective experience because the impacts of this process are still being felt today. It is of the mind but is also in the 'felt' experiences of Aboriginal people as individuals and as a group.

This subtlety is important for understanding the continued application of ideological domination towards Aboriginal people. For example, taking the analytical approach of ideological domination and applying this to Aboriginal people locates them outside of their 'felt' experience and inside the monolithic a priori discussion, objectifying and casting them as objects of discourse rather than an actual subjective human event. This is similar to Smith's (2006) argument on the objectified patriarchal exercise of power through discourse and textual sub-universes of meaning. Further to this, when Aboriginal people are speaking about their experiences with ideological domination to the larger society and to academia they are speaking from the subjective 'felt' experience. Adams (1999) and Alfred's (1999) contentions that Aboriginal people must speak from their colonial and cultural experiences is at the heart of this. This subjective

communication offered by Aboriginal people about ideological domination is then processed intellectually through the objective a priori analysis of ideological analysis causing a disjuncture between these two and rupturing the significance and purpose of the message that Aboriginal people are attempting to convey. The central message, in this case, is that not only has ideological domination occurred as a fact, but that it still is occurring and continues to be surrounded by, and permeated with the inhumane and destructive character of a felt experience. This very subtle permutation of conveying and understanding the message remains as a hidden feature of the a priori analysis of ideological dominance, hence is inherently structural in nature imbedded in the analysis itself. In a sense, we are not speaking the same language.

There are anecdotal examples supporting this view from my observations and personal experiences as an instructor as well as from other social theorists who address this phenomenon. For example, when speaking to students who have only a minimal understanding of the subjective colonial experience of Aboriginal people and who have some understanding of ideological domination in the a priori sense, this disjuncture becomes apparent in their responses. My experience has been that students tend to readily 'see' marginalization and oppression as a 'concept' while at the same time missing or dismissing its immediacy and subjective nature. This is illustrated through varying comments, for example, "yes I understand 'but', that happened a long time ago and Aboriginal people ought to be moving beyond this?" Another type of response is, "why I am responsible for something I had no involvement in and so why is it my responsibility to address this?" In both these responses, there is an objectification of the phenomenon and a failure to understand that it is still a felt experience with current consequences and

that their complicity in this is by virtue of the privileged position they have in society as the benefactors of ideological domination is at the cost and the destruction of a whole race of people. This is similar to Memmi's (1987) analysis of the colonizers self-constructed absolutism leading to structural racism. Also, there is Dei and Calliste's discussion of the invisibility of whiteness and privilege, and Armitage's argument that racism is imbedded in Canadian society.

So, this disjuncture between analysis and experience is easily missed and dismissed from their sense of responsibility to their fellow human beings and the damage which was forced upon the humanity of Aboriginal people here in Canada. Further to this, even where they understand ideological domination as an a priori concept they fail to see where the benefits accrued to them have been passed down from generation to generation which maintains their state of privilege.

The analysis offered through colonization theory suffers similar consequences where there is little understanding of the Canadian colonial experience of Aboriginal people and where the a priori analysis is predominant. When Aboriginal people speak about ideological domination and colonization their conversation is most always from the subjective turn of analysis. However, just as the previous anecdotal example and Memmi (1987), Dei and Calliste (2000) and Armitage's (1995) analysis point to, there is a tendency for many people to retreat from the full experience of colonization and to distance themselves from a complete immersion and understanding of the phenomenon. This can be remedied, however, through a prolonged exposure to the full subjective process of colonization and students most often hesitantly become aware of the consequences of these both historically and currently. Getting students to this point

however, is often a very difficult and trying process because of the tendency to retreat to the a priori analysis as a safe place which obfuscates their complete understanding and their direct complicity. In addition to the previous explanation of a priori analysis and the larger intellectual sense of ideological domination there are number of other ways to understand this phenomenon.

Berger and Luckman (1991) discuss this tendency to vigorously maintain the cognitive social knowledge construct through a process they call nihilation. Nihilation, as a social psychological process, 'happens', so to speak, when people are presented with problematic information which deviates from their shared, socially constructed canopy of meaning of a particular society. And, I am referring to Euro-Canadian social reality of which the historical, intellectual and monolithic understanding of ideological dominance is located. This canopy of meaning is the aggregate and logic of the whole process of social construction and is the legitimated institutional and normative order of existence that people intuitively tap into in their day to day existence. Berger and Luckman (1991) suggest that out of necessity for 'social and cognitive survival' this canopy of meaning allows members of a group to navigate through the world with relative ease rather than having to greet each day anew and re-interpret their entire social reality. That this canopy of meaning attains an objective facticity which acts upon its creators is a key to understanding this retreat from the problematic. So, having to deal with the destructive, inhumane and horrific nature of treatment afforded Aboriginal people historically and currently, and of which they are complicit as the benefactors of this process, this information challenges their taken for granted reality as socially conscious, caring human beings. This is immediately problematic and 'brings into question' the very meaning

system that sustains, guides, and upon which they have based their existence. So it is understandable then why, although not acceptable, when presented with the horrific and inhumane actions of their ancestors, they choose to retreat to the cognitive and monolithic understanding that protects the socially constructed meaning systems. By retreating to this more palatable and hence 'correct' form for processing and understanding domination the problematic information becomes 'deviant' information. This deviant information must then be translated into acceptable and affirming concepts to support the canopy of meaning which sustains them. Through this process of nihilation their immediate complicity is sanitized and made more palatable. In a similar way, Engels interpreting Marx might say that people have been given a false consciousness which obfuscates their true condition and Memmi might say that the absolution from complicity is complete and has become opaque.

The informative and classic work of Sykes and Matza (2006), conducted in the 1960's and 70's on neutralization or drift theory in relation to delinquency, is helpful to further understand how the social/psychological process at the group and individual level becomes enabled to neutralize responsibility. These authors present a model listing five techniques of neutralization, 1) denial of responsibility, 2) denial of injury, 3) denial of the victim, 4) condemnation of the condemners, and 5) appeal to higher loyalties.

The first of these neutralization strategies, denial of responsibility, is easily understood as it has similarity to the objectifying nature of ideological domination and to Memmi's (1987) absolution process. Here, as people are confronted with the atrocity of colonization they retreat to the objectifying position suggesting that they weren't there when all this occurred and that the historical period, while perhaps not supported in terms

of this treatment, was after all the historical period and that it is impossible to change those past conditions. Rather, it is more important to learn from this and move on. Locating this phenomenon far in the past and with the responsibility attributed to others neutralizes the immediate 'sense' of responsibility from self even as they are the benefactors of the historical phenomenon.

In the second strategy, the denial of injury, there is a slight permutation from that presented by Sykes and Matza (2006) which on one hand accepts that injury did occur but is doubly neutralized. First, as it wasn't them who personally caused the injury this neutralizes their complicity in the direct application of the act of harm. Second, as society (the State) appears to be dealing with this harm through land claims, self-government, healing the residential school experience, and other measures to address the conditions of colonization, there is a release of direct responsibility because something is being done to undue the injury of the past. This further neutralizes their complicity by placing the dispensation of justice somewhere else other than themselves. Interestingly, while displacing responsibility elsewhere there is also an assumption of credit for the justice which they see as prevailing in society.

The third strategy for neutralizing responsibility is the denial of the victim. Here again there is a slight permutation from Sykes and Matza's (2006) use of this strategy. For the most part Canadian society, and certainly social work, has accepted the fact that Aboriginal people were victimized through colonization. But as Memmi (1987) has shown us in his analysis the colonizer still maintains some degree of belief that in some ways Aboriginal people were in fact 'colonizable'. That is, were they not so trusting or had their systems of governance and social order been more resistant to change then

perhaps colonization would not have occurred in the manner it did. This is the 'poor victim' approach to neutralizing responsibility that is expressed in a cloak of false empathy and concern.

The fourth neutralizing strategy is the condemnation of the condemners. This strategy illustrates itself in the classic rhetoric which paints Aboriginal people with one brush stroke and is similar to Memmi's (1987) pluralizing of the colonized. Here the colonizer takes one aspect or example of the colonized and applies this to all Aboriginal people. The most virulent illustration of this is the condemnation of Aboriginal people for the corrupt acts of a few Aboriginal leaders who have exploited their own people and the funding provided through government intervention to ameliorate the conditions of colonization. There is little or no recognition that these Aboriginal leaders are acting just exactly as their trainers have taught them in following in corrupt practices of an individualistic and self-interested Euro-Canadian liberal democratic society. That their own leaders have been doing this same thing on a far grander scale is readily missed because not only have they neutralized their own responsibility they have also neutralized the responsibility of their own system of governance.

The fifth and final neutralizing strategy that Sykes and Matza (2006) identify is the appeal to higher loyalties. This neutralizing strategy is most immediately apparent in the historical context where the first settlers did what was expected of them by their government. And again Memmi (1987) is helpful here when he suggests that new immigrants often act as the 'shock troops' for the colonial order as they have everything to gain and to lose in not doing so. What I mean by this is that access to land is what they have to gain, and not supporting the State's forced expropriation of Aboriginal land

would result in them losing this opportunity. A more recent expression of this neutralizing strategy is found in the hesitancy and the ambivalence of Canadians to deal completely and honestly with the rights of Aboriginal people to self-government and autonomy on their own terms and following their own way of living. And here we are confronted with the rhetoric of concern and empathy which on one hand accepts that Aboriginal people must be dealt with fairly. But on the other hand the dispensation of fairness is still under the control, definition and policies of Euro-Canadian society and the state, meted out through current structures, processes, policies and practices which are consistent with the state's interpretations of social justice and equity. This appeal to the higher authority of the state and to the modern version of 'Manifest Destiny' neutralizes direct responsibility for actually dealing fairly and honestly with Aboriginal people on terms which are meaningful to them and for returning control over their own lives under their own structures, processes and meaning systems.

This social/psychological neutralization of responsibility coupled with the objectifying nature of ideological domination are tremendous barriers. They act to excuse Euro-Canadians from fully accepting their complicity and responsibility for the conditions created through colonization and the need to change 'their' attitudes and beliefs which support the continued domination of Aboriginal people. Further to this, the process of domination destroys their own humanity and capacity for a fully humane participation in social justice and equity. Finally, continuing this false sense of the truth of history and the current reality of domination further encumbers Aboriginal people from realizing a sense of justice as defined by their own perspectives.

The social policy literature points to a few other considerations important to understanding ideological dominance and its inherent structural and invisible nature. Taking the funneling and grounding of the social policy literature it is clear that while Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns do get dealt with in the literature and this treatment, while not fully exclusionary, cannot be considered inclusion. What is missing from the literature is similar in nature to the analysis of ideological domination as a priori analysis. Colonization reflects this same systemic feature as well and is the retreat from responsibility through objectification and the reflection of neutralizing strategies in the literature on social policy. First, even where there was treatment of Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns specific to the development of the Canadian welfare state and social policy only two authors made the attempt to significantly include Aboriginal people in this discussion. The other authors and their treatment of Aboriginal people can be characterized as marginal and exclusionary. Theirs was either simply a micro analysis with little or no discussion of the structural conditions leading to the need for such an analysis. Or, it was cursory and marginal with only a passing mention as example without any discussion that could be helpful for understanding the historical and current manifestations of ideological domination and the colonial process and its impacts upon Aboriginal people. More important, the nature of this discussion as a felt and current experience is missing and Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns become an a priori discussion of ideological domination bereft of its subjective nature. Second, the retreat to mainstream analysis without serious attempts at the inclusion of an Aboriginal perspective objectifies the subjects in the analytical discourse and in this sense marginalizes Aboriginal people from the central importance of the discussion. Third, by

avoiding and not problematizing either of the previous acts of exclusion the literature acts as a neutralizing strategy which distances the responsibility of social policy analysis to deal seriously with the full nature of this exclusion.

I would suggest here that these acts of exclusion contribute to the inherent and systemic resistance of social policy analysis to come to a complete understanding and responsibility to end this privileged position and to offer social work analysis to a full service for dismantling false consciousness. This is important for Aboriginal people. Moreover, it is extremely important and necessary for non-Aboriginal people who continue this systemic and inherent exclusionary practice. This complicity in marginalization and oppression are major factors which influence, what I believe to be, the unconscious (obfuscated) exclusion of Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns from any meaningful and enlightening discourse.

These contentions are further supported through the quantitative measure of inclusion and further evidence is revealed when taking the larger sample of literature and submitting this to the five sub-questions posed (d to h). There is a degree of representation of Aboriginal issues; however, this representation is of a cursory nature as Aboriginal issues receive insignificant treatment as an addendum, example, or in passing in the general discussion of social policy related issues. And here the appeal to a higher authority as a neutralizing strategy surfaces as the higher authority is the mainstream discourse of social work and social policy analysis informed from its own intellectual tradition. This picture becomes even less significant as we note that of the twenty six materials used almost fifty percent did not deal with Aboriginal issues at all. This represents the neutralizing strategy of the denial of the victim for, if you don't deal at all

with the issues surrounding the destructive impacts of colonization on Aboriginal people, you absent your complicity and responsibility to these. The significance of inclusion is further minimized considering only a small percentage of materials that included a discussion of Aboriginal issues incorporated an Aboriginal perspective and the largest percentage receive treatment through contemporary western frameworks and paradigms. Here again, the neutralizing strategy of a higher authority is imposed and represents an arrogant dispensation of treatment which marginalizes Aboriginal knowledge and theory making it less significant to the accepted knowledge and theory of Euro-Canadian intellectual tradition. This marginalizing strategy is as problematic as exclusion.

These results indicate only a minimal degree of inclusion and varying levels of deficiency. So for instance at least half of the materials reviewed did not even cover Aboriginal issues. This exclusion of Aboriginal people and treatment of their issues and concerns in social policy analysis is a tacit denial of the victimization of Aboriginal people. It is also a tremendous disservice to both Aboriginal people through social policy as it absents the necessary process of decolonization from social policy literature and which could bring a deeper and more inclusive level of analysis. Those that did address Aboriginal people used contemporary western theories, paradigms and frameworks and all of these emerge from Euro-Canadian intellectual thought. This is entirely inadequate to the task as none of these speak to a differing conversation of social policy from an Aboriginal perspective. So, for instance the missed opportunity to present the worldview of Aboriginal people as a meaningful contributor to intellectual knowledge and theory tacitly marginalizes by its absence. Further, none of these texts recognize or problematize this deficiency. By virtue of this they tacitly support the inter-generational transmission of

their privileged conversation and position. And, even where there was significant coverage as the main subject matter, this coverage was from other than an Aboriginal perspective. The one exception was an article from a text on ethno-racial communities and was co-authored by an Aboriginal person familiar with the culture, traditions, constructs and concepts. However, as only small representation of an Aboriginal perspective it is perhaps more a testament to exclusion than inclusion.

In summary there is strong support for the contention forwarded by Adams (1999) and Alfred (1999) that Aboriginal people continue to suffer under domination, marginalization and oppression. These occur in varying ways and act to obfuscate their condition and encumber the construction and articulation of an Aboriginal perspective. As important for understanding the difficulty to penetrate social policy analysis with an Aboriginal perspective, the distancing, objectifying and neutralizing of Euro-Canadian responsibility contributes to the continuation of this phenomenon.

For ideological domination, normalized through the historical, intellectual and objectifying discourse of western and Euro-Canadian philosophical development, the experiences of colonization and oppression becomes an a priori intellectual discussion. It locates the specific circumstances of Aboriginal people and their condition as an aspect of the overall discussion, objectifying and removing Aboriginal people from their particular and unique circumstances under the intentional and inhumane treatment of European incursion and its mercantilist/capitalist ideology. Referring to Smith's (2006) standpoint and subjective analysis one might suggest that the objectified patriarchal power of capitalist society has subsumed the subjective and horrific experiences of Aboriginal people under the a priori knowledge and theory of western society effectively removing

the 'sense' of their complicity in this process. This then becomes couched in intellectual and theoretical discourse removing the real and felt experience of a people and therefore further marginalizing Aboriginal truth.

Social policy analysis is not absent from this ideological domination. Ideological dominance is structurally located and reflected in the exclusion of an Aboriginal perspective from the analytical conversation of social policy. As the foundational premises of the practice of social work this exclusion must be problematized as a primary feature of the discipline. Having first acknowledged this, the discipline can then begin to work towards the inclusion of an Aboriginal perspective following an Aboriginal worldview and its application within the discipline.

Summary of Results and Analysis

The results and analysis of ideological domination, colonization and social policy literature lend support to Adams (1999) and Alfred's (1999) contention of the inherent and obfuscated nature of ideological domination as a major contributing factor for first, having an Aboriginal perspective heard, and second, for the difficulty in reconstructing a resilient and collective voice for this perspective. It is apparent that this ideological domination is still as pervasive and as collusive as it ever was, even if it is perhaps now gentler and more cleverly hidden as an inherent feature of western Euro-Canadian ideology and contained in social policy analysis and social work.

This highlights the difficulty for articulating a resilient Aboriginal perspective and for interrogating dominance outside of Euro-Canadian knowledge and theory. At the very least this means that the discussion of Aboriginal issues and concerns, in whatever subject

matter this is being entertained, must begin with the problematizing, uncovering and revealing of the inherent nature of ideological domination and colonization. This includes social policy analysis.

It has been suggested by some non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal people that it is time to lessen the degree to which we discuss domination and colonization and focus upon strategies for change as the primary discourse for Aboriginal people. I caution against such an approach simply because, as it has been shown, we have not dealt with the full impact and the pervasive nature of this phenomenon and its continued agenda for assimilation at worst and acculturation at best under foreign terms and conditions. And here I agree with Adams (1999) and Alfred (1999) that until such time as the Aboriginal community has developed its own powerful and resilient analysis informed from this interrogation and from the experiences as colonized and a culturally different people this will be a necessary aspect of the discourse on Aboriginal people, their issues and concerns.

CHAPTER 5

IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORK

The discussion and implications emerging from the results and analysis of the research on an Aboriginal perspective, ideological domination, colonization, and social policy analysis are presented here.

Ideological domination, colonization and the reflection of these in social policy analysis are presented from an Aboriginal perspective for interrogating this continuing phenomenon. This is presented first before the discussion on an Aboriginal perspective as the imposition of dominance is directly related to the ability to have an Aboriginal perspective heard and must be stated at the outset. This is a necessary part of the implications because it has been shown that while there is the appearance of inclusion and appreciation for Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns this does not play itself out in the analysis of the literature on ideological domination and colonization nor is this reflected in the social policy literature. A clear and interrogative statement is necessary because it informs the importance for challenging social work as supportive of this phenomenon, intentionally or otherwise.

The discussion of the implications based upon the results and analysis of an Aboriginal perspective indicate that their worldview is not understood nor appreciated. Part of the reason for this is that an Aboriginal perspective receives little attention in the literature and analysis of social policy, and this relates to the pervasive nature of ideological domination and its continued imposition. Another reason is that this perspective has not been articulated well enough and in way that can penetrate Euro-

Canadian knowledge and theory. The following then are presented as the means to address the interrogation of domination, colonization and social policy and supporting this, the inclusion of an Aboriginal perspective for social policy analysis, social work ideology and social work practice.

Implications for the Interrogation of Ideological Domination

Any discussion of Aboriginal issues and concerns in social work must begin with the interrogation of the conditions which created marginalization and oppression for Aboriginal people. This is critical for setting the context and the importance for understanding both the past and current reality of Aboriginal people and the Canadian settler societies of which all Non-Aboriginal people, including colony born and new immigrants, are the benefactors. The central concern of this interrogation is to 'bring to life' the inhumane and destructive nature and process of ideological domination for what it was, and what 'it still is'. The reason for taking this approach is to show the monolithic a priori character of ideological domination which objectifies and obfuscates the horrific treatment of Aboriginal people in favour of a cognitive and intellectualized and neutralizing analysis which removes the felt experience of Aboriginal people and distances the Euro-Canadian complicity and responsibility in this phenomenon. As important, this character of objectification and removal of 'felt' experience has begun to creep in to the analysis of colonization. This gives colonization theory a similar monolithic a priori character and neutralizing sense as ideological domination.

This cannot be allowed to happen for several reasons. As Anderson (2003), Armitage (1995), Frideres (2001), Kellough (1980), and others have shown, Aboriginal

people were forcefully displaced from their ancestral lands through a process that was immoral, unethical and based upon a racist ideology. Second, this displacement from their ancestral home was one of the most inhumane treatments afforded a race of people in the history of humankind; it was characterized by mass destruction through murder, starvation, disease and cultural genocide (Anderson, 2003; Kellough, 1980; Frideres, 2001; and Lux, 2001). Third, capitalist ideology is ideological domination. The obfuscated nature of this phenomenon enlisted the settler societies to participate in the destruction of Aboriginal people permitting the most horrendous acts upon another people without guilt or shame, and with the false belief of goodness and rightness of action as a civilizing Christian mission, and as the extension of 'manifest destiny' of Canadian ideology. And as Memmi (1987) indicates these new colonizers (settlers) acted as the 'shock troops' for colonization. Fourth, the results of this process are still 'lived experiences' for Aboriginal people and have yet to be completely dealt with in consideration of an Aboriginal perspective of this process and its outcomes. And finally, the ideology which fashioned this terrible and genocidal history is still an active force obfuscating the complicity and responsibility of Euro-Canadians, for the eroding, altering and encumbering the reconstruction of an Aboriginal perspective.

To forget these things is to bring dishonour to Aboriginal ancestors and to dismiss the sacrifices they have made for keeping a way of life alive in whatever form this has taken. And further, 'forgetting' obfuscates the truth of this condition and will lead to the acquiescence to Euro-Canadian reality and truth at the expense of Aboriginal reality and truth.

I cannot help but think about the Jewish people and their insistence on the continued and graphic exposure of the holocaust as a constant reminder to humanity of the horrific potential the human animal has for destructiveness. At the pillars of an ideological, rationalizing and obfuscating socially constructed dogma a whole race of people were submitted to the most inhumane treatment and wholesale human massacre where fellow human beings were treated as less than animals. Today most people would find it hard to fathom how one group of people could have constructed an ideology of superiority based upon a horrific sense of manifest destiny that was so powerful and convincing that it allowed such an event to occur in human history without guilt or shame as the act was perpetrated and human lives were taken. And as we sit in the comfort of our homes we are appalled that a similar phenomenon is happening in Darfur, and in other parts of the world. Yet where this 'has happened' in Canada the awareness and the sensitivity pale in comparison to the outpourings for other countries and other peoples. This is a perplexing contradiction of Canadian society.

That this contradiction exists is evidence of Memmi's (1987) analysis that reveals the absolution of the colonizer and makes invisible the true nature of ideological dominance, colonization and colonial complicity. And this is another reason why the interrogation of ideological domination must be a central aspect of the discourse on Aboriginal people. The fact that this contradiction exists for the Canadian psyche is evidence of the inherent and systemic obfuscating nature of ideological dominance and the objectifying and neutralizing nature of this phenomenon which hides from view the true nature of this condition from both the colonized and the colonizer.

Like the Jewish people, Aboriginal people must expose and highlight this horrific history and its outcomes so that Canadian society is not allowed to forget. Moreover, Aboriginal people must not be deterred from the important challenge of recovering their own truth as Aboriginal people. Equally compelling, Euro-Canadians must be made aware of this 'Aboriginal holocaust' in their own back yard. And Euro-Canadian society and social work must problematize their historical complicity, recognizing their direct responsibility for the exercise of the inhumane and genocidal activities of their ancestors which led to their current privileged position in Canadian society.

This same obfuscating nature of ideological dominance which releases Euro-Canadians from a full appreciation of the Aboriginal historical and current condition of marginalization and oppression is evident in social policy analysis. Through marginal treatment and exclusion of Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns, and without the inclusion of an Aboriginal perspective, social policy analysis is performing the same function of domination through objectification, nihilation, and neutralization which acts to surreptitiously marginalize and oppress. It would seem to make logical sense that where the experience of a people right here in Canada was created through the same process of ideological domination that these would be central feature of the problematic and discourse on marginalization and oppression in Canadian social policy literature. It is certainly important and necessary to speak to the issues and concerns of women, new immigrants, people of colour, gays and lesbians, the aged and youth and others who experience marginalization and oppression at the hands of a capitalist liberal democratic state. And, it makes equally or greater sense to focus significant attention to analysis for

those who originally occupied Canada as their homeland and who were the first victims of this ideology of domination on these shores.

This analysis of ideological domination from an Aboriginal perspective is a necessary feature for discussing Aboriginal issues and concerns as it reveals and highlights the felt experiences of Aboriginal people under the imposition of this phenomenon. It also exposes the fact that this process is still an inherent and systemic feature of Canadian capitalist dominating ideology. This dominant ideology impacts both marginalized and oppressed people and their oppressors; in addition dealing with these as individual problems falls far short of ever hoping to address the underlying causal connection to marginalization and oppression.

Implications for an Aboriginal Perspective on Social Policy Analysis

In social policy analysis there is a paradigm used to analyze the historical and current manifestations of political ideology in its many permutations. This paradigm is used in the introductory course to social policy analysis in social work at the University of Manitoba and has a number of elements that are identified as common to all political ideologies. Informed by the previous results and analysis of an Aboriginal perspective and ideological domination this paradigm will be used as a template for a preliminary discussion about Aboriginal ideology.

A caveat is necessary here. While I utilize this framework I am aware that I face the criticism of acquiescing to the same thing I have just critiqued by using a framework created by Euro-Canadian intellectual thought. However, in using this framework the Aboriginal perspective presented, and the analysis of domination and colonization, are the

basis upon which I will conduct this discussion addressing where this framework is helpful for understanding, and where it requires further elaboration and changes to accommodate the perspective and analysis completed in this research. In this sense it is not necessary to re-invent the wheel if it gets you to where you want to go, along the route you chosen to take, and with the necessary alteration to accommodate the unique journey.

Further, since it is Euro-Canadian knowledge and theory and its historical, intellectual and philosophical development over centuries which is often the greatest barrier to being understood it makes sense to penetrate this heritage and to inform this with the results and analysis of an Aboriginal perspective. One of my first professors in Sociology, who had a tremendous influence on my thinking, spoke about how each of us as individuals and a society are equipped with a cognitive net for processing information constructed from our socially located experiences in a particular cultural group or society and that each strand of the weave of this cognitive net represents a piece of the knowledge and theory of that particular group or society. For each group or society this net is different. Further, for each individual the weave is closely or widely proximate and the gaps or holes in this net relate to the knowledge and theory we have accumulated as we participate in our social reality. The ability to capture information is in relation to whether or not this information is similar to the strand of this cognitive net and the size of the gaps from one strand to the next. If information emerges from a different source with a different construction of socially constituted knowledge and theory it may, at best, be only partially captured, or at worst, it may slip through entirely. This metaphor for capturing and understanding knowledge and theory is the motivation for using a paradigm

which is familiar to Euro-Canadian thinking. Using such a paradigm, which is a part of the Euro-Canadian cognitive net, increases the possibility that this new knowledge and theory will be understood and the meaning of this will be appreciated beyond the safety of cognitive and neutralizing processing.

In the Course, SWRK 1301, *The Introduction to Social Policy Analysis*, offered at the University of Manitoba, Faculty of Social Work, an ideological framework is presented along with eight explanatory elements used to analyze a number of political philosophies. As a means to illustrate the application of the results and analysis of this research this ideological paradigm and its eight elements will be the template to illustrate an Aboriginal perspective or ideology. These elements are interpreted to capture the 'essence' of an Aboriginal perspective following the ontological, epistemological, moral and ethical principles, values and beliefs, and symbolic meaning systems earlier presented.

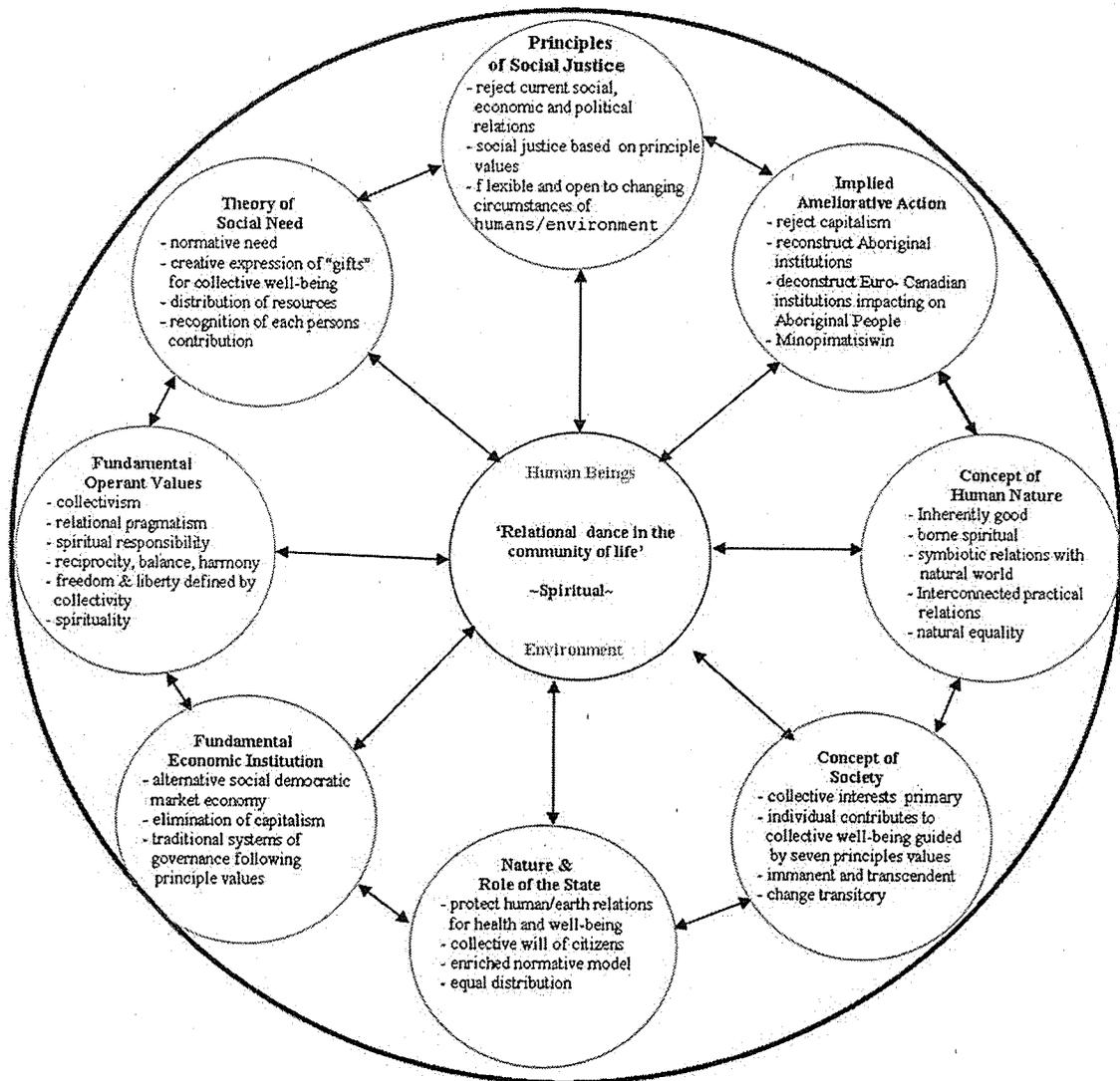
Further, I have changed the order of these elements with the concept of human nature dealt with as the first item of business. This was necessary for two reasons. First, from an Aboriginal perspective the concept of human nature is a fundamental proposition from which emerges the relationship between human beings and the cosmos and establishes the relational and symbiotic dialogue. Second, the view one takes of human nature informs the entire discussion of the other seven elements, and from an Aboriginal perspective, this concept is the genesis of our responsibility to self, others and, the natural world.

The paradigm presented here is an "ideal type". That is, the reason for developing this paradigm was not to impose upon either non-Aboriginal or Aboriginal people but to simply provide a means to consider how such a paradigm might have an impact upon

social welfare policy analysis. However, this ideal type may have some utility for examining how the imposition of Euro-Canadian reality has already altered Aboriginal reality and where there will be a need to re-think and re-conceptualize our current thinking. And, it may also have some utility in identifying where change is necessary to return to the wisdom of Aboriginal culture as a guide to human sustainability. For example, as self-government is already in progress and has been partially constructed with only a fragmented conception of Aboriginal reality it probably makes sense to consider how the current construction of self-government does or does not reflect an Aboriginal ideology and how ultimately a contemporary Aboriginal reality can be different from the colonizing experience of Euro-Canadian political philosophy. In support of this, Ladner and Orsini (2005) and Prince and Abele (2005), refer to the need to follow an Aboriginally constructed paradigm for self-government. And Adams (1999) and Alfred (1999) are clear that there is a need to rethink and reconstruct our knowledge and theory to be consistent with the truth of our own reality contained in an Aboriginal perspective.

Additionally I have visually illustrated the Aboriginal paradigm in Figure 16 through a primary conceptual structure universally accepted by the Aboriginal community at large as a meaningful way to understand the relational nature of an Aboriginal worldview. It is a way to capture the cyclical and interconnected nature of an Aboriginal worldview and challenges the linear conceptual framework of western thinking. As it

Figure 16: Ideology Wheel: The Relational Core of Aboriginal Political Philosophy



The circle is a construct that most properly captures an Aboriginal perspective because it allows graphic representation of the fundamental relational character and the reciprocity of these relations. Each circle of the eight elements of ideology are connected by relational arrows which move back and forth between all eight. Further, the central circle represents the people and the environment and are also joined by relational arrows illustrating the importance of connecting humans and the earth to all eight elements when considering how each is to be interpreted and used for decision-making and for analyzing policy directions and outcomes. All relations are guided by the spiritual ontological premises and the cultures and traditions which reflect the genesis of the relationship to all of Creation.

stands, it is tentative, a work in progress, and I am certain it will go through many revisions, re-thinking and responses to critique and suggestions.

In the following presentation of an Aboriginal ideological paradigm the concept of human nature is presented first as it is the foundational element for understanding an Aboriginal perspective which demonstrates that humans are inherently good. Following this the 'relationship of society to the people' is presented and this differs from the heading originally used in this paradigm which is, 'the relationship of the *individual* to society'. This change challenges the emphasis of concern and reflects the collective principle found in an Aboriginal perspective. The next element is labeled the 'nature of relations' different than the 'nature of society' found in the original paradigm and reflects the relationship aspect of 'the community of life'. The next element, 'the nature and role of the state is altered to reflect the clan based system where all people were involved in governance and not simply a representative or majority concept of rule. The 'fundamental economic institutions' element captures the equality of distribution principle found in an Aboriginal perspective. While somewhat similar to the description provided in the original an Aboriginal perspective takes this further and includes the notion that the primary purpose of the economic institutions of society are for the health and well-being of the whole community of life and not just human beings. The element, 'fundamental operative values' from an Aboriginal perspective reflects collectivism, relational pragmatism and particularly the spiritual responsibility missing from the original paradigm. The element, 'principles of social justice' from an Aboriginal perspective is similar to the original discussion as a distributive form of social justice. Finally the element 'implied ameliorative action' from an Aboriginal perspective rejects capitalism and the status quo where the original paradigm views capitalism as a transitional phase

towards some form of socialist society. What follows, is the discussion of an Aboriginal ideological paradigm informed from an Aboriginal perspective.

A Tentative Aboriginal Ideological Paradigm for the Analysis of Political Ideology

1. Aboriginal - The Concept of Human/Earth Nature

(The Concept of Human Nature)

The results and analysis from the research indicate quite clearly that the foundation of Aboriginal reality rest on a different foundation than a western view of human existence, and is characterized as essentially good. Deloria Jr. (1999 & 2003), Benton-Benai (1988), and Hart (2002), all attest to this in their presentations of Aboriginal culture and tradition and this notion of goodness immediately calls into question the other and varying interpretations and outcomes of the inherent nature of human beings which guide policy formation and trajectories. For example the 'homo duplex' understanding that we are both good and evil calls out the treatment of humanity as deserving and undeserving as illustrated in the British Poor Laws and found in Neo-conservative and liberal policies. This understanding of human nature informs and directs policy to treat human beings as if they are intrinsically unworthy when they fail to meet the middle class standards of a white capitalist society: in doing so, the structural impediments which prevent people from realizing their full human potential is dismissed or ignored.

The concept of 'tabula rasa' or a blank slate is also dismissed by an Aboriginal perspective as it suggests the absence of the inner core of our humanity, our spirit. It suggests that we are entirely social and that 'bad people' are bad due to improper

socialization to societal standards. In addition, the standards used to judge good and bad are largely white middle class capitalist standards. It can be suggested that this directs policy towards the protectionist, penalizing based system of justice and law, solidifying a 'them and us' paradigm. This makes it extremely difficult to construct other meaningful measures to dispense justice on the inherent goodness of humanity, and for dealing with the structural impediments and the possibility for changing the condition for the labeled and the labeller. Even the 'Homo Laborans' notion, which sees human beings as labouring for individual and collective good, falls short as it fails to deal with the notion of spirituality and the relational core of our existence as goodness. The notion of 'Homo Socius' probably comes closest to an Aboriginal perspective as it recognizes that we are social beings and have an intrinsic sense of community. However, where even this falls short, is that it also reflects the secularized notion of humanity and misses the central importance of our spiritual nature as the foundational premise upon which we are located. An Aboriginal perspective would recognize that all humanity deserves the wherewithal to live with dignity and with a standard of living which promotes opportunity and self-realization; as well it would recognize that this goodness includes the social relations with the earth as a part of the definition and the conversation.

For Aboriginal people then this inherent goodness would guide policy that does not penalize their needs based upon means tests which is a reflection of the 'homo duplex' and 'tabula rasa' paradigm. Nor would it reflect justice as a penalizing system but would be dispensed upon restoring harmony and balance and the responsibility for the community to participate in the re-integration and re-balancing of social relations. Such policy would address the reasons for need and define ways and means to deal with this at the structural and societal levels. Guiding this dispensation of a goodness based policy

model would be the spiritual responsibility that we hold for each other as equal spiritual beings emanating from the same source of existence and locating us in the relational dance of the community of life.

This relational dance in the community of life starts from the premise that all people are immersed inside of the social order. In this sense they learn about their roles and responsibilities as a socialization process over time. Further to an Aboriginal perspective however, human beings are also provided with their special gifts, or inherent skills, which relate to how their life will unfold in support of the community of life. These special gifts are given at birth and are nurtured and developed as a part of the socialization process including the mechanisms of naming, clan and the inward journey to knowledge and truth exercised through fasting, vision quests and the rites of passage marking the social transition of the individual along the collective path. This represents more than just a socialization process but represents the inherent connection and expression of meaning of the individuals life as a given and a developmental process over time. (Pete)

2. The Relationship of Society to the People

(The Relationship of the Individual to Society)

“Owiiidaamaan mamawi dago ishi manidoo” means living altogether with creation (Great Spirit) and captures the relationship of the people to society. This relationship is premised on a collective responsibility that first considers the health and well-being of society and encompasses both human beings and the natural world. In this sense Aboriginal people are governed by a practical and natural responsibility to the ecosphere of which we are one small piece and this emerges from the symbiotic relationship and conjoint dynamic relations between the two. A person is consistent with

the people and creation if she/he exists within this relationship and govern their actions in relation to this (the ethical and moral codes and the principles values or teachings as earlier presented). This means that the individual is subsumed under collective responsibility but not in the deterministic sense where individual expression is quelled or silenced. Rather, the individual is celebrated in relation to their ability to contribute to societal well-being and through the use of their special gifts and capacities given through Creation, nurtured and grown through the institutions of Aboriginal society including, family, clan, tribal affiliation and nation (the social/cultural relational dance of the community of life).

Additionally, because of the fluidity of relations (learned through the teachings provided through the natural world which demanded flexibility and resiliency and the ability to embrace the changing conditions of the earth) the individual is able to move about in society embracing new roles and new ideas which contribute to societal well-being. This idea of the individual is far more freeing than the western conceptualization.

For example, a neo-conservative definition of the relationship of the individual to society accepts a 'natural' hierarchal structure where each person is located in a particular strata of society as a functional form of organization. In this view there are varying levels of intelligence and skills and those at the top are the most deserving and those at the bottom are less deserving. The inherent and intrinsic equality of human relations in an Aboriginal perspective dismisses this as a convenient social fiction meant to support the special place afforded to the privileged. The liberal notion of this same concept sees humans as free-willed where society is simply a fiction created to allow individuals the freedom to pursue their own self-interest and where this pursuit of self-interest has benefits for the overall well-being of society. An Aboriginal perspective would dismiss

this as another social fiction that supports a privileged group and that while people must have their needs met it is not achieved based on the exercise of self-interest; rather it is the result of their collective responsibility to their fellow human beings guided by our spiritual responsibility and our co-equal and conjoined existence. The social democratic view is somewhat similar to an Aboriginal perspective as it views individuals as groups vying for their collective interests with conflict, negotiation and compromise as a central feature of this dynamic. But, again an Aboriginal perspective would suggest that this does not go far enough in terms of identifying the collective good as the predominant focus with the individual in service to this, through their particular strengths or gifts as they are referred in traditional life.

a. Nature of Relations

(Nature of Society)

Society is both immanent and transcendent. At the very basic level (relational pragmatism) it is immanent because the relations between the people occurs in concert with the natural world and the discourse is reciprocal and equal in support of the capacity for survival for both. It is transcendent because the ontological premise of an Aboriginal worldview conjoins both the human and the rest of the natural world establishing a relationship beyond, and joining the practical level creating a spiritual connection and relationship symbolic of the immensity and the multiplicity of meaning in the ecosphere, including the spiritual realm. This idea is not contradictory nor a dichotomous view. Rather this reflects the integrative nature of Aboriginal thinking. First, it recognizes that there is a practical basis for our existence and that this practical basis attains richer and symbolic qualities as humans evolved their worldview in direct relation to the natural world and reflected on the wonder and complexity of that world beyond our imaginations.

This is not a deterministic and finite sense of the world. Rather, it is an acceptance that there are unlimited possibilities and that the discovery of these occurs through the subjective inner journey which meshes and melds these discoveries as an aspect of our totality of being as opposed to some objective “thing” out there, totally separate and apart from us.

Further, this view differs from the neo-conservative view which accepts the idea of the survival of the fittest and where the fittest in their case is the dominant group who hold sway in society and who marginalize and oppress the subordinate group as an accepted normative social reality.

It has some similarity to the liberal view of society where society is seen as an organism where each piece of the organism is functional to the overall well being of the larger organism. Where an Aboriginal perspective differs is, once again, in the belief of our conjoined and spiritual existence and the responsibility humans hold towards ensuring the health and well being of both humans and the rest of the natural world as a spiritual responsibility beyond a simple functional imperative.

The social democratic view has some similarity as it sees society as composed of groups often in collision or in conflict, having opposing interests, but sharing the goal of the overall best interests of society. Again, the lack of emphasis on the spiritual responsibility and the equality created through this is missing from this view.

b. Concept of Social Change

An Aboriginal concept of social change is transitory and dependant upon the changing conditions within the ecosphere where people live. Social change is dependant upon the conversation between people which considers the impacts of our decisions on the seventh generation and would also consider the conversation with the rest of the

community of life and the impact that those same decisions would bring to it. Change would be qualitative and would contribute to social and environmental well-being as the primary considerations and would require considerable diligence and consideration to both the immediate and long term outcomes and impacts. Here the notions of balance and harmony are the guiding principles for understanding the purpose for change and where it benefits both humankind and the earth and its living matter.

3. Nature and Role of the State

Fundamentally the primary force of the state is operationalized through the people and a participatory process where all people are involved in governance. The instruments which compose the function of the state (participatory process) are all harnessed towards supporting the well-being of all its members, following the principles of equality and social justice. Equality and social justice are both informed by the spiritual essence of co-equality and interdependence not as a function of state control and support of the status quo of capitalist ideology. The laws and the agencies which dispense these also follow the principles of the goodness of humanity and the need to restore balance in human relations rather than in the service of a protectionist and penalizing society as is the current reality of our liberal democratic state.

Further, the central guiding principles of an Aboriginal worldview necessitate some fundamental changes in Aboriginal/ state relations. First, Aboriginal people and their political leadership must re-configure their policy framework to ensure that these, as Ladner and Orsini (2005) suggest, reflect the fundamental philosophy of an Aboriginal worldview. And second, the federal government must be made to accept that the current state driven policy framework is inconsistent with this foundational philosophy. This includes such things as the immediate return and protection of sacred places and

environmental precarious niches to ensure that we exercise our responsibility inherent in our philosophies. It means taking the political position that current land-bases and land transferred back to Aboriginal people is considered the jurisdictional expression of our political philosophies guided by the principles emerging from our worldview. Even where the political position differs from federal and provincial laws, statutes, legislation, and policy directions, Aboriginal leadership must be bold and hold to the integrity of traditional philosophy and our relational dance in the community of life. This is the issue and core premise of sovereignty and autonomy from an Aboriginal perspective. In terms of transfer agreements and existing and new partnership arrangement with the Canadian state the primacy of our responsibility with the land must be paramount. This must reflect the need to protect the resources from economic over-exploitation and degradation and include planning with measurable outcomes that describe how any economic initiative will return the land to its condition and allow healing and restoration to occur.

a. Nature of the State

Government would reflect a process and structure which captures the will of all its citizens (in terms of the relational dance and the responsibility this assumes) as the clan, tribal and nation structures accomplished before contact. Under this system society was composed of several layers of responsibility both individual and collective, which practiced specific ceremonial roles and responsibilities relating to group decision-making. All of these systems of governance had, as the central core, the spiritual nature and the responsibility to consider the earth in all of their decisions.

So for example, the neo-conservative view sees the state as a referee of power relations where order is restored through managing and punishing those who transgress the individual self-interest of another. In this case the capitalist ruling class receives the

lion's share of protection and the subordinate group is held in check from proceeding beyond their station in society maintaining the hierarchal social order based on power. This view of law and order is a derivative of the capitalist exercise of hegemony and the conservative state acts to support this view.

In the liberal view of the nature of the state is viewed as the arbitrator and neutral mediator of different elements of society and whose purpose is to restore social order. The restoration of the social order is the restoration of the status quo and the continued domination by a privileged group or class.

The social democratic view recognizes class differences and conflict as a natural feature of society and works to create opportunity for society to accommodate and to change conditions towards some degree of fairness and equality but not as a radical or revolutionary change process.

An Aboriginal view of the nature of the state would reject these as inconsistent and as contrary to the notion that all people must participate in the state similar to the Clan systems of Aboriginal past.

So for example, the current structure of Aboriginal leadership does not reflect and Aboriginal perspective but at best looks more like a blend between the neo-conservative and liberal views where there is an elite group (Aboriginal Leaders) and a subordinate group (Aboriginal People). This is so because as things are currently structured the people have no say in the selection of its national leadership, currently elected through the chiefs. Moreover the chieftain political system is in fact a municipal form of government which is far different than the old system where leaders were chosen based upon their ability to lead, their skills in many areas, and their honesty, integrity and 'adherence to traditional principles', ethics and moral rules for behaviours. It was a consensus based system of

choosing leadership that reflected a collaborative approach and contributed to community and individual health and well-being. And as Adams (1999) and Alfred (1999) suggest this chieftain system is little more than a popularity contest between leaders who have opted for and adopted mainstream values, including neo-conservative and liberal political ideologies. This ideological departure from traditional practices can be seen by the manner in which leadership conduct themselves as petty autocrats overcome with their own power and obfuscated from the reality of their colonial history. In summary this leads them to act no differently than mainstream politician and provincial and federal bureaucracies.

In terms of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal social work, following a consensus based model, while difficult to achieve given both our degrees of colonization and obfuscation, would move the discipline towards building healthy communities and following from this healthy individuals. It has been said by the Elders that before we give advice we must start with ourselves and our own place of meaning.

b. The Role of the State in Social Welfare

An Aboriginal view of the role of the state in social welfare would see the state, through its participatory mechanisms, taking the lead role in ensuring that the benefits of society were distributed to all its citizens on an equal basis. All people would have a standard of living absent of hunger, access to decent housing, access to health service as needed and, with the opportunity to participate equally relative to their gifts, skills and particular interests emerging from family, clan and nation. This standard of living would reflect the kind of equality which is inherent in the relational dance of the community of life and where the primary principle is responsibility and not individual human desire.

This role would act to ensure that the institutions, structures, agencies and processes of Aboriginal societies were all focused upon health and well being consistent with an enriched normative model of social welfare. So for example, rather than moving to individual ownership of property, which is the direction that some Aboriginal communities seem to be heading, housing and infrastructure should be held in common with each individual contributing to the building and maintenance of the community.

Economic security should be based upon the needs of the families and individuals and not on some arbitrary means test which has no meaning in Aboriginal communities since unemployment is so high from centuries of underdevelopment in these communities. The sense of contribution and participation that people receive should be tied to the participation of the community and its focus for providing for its members.

Economic development that is sustainable and not injurious to the community of life should be promoted as a first concern and where there are currently mega-projects and businesses operating close to, or in Aboriginal communities these should be appropriated and run as community initiatives with monies going back to the communities as inflows and not outflows to some business person holidaying in Florida six months of the year. And this sense of economic development should be central feature of the negotiation platforms of Aboriginal leadership guide by the principles of the sustainability for the community of life.

There are in some sense a contradiction to sustainability and the control over current mega-projects in Aboriginal territories and this relates to both the past and current effects of these projects. First, taking control over these projects does not excuse the state from continuing to deal with past damage to Aboriginal communities and peoples as these are still the responsibility of government and the extension of social justice. Land claims

to recover indigenous economies and to develop new sustainable economies form a part of this responsibility. Further, where there are continuing issues of environmental degradation resulting from these projects the state has a responsibility to ameliorate these and assist Aboriginal people to find less intrusive measures while at the same time maintaining the level of benefits accrued through these projects, and which currently flow south and opposed to staying in the hinterland communities. So, for example the hydro electric projects in the north continue to cause damage to the environment and the traditional territories of Aboriginal people.

4. Fundamental Economic Institutions

Aboriginal institutions would reject the basic premises of capitalism and would view the economic imperative in support of the health and well-being of the people and the Earth (the land) as the primary purpose of economic activity. Ideally this would be similar to the Marxist notion of a command economy but as Aboriginal people exercise little choice in the construction of their economic institutions their participation in a capitalist economy would likely be similar to the social democratic view, seeking the gradual elimination of capitalism and a movement back to a re-constituted and contemporary clan based system where all members participate through the appropriate mechanisms based upon consensus, equality, balance, harmony and human and earth sustainability.

The choice of leadership to promote this kind of economic change for Aboriginal communities must be based upon the rejection of the economic notion of human beings. These types have already gravitated to leadership roles in the community because as the mold of capitalism has shaped their thinking they will only pursue the interests for a few

and themselves. Their notion of progress will likely be motivated by individual gain, greed and the unending thirst for more than is necessary for the good life.

Rather, the choice for leadership should be based upon the needs of the collective and leaders should be conversant with their traditional roles and responsibilities as given through the ontology and epistemology of the community of life. This calls for a return to the ways of living of our ancestors and choosing anything but this is a contravention to everything we were and wish to be as Aboriginal people and as members of the community of life.

5. Fundamental Operative Values

The values emerging from an Aboriginal perspective are fundamentally different than all of the political philosophies named because the basic premise of an Aboriginal world is encompassed by the notion of spirituality and the relational connection to the earth. The values of wisdom, love, respect, bravery, honesty, humility, truth and the other values named in the section on an Aboriginal perspective are the core ethical and moral guidelines and the essence of these are captured in the following universal values which premise Aboriginal society.

a. Collectivism

The relational dance mentioned in the section on Aboriginal worldviews refers to the idea that all living things are connected and this is the community of life-the ecosphere. The idea of collectivism reflects this relational dance because each human being is responsible to express their "gifts" towards sustainability of the group and the environment. Collectivism means that the individual is subsumed under collective responsibility where the expression of self is in support of the survival of the collective, including earth relations. Collectivism assumes an inherent equality of relations in the

community of life and is realized in the use and distribution of the social and material resources equally to all its members.

b. Relational Pragmatism for Collective Survival

Briefly, and as stated in the worldviews section, an Aboriginal perspective emerges from a relational dance of the community of life among all living things. At its very basic level this proposition emerged from the pragmatic and practical exigencies of survival and the absolute necessity for humans to conjoin their human capacities in concert with the natural world. This immersion of self came to be understood as 'Minopimatisiwin or the good life' (Hart, 2002). Inherent in this view is the importance of the relations between humans and the earth as a pragmatic principle for survival. This view demands that the wishes of the individual are considered in light of the collective and earth well-being. Where there is opportunity to exercise the reciprocity between humans and the earth in a sustaining and non-harmful way this value guides individual and collective action for and with human/earth relations. Further, pragmatism in this sense dispenses with the notion of wealth accumulation, surplus and profit for individual gain and prestige and supports the pragmatic equalization of social and material resources to benefit the collective.

c. Spiritual Responsibility

The idea of a spiritual responsibility is directed by the necessity for respecting the tremendous responsibility to the stream of life and the matrix of meaning which informs human and earth knowledge and theory. As discussed in the Aboriginal worldview section the practical need for conjoining with the natural world led to the symbolic meaning system which came to be understood as merging human essence (spirit) with the essence (spirit) of the community of life. This essence was the same for all living things

as all came from Creation and ultimately share the same source of emergence. In this sense it is impossible to consider one without the other in any deliberations. So, all aspects of our existence are guided by this responsibility and all aspects of this Aboriginal paradigm are informed by this. To be consistent with an Aboriginal perspective means to be consistent with our spiritual responsibility.

d. Reciprocity Balance, Harmony = Equality

The inherent equality of humans and the natural world can be traced directly back to the relational dance between humans and the natural world and the symbolic meaning systems which imitated this relation. Survival was absolutely dependant upon cooperation and understanding the capacity of the natural world to provide in a sustainable way- season to season, generation to generation. As all aspect of this paradigm are interconnected through this notion of spirituality all are informed through reciprocity, balance, harmony and equality.

e. Freedom and liberty

Freedom or liberty has a different meaning than expressed in Euro-Canadian political philosophies. This is so because the ontological and epistemological premises are different. We are just a member of the community of life, no more or nor less important than any other. The ability to move in, and converse with the natural world inside of its terms means that the greatest latitude is afforded both the collective and the individual in expressing their lives. This expression has a richness of life illustrated in the many different interpretations of culture across Turtle Island and all of these are characterized by their special relationship to the land and expressed in their particular cultures and traditions. Liberty, is also defined by this relationship. It allows each person the opportunity to realize their special nature to the world, and to incorporate this with their

responsibility to the people. This can occur in numerous ways as individuals express their inward journeys to knowledge and truth that are accepted and embraced by the people in the pursuit of collective survival. This expression of individuality was conditioned by the collectively recognized parameters of responsibility to others and the earth, all of which are premised upon our spiritual responsibility and in our role as keepers of these relations.

6. Theory of Social Need

Social need is defined as normative need where each person has available that which is necessary for human life and the creative expression of their gifts in the context of collective survival and the giving and getting of support for those things we all need to exist on the earth. The central dynamic is expressed in the practice of sharing and giveaways (still practiced today) where each person gave what they have to others as both the means to equalize relations and to strengthen bonds. In the giveaway one is not denigrated by the amount given but are acknowledged by the sacrifice they make no matter how small relative to their capacity to give. From the practical point of view all people had the potential to contribute to some aspect of collective life, either their past contribution or future potential was considered. From the spiritual view all life was imbued with the same spirit essence and therefore sacred. And through the development of the symbolic meaning systems in concert with the natural world each had its place and each required care and concern in respecting the balance and harmony of Creation.

7. Principles of Social Justice

In the discussion of Aboriginal worldviews the necessity to respond to the changing conditions of survival demanded that the people were flexible and attuned to changing conditions. The use of knowledge was therefore fluid and open to change for

the survival of humans and the planet. In this sense a concept of social justice is relative to the conditions and the circumstances which may prevail at any given point in time for human beings and the earth's sustainability. The distribution of society's resources to support survival would be relative to what was available and what was required to give the greatest opportunity for all the people. In any case, it would be a distributive form of social justice based upon each person's ability and need and not based upon a capitalist notion of merit or a person's greater potential to derive the necessities of life above another.

8. Implied Ameliorative Actions

Given the history of relations and the current conditions and continued misleading representations and omission in Canadian social policy and social welfare policy the implied ameliorative action for Aboriginal people would be the rejection of the current social economic and political relations in favour of an Aboriginal system based upon the culture and traditions of the ancestors. This means a rejection of the Euro-Canadian status quo and the capitalist market economy and a return to the distributive and equal relations illustrated in clan, tribe and nation and consistent with the foundational premises of their worldview-Minopimatisiwin. Each Nation may differ in the degree to which they transform their social, economic and political relations but what would be central to these changes is the expression of these as reflections of the community of life and the responsibility to maintain balance and harmony in the ecosphere.

Concluding Comments

This preliminary Aboriginal ideological paradigm has utility at the level of analysis for critiquing political ideologies from an Aboriginal perspective and for seeing where these political ideologies are inconsistent with an Aboriginal worldview. It also has utility for considering policy and its trajectories and potential impacts for Aboriginal people as well as acting as a framework for the development of Aboriginal policy which considers the important elements of an Aboriginal perspective and an Aboriginal worldview.

This articulation of an Aboriginal ideological paradigm is intended to capture a broad interpretation of Aboriginal thinking and is not meant to impose. However, modifications are possible consistent with the establishment of a logical connection to an underlying Aboriginal worldview.

Contrast and Comparison of Aboriginal Ideology and Social Work Ideology

There is another paradigm which focuses the discussion of ideology specifically on the discipline of social work. This paradigm is presented by Mullaly (1997) and focuses the attention on progressive social work ideals and beliefs. It is helpful here to locate the discussion of the ideological paradigm for social work ideology. Taking the discussion of an Aboriginal ideological paradigm an Aboriginal social work ideology is suggested and contrasted with Mullaly's (1997) paradigm elements (Figure 17). This is helpful for assessing the fundamental differences between these two and for suggesting a

reworking and redefinition of Mullaly's framework for understanding and Aboriginal social work practice.

Mullaly (1997) begins the discussion of a framework for social work which contains five primary elements for understanding social work ideology, 1) social beliefs, 2) economic beliefs, 3) political beliefs, 4) views of social welfare and, 5) principles of social work practice.

Social Beliefs

In Mullaly's (1997) framework the first category-social beliefs lists three elements, humanitarian (humanism), community and equality and these appear to be similar to what might constitute and Aboriginal ideology for social work. In discussing social beliefs Mullaly (1997) refers to several authors for drawing out the full meaning of this category. Focusing on John Friedmann (1973) and contrasting the view of human beings as either social or economic, one view characterizes human beings as relational social beings with a sense of social responsibility to each other as community. On the other hand there is also the view of human beings as economic beings who represent aggregates of individual interests, independent, self-interested and with no responsibility to others. In his view, and contrasting the economic view of human beings, people are humanitarian, communal and share an equality of existence. Mullaly (1997) states:

This view of the person recognizes that the individual should be the focus of all societal decisions. A society based on humanism would not only recognize the universal nature of human need but would actively attempt to provide to everyone conditions conducive to physical survival, mental health, self-respect, dignity, love, a sense of identity, the opportunity to use one's intellect, and happiness (Hardy, 1981). Such a commitment must be based on social equality, cooperation, and collective orientation (Gil, 1976) and consideration of all economic decisions ought to be based on their implications for human welfare. (p. 28)

Figure 17: Progressive/Aboriginal Social Work Paradigm

	Progressive Social Work	Aboriginal Social Work
Social Beliefs	Humanitarianism (Humanism) Community Equality	Spiritual humanism (conjoined existence) Collectivity primary focus Equality of human and earth relations (Community of life)
Economic Beliefs	Government intervention	Economic interests superseded by human/earth relations (non-secularized sustainability)
Political Beliefs	Participatory democracy (self-determination) in both government and non- governmental areas	Participatory democracy based on traditional process of governance-family-Clan-Nation Aboriginal ethics and values and traditional process for leadership
Social Welfare	An instrument to promote equality, solidarity, and community	Structural change - focus on colonization and decolonization led by Aboriginal practice, values and belief systems Healing journey Aboriginal societal re-integration at collective level
Principles of Social Work Practice	Treat people with respect enhance dignity and integrity facilitate self-determination accept differences	Spiritual base – values and beliefs, Aboriginal ethical moral codes Collective responsibility for self-determination whole community response highlight first people

*Adapted from Mullaly, (1997)

This appears somewhat similar to what might constitute an Aboriginal perspective on social beliefs, but, with an Aboriginal view there is a major departure from the focus of concern. First, there is agreement on the communal nature and the equality of existence of human beings and there is no argument here. However, the focus remains on the community, or the collective, and does not receive its measure through the individual's wants, needs and desires. As well, there are some further elaborations to capture the specific worldview of Aboriginal people and their experiences with colonization.

So for example, An Aboriginal perspective takes the relational characteristic of social beliefs and considers two further and important elements forming an integral and indivisible part of this definition of social beliefs. First, an Aboriginal view characterizes human beings as inherently good and where this goodness emanates from the conjoined and spiritual existence we share as human beings-our spiritual core (not religious dogma but the essence of our being as one aspect of creation). And this is different than Mullaly's (1997) definition because an Aboriginal perspective clearly states the spiritual nature of this relationship as the foundational and ontological premise upon which it is constructed. This ontological premise is the 'source' of meaning and its interpretation can only be justified where it serves the interests of the spiritual responsibility we have to each other as equals and as conjoined entities including the responsibility we hold to the earth as the same source of spiritual connection and responsibility. In this definition there is no room for economic self interest as it immediately contravenes the principle of conjoined, spiritual and collective responsibility. Mullaly (1997) does speak somewhat similarly to this responsibility but again it is in relation to the intellectual choice exercised as human beings and as human social constructs, and even where he would consider the

capitalist economic choice as the wrong one there is a tacit acceptance of this as the intellectual condition affecting Euro-Canadian social thought.

Moreover, with Mullaly's (1997) definition and analysis there is the same monolithic character that was discussed in the analysis of ideological domination, colonization and social policy analysis. These competing definitions of social beliefs seem to be tied only to the 'intellectual and socially constructed nature of human discourse' and definition of human life as an a priori conceptual definition, contained in the mind independent of experience. This a priori sense of things allows for the interpretation of human life for the benefit of the individual interests in direct contravention to our human/earth responsibility as the primary source of guidance and direction as human beings. An Aboriginal view rejects this out of hand and sees the economic view of human beings as reflective of an obfuscated and mystified expression which, rather than improving the condition of humanity, is destroying the potential for living in a humane and caring world. Following the worldview and ideology of Aboriginal people there is no independent and individual economic assets beyond the immediate personal possessions, only community assets to be shared equally. An Aboriginal perspective, as discussed in the analysis section and presented as an Aboriginal worldview, ties our view of human nature to all aspects of our humanity and our social constructions. Further, this humanity includes the spiritual, and is conjoined with the earth as the parallel structure of reality for living and existing. Separating these two removes the responsibility inherent in this conception. Once separated, this, at worst, tacitly gives permission to re-interpret our relations in often the most damaging and destructive ways as evidenced in the capitalist ideology of liberal democratic theory and

knowledge. At best, there is an intellectual acquiescence to the secularized nature of the dominant ideology even as criticism is forwarded against this.

A second difference between Mullaly's (1997) definitional categories and an Aboriginal perspective is found in the notion of community. Here there is agreement that humanity is the central edifice of our moral, ethical, value orientation and springboard for behaviours and action in the world as opposed to the economic and individualist conception which is detached from any moral code other than those which are fictitious and self-created in the interests of individual gain, profit and privilege. From an Aboriginal perspective, the latter are simply the permutations of an obfuscated humanity which has lost the directional core of existence and which is disconnected from the true measure of our humanity. Although what Mullaly (1997) says appears somewhat similar there is a fundamental difference here.

Rather than the notion of community an Aboriginal perspective would consider the collective as the primary edifice of our moral, ethical, value orientation and as the springboard for actions and behaviours in the world. The collective from an Aboriginal perspective includes the relations with the natural world as well as human beings. Although Mullaly (1997) does talk about the responsibility for living in a sustainable way and for the principled use of the earth's resources, an Aboriginal perspective means something more than this. That is, while Mullaly (1997) suggests that the well-being of the 'individual' is based upon equality among all members of society and this well-being encompasses the right to decent health, an adequate standard of living, and opportunities to exercise their full human capacities, an Aboriginal perspective would place the well-being of the 'collective' before the individual as paramount. An Aboriginal premise ties

the individual directly to their responsibility to the collective first, and this collective also includes human/earth relations. What this means then is that the individual is subsumed under collective responsibility for human/earth sustainability and the exercise of the individual's role is in direct relation to this. Ermine (1995) and Little Bear (2000) are helpful here for understanding this more fully. Ermine (1995) suggest the inward journey to knowledge and truth. In this view the individual immerses self in the spiritual connection to the earth and to the people. This is Little Bear's (2000) stream of consciousness and matrix of meaning. In this immersion, the inward journey represents an exploration of the special skills, talents, and gifts given through creation and a vision of how these are applied to the overall well-being of all living and spiritual matter. The exercise of these individual skills, talents and gifts are in relation to the collective and not the individual. The individual however, through the inward journey, finds her/his special nature and the individual expression of their full human capacity. This view maintains the connection of the individual to the collective as a fundamental responsibility to creation and its ontological premises.

Economic Beliefs

Mullaly's (1997) discussion on economic beliefs appears to have some consistency with an Aboriginal view, but again, there is a need to extend this further to capture an Aboriginal view. First, Mullaly (1997) stresses the role of government intervention for ensuring equitable distribution of societal resources for total human well-being. He also mentions that social priorities dominate economic decisions and there is no argument here. An Aboriginal worldview is somewhat similar to this as it parallels the practice of

the give-away and the ceremonies which are focused upon creating equality and well-being among the people and the equal distribution of resources as means for exercising our capacities as creative human beings.

However, a further extension of this view is necessary from an Aboriginal perspective in order to capture the human/earth relations inherent in Aboriginal societies. So, economic decisions are not only superseded by social needs they are also superseded by the balance of human needs with the earth's need in relation to sustainability and the earth's capacity and well-being. Again Mullaly (1997) does talk about this, but within an Aboriginal perspective governance includes the earth in this conversation and must be made more explicit and not secularized. The danger with secularizing is found in the monolithic character of ideological domination as an objectified standard; once secularized, this allows for re-interpretation against standards other than the well being of all the community of life. One such recent example of the secularized versus the conjoined understanding of human/earth relations is the Nishnabe Aski Nations protest against the proposed mining of 'blood diamonds' in Northern Ontario. The Nishnabe Aski Nation is placing their responsibility to human/earth relations as primary where the mining interests have compartmentalized this initiative by: economic gain in the interests of material progress as the primary goal; the extension of capital as resource extraction and as a 'right' of capital to exploit material resources; and environmental concerns as a secondary goal, and with no such 'spiritual connection' or responsibility to human/earth relations. This view is in direct contravention to the responsibility to the community of life which is at least similarly reflective of the position taken by the Nishnabe Ashiki Nation.

Political Beliefs

The political beliefs as presented by Mullaly (1997) focus upon the notion of the equal distribution of political power or participatory democracy as opposed to representative democracy, which is the political reality of our current liberal democratic state under capitalism. And in theory this definition is similar with the Aboriginal worldview which was organized upon the clan and consensus based system of societal organization. And again, using the same example as in the previous discussion on economic beliefs and governance, the central guiding force for political participation through the clan and consensus based systems of societal organization was the spiritual and collective focus on earth/human sustainability and well-being.

Under this traditional system of societal organization leaders or 'ogemow' were chosen based upon their special gifts given through clan and the inward journey, and their role was to hear what the people and the earth was saying and to find ways to ensure that there was a balance between all of these things for sustainability and in consideration of the seventh generation. And although the current political reality of Aboriginal leadership parallels the popularity contests of Euro-Canadian politics today, this does not represent the traditional role of societal organization and leadership informed from an Aboriginal worldview. So, the participatory democracy of Mullaly's (1997) view requires the addition of the role of leadership as a spiritual responsibility and the participation of the earth in this conversation.

View of Social Welfare

Mullaly's (1997) discussion of social welfare notes the problematic or the lack of consensus on the view of social problems which then affects definition and amelioration. He suggests, on one hand individual problem definition calls for adjusting individuals to return as productive members of a society, or the status quo approach. On the other hand, there is the location of problems in the structures of society and which then calls for the critique of structural impediments which deter people from full health and well-being and the realization of their full potential and capacities as human beings. With regard to these definitions Mullaly (1997) suggests that there are three state extensions of these views. There is the positive state or residual model of welfare, which is focused upon the protection of business interests; in his model the conception of welfare takes the form of a residualist state which functions as social control and a minimalist approach to helping. There is also a social security state or institutional model of welfare which functions to deal with the shortfalls of capitalism and serves to help individuals where they become victims of capitalism. Here, the state exercises the equality of opportunity perspective, affording people the opportunity to make choices about how they deal with their economic and social problems with the view to re-integration into a capitalist economic structure. And, there is the social welfare state or structural and preferred model of welfare which aims to promote equality and solidarity and to achieve a general equality of living conditions.

This last view of welfare is similar with an Aboriginal perspective and much like Mullaly (1997) has described it, it is an 'ideal type' to be aimed for, as it does not currently exist for Aboriginal people, although it did exist prior to incursion. This view of

welfare is similar to the clan based system where the health and well-being of all its members were taken care of regardless of the level and type of contribution being made by the individual. This type of Aboriginal welfare was a direct reflection of the spiritual responsibility as well as the recognition that each member of society could contribute to the overall well-being in varying ways. This contribution could occur at different point in their lives, with differing levels of participation, and could include more than the just the securing of the economic interests for survival.

I suggest that where an Aboriginal perspective would likely differ is in relation to the focus upon a strictly structural approach to welfare there are two important reasons. First, in an Aboriginal worldview individuals did suffer under specific circumstances and required some intervention from the community. This intervention usually took the form of the provision of help to overcome, for example, the injury of an individual deterring them from securing their own means to survive; and this was not cast in any negative light but was a function of living. Further, people also suffered from social dysfunction and in these cases the community would intervene by supporting and providing the necessary healing of mind, body and spirit and this occurred as a whole community event. However, the primary recipients of Aboriginal services still remained focused upon the community and not the individual.

Second, the current reality of Aboriginal people is a colonized reality. The implications of this process are still being felt today and the Aboriginal community is forced to address these as Euro-Canadian society has failed to deal with the outcomes of their incursion and the destructive forces of material and ideological domination, marginalization and oppression. Here Aboriginal people have identified the healing

journey as the means to address this colonial truth, and this includes the use of our cultural and traditional forms for setting things right for people and returning them to the truth of their own existence as earth and tribal people and the first people of this country. So, there is a need for intervention at the community level as the first focus and in doing so, this must include all its members of the community in healing. Thus, the individual level is addressed following Aboriginal ways of healing which are not labeling or inconsistent with a structural approach.

Moreover, it is the structural approach that Aboriginal people have always followed in identifying and interrogating the source of our pain and our problems. Mullaly (1997) identifies structural oppression and marginalization as the key source of difficulties, and this is consistent with an Aboriginal approach. However, this agreement would be given with great caution and care as the simple application of a structural approach misses the important need for Aboriginal people to deal with their decolonization in their own way and following the premises and practices which emerge from an Aboriginal worldview. This includes healing strategies and decolonization strategies which critique Euro-Canadian knowledge and theory including that of social work.

Principles of Social Work

The principles pointed to in this category are: treat people with respect; enhance dignity and integrity; facilitate self-determination and self-realization; accept differences; and advocate and promote social justice. All of these are similar with an Aboriginal perspective in theory and largely in practice.

However, there are some additional values for an Aboriginal perspective that need to be included here. First, the basic foundational and ontological premise of spirituality needs to be front and centre as it defines the nature of our existence and informs how we deal with each other as human beings. Further, in the earlier discussion of an Aboriginal ideological paradigm respect was shown to mean different things to Euro-Canadians and Aboriginal people. For Aboriginal people respect is directly connected to spirituality as it demands that we love, care and protect each other as our spiritual responsibility and as our conjoined existence. For many Euro-Canadians, and as Mullaly (1997) has shown, respect takes on a different meaning when defined from the self-interest of the economic imperative; that is, it is equated with respecting property and individual interests above collective and human/earth interests.

An additional value included in the social belief category of Mullaly's (1997) paradigm needs to be included here again as it informs the focus of our thinking. The collective responsibility which supersedes individual need directs us to consider the health and well-being of the collective and posits the responsibility of community/individual health and well-being as a direct responsibility of the group and of society. So as well as dealing with the individual experiencing difficulty we are required to deal with the whole community including family, extended family and nation. Further, it also demands that the analysis and critique of the structural impediments to collective well-being are central to social work's role in helping.

In summary, and generally speaking the paradigm presented by Mullaly (1997) presents a socialist perspective similar to the social democratic and Marist view and there are similarities and differences between this view and an Aboriginal view. For example,

spiritual humanism extends Mullaly's (1997) notion of a secularized humanism to include, our spiritual and inherent goodness and equality, and spiritual humanism as a conjoined and felt experience with the community of life, - not as a secularization of human existence. There is also the notion that our spiritual existence supersedes economic interests and is the premise of our social interests. The idea of participatory democracy as suggested by Mullaly (1997) includes, for an Aboriginal view, the choosing of leadership based upon traditional principles and consensus. Similar to Mullaly (1997) an Aboriginal view is also a structural view but with the collective interests (the community of life), as the primary focus for decision-making. Finally, the principle of spirituality is the defining character of an Aboriginal view and which guides every aspect of social work ideology as a conjoined existence directing collective responsibility over individual desires in every instance.

While there are some supportive similarities between Mullaly's (1997) view and an Aboriginal view there are some fundamental differences. These differences discussed in each of the parts of Mullaly's (1997) paradigm reflect differences that need to be incorporated in an Aboriginal model of social work. Moreover, I suggest, the incorporation of these differences can benefit contemporary social work as well.

The Immediate Implications of an Aboriginal Perspective for Social Work Practice

The practice of social work for students is informed from social policy analysis at an introductory level in undergraduate studies and an increasingly sophisticated analysis at the graduate level. Where there is the suggestion of inclusion, social justice and equity, serious consideration must be given to an Aboriginal perspective at both these levels of

study. This allows students to be well informed as they enter their practice courses and well positioned to provide their own critique of contemporary practice. This is an expectation of the profession's curriculum and consistent with the notion of educating 'reflective' practitioners. However, the previous results and analysis have indicated that the inclusion of Aboriginal people in the literature on social policy suffers in terms of the analytical perspective brought to students, and which they, in turn, bring to practice courses. Students have the right, and more important, the responsibility to know and understand the full spectrum of practice available to them for their work with a diversity of people. This includes Aboriginal people (clients) who represent a large percentage of service recipients of the social welfare system.

Having said this, the learning objectives of practice courses should identify the systemic nature of Euro-Canadian knowledge and theory as a problematic. I point to the use of contemporary psychological theory inherent in problem solving and the ecological approach as largely inconsistent with an Aboriginal approach to healing as they locate the responsibility for amelioration largely to the individual, and not to the structural level of analysis. Attempts have been made here to alter these approaches to include an Aboriginal view and these are important contributions to inclusion of an Aboriginal perspective. However, I still maintain that these are largely inconsistent as their starting points are contemporary approaches. I point to the work of Hart (2003) who argues against suggesting that an Aboriginal approach is like the ecological approach, for example. Hart (2003) is suggesting that an Aboriginal approach stands on its own and emerges from the cultural and traditional teachings and life-ways of Aboriginal people and as such are defined and described from there. Where there are similarities to

contemporary approaches these similarities will still differ in the fundamental nature of their genesis. This is consistent with the arguments I have advanced in contrasting an Aboriginal social work ideology with Mullaly's (1997) paradigm.

The shortfall of Aboriginal inclusion in social policy impacts upon the learning and teaching of social work practice as there is no framework from which to launch their critique. Further, even where there is some inclusion of Aboriginal cultural and traditional concepts and techniques including the use of the medicine wheel, an explanation on the use of ceremony as healing, and the extension of knowledge in relation to the lodge and its teachings there needs to be a directional beacon or framework for guiding the immediate use and interpretation of these consistent with an Aboriginal perspective on social work.

The difficulty with this is that the interpretation of these varying introductions to an Aboriginal practice may be inconsistently applied, improperly interpreted and inappropriately utilized by someone who knows only some small measure of their meaning and purpose. One of the strategies that academics have taken for addressing this concern is in the use of Elders and traditional teachers as guest speakers and who can address these concerns as the outset and help to ensure that the knowledge and theory used is done so appropriately, and this is helpful. However, to expect that one or a few visits from these Aboriginal resource people can fill the void and address the needs of students on Aboriginal practice throughout their knowledge and theory journey is to give short change to the importance of an Aboriginal perspective for social work practice.

The most immediate implications for social work practice courses in terms of an Aboriginal perspective are at least threefold. First, in the absence of the inclusion of an

Aboriginal perspective in social policy analysis, and until such time as this void can be filled, practice courses should present this perspective at the front end of their curriculum to ensure that students have at least a beginning place for critique. Second, where there is the current use of Aboriginal concepts and practices these must be subjected to an analytical lens from an Aboriginal perspective to ensure they are being used appropriately and are respectful to the cultural and teachings from where they are derived. Third, and as a means to continue the dialogue of critique and of substantiation on the use of these concepts and practice a more significant use of appropriate Aboriginal resources will be necessary.

Practice courses which focus only, or largely on mainstream approaches, will fall short of an inclusive practice. As an Aboriginal perspective begins to be more fully recognized and integrated at the social policy analysis level practice courses should be helping to fill this gap as a collaborative approach to change, and which does not dichotomize social policy and practice. Further, and as important, the social policy texts which have been shown to be exclusionary, objectifying and neutralizing must be problematized and students must be shown how they may be resisting an understanding of the intergenerational transmission of privilege. Having identified these as some of the major problematic of social policy, and hence practice, students should be introduced to the process by which this occurs including how it is they may be neutralizing their complicity and responsibility for the historical and current conditions emerging from privilege and distancing. This level of analysis can then allow them to breakdown this problematic and can serve their work with clients, agencies, governments, the media and other colleagues. This is not currently a function of social policy or practice courses and

should be central feature of student learning. Quite simply, how can it be expected that students will promote inclusion, social justice and equity, if this is absent from their analysis and they have not confronted this problematic as a formal part of their learning as social workers.

Beyond this however, the ideal circumstances for dealing with the inclusion of an Aboriginal perspective for social work practice would be best served by the discipline taking an integrative approach to curriculum and for developing the linkages between policy and practice courses inclusive of an Aboriginal perspective at both levels, linking these and grounding social policy analysis and practice as a conjoined analysis. In addition to this the discipline can enhance its capacity for dealing with an Aboriginal perspective through formally organizing its current Aboriginal academics to address course and curriculum concerns and issues as well as ensuring that the representation of Aboriginal academics is related to this task. Aboriginal academics who are grounded in traditional life are an immense storehouse of knowledge and theory and the capacity for contributing to social work are only limited by the professions willingness to participate in this sharing.

There is good reason for supporting and growing a specific focus on Aboriginal practice in social work as the next logical step towards a full recognition of an Aboriginal perspective. This idea has some support as there are a few faculties in Canada that currently do this. For example, the University of Victoria has an Aboriginal Focus on Aboriginal Child Welfare and the University of Manitoba has a short term Aboriginal Child Welfare Initiative (ACWI) both which are focusing on social work from an Aboriginal perspective. These examples are significant indicators of the importance of

inclusion of an Aboriginal perspective. Unfortunately, the ACWI initiative is coming to a close and the gains made here will likely be lost as this initiative was an incubator for the further development of an Aboriginal practice in Manitoba.

Concomitant with this support for Aboriginal knowledge and theory the contemporary practice of social work can benefit by enlarging the scope of its analysis and practice and can legitimately suggest inclusion. Further in problematizing social policy analysis and practice, given the argument on ideological domination, social work can interrogate its own complicity and clearly identify the changes it must make to address this problematic. And finally, social workers who have an understanding of an Aboriginal perspective will provide them with a greater ability to serve not just Aboriginal people but other marginalized and oppressed people who suffer under similar conditions.

Concluding Comments

Understanding the importance of an Aboriginal critique of ideological domination and problematizing its inherent quality are critical for appreciating the need to continue this interrogation of Euro-Canadian knowledge and theory. Analyzing and problematizing this further to include colonization theory, social policy literature and social work practice are necessary extensions of this analysis. These are the means to uncover the inherent obfuscated nature of ideological domination, its continued marginalization and oppression of Aboriginal people, and their emergent perspectives on social work. That the discipline promotes and supports inclusion, social justice and equity means that this critique is a necessary avenue for exploring the realization of these in the discipline and in society at large.

The support and use of an Aboriginal perspective in social policy analysis as a foundational objective for student learning is the opportunity to penetrate Euro-Canadian knowledge and theory and to position and locate Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns as a predominate feature of the discipline. Taking this further the support and development of an Aboriginal perspective for social work can contribute to the further development of social work as the discipline which truly reflects the "ideal" and full potential of our humanity. The development of an Aboriginal focus in the discipline is an immediate and practical extension of inclusion and holds promise for the further decolonization of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people alike. As Memmi (1967) has taught us, both the colonizer and the colonized must be destroyed if we are to realize our full humanity and our full potential as the keepers of our existence and our planet.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In Chapter 1, I began with some idea about the pervasive and problematic nature of ideological domination and the need to articulate a resilient and collective expression for an Aboriginal perspective as suggested by Adams (1999) and Alfred (1999). As an Aboriginal person reading the work of these, and other Aboriginal authors, the contentions forwarded had the 'sense' of truth to them. There was also an uncertainty on how to reveal this in a way that could demonstrate their full impact, presenting a clear picture that could be well understood by people other than the Aboriginal community. We already know this by virtue of our continued experiences of marginalization and oppression historically and which continues as a felt experience today.

This difference between the felt experience and the objectifying character of Euro-Canadian knowledge and theory is at the heart of the contentions of Adams (1999) and Alfred(1999). There is more than just the intellectual and analytical understanding of ideological domination, colonization, and their extensions into social policy. The study and resulting analysis has endeavored to show how this character of domination is a systemic feature of Euro-Canadian knowledge and theory, and how it acts to hide Euro-Canadian complicity as benefactors of domination, and as a tacit denial of responsibility. As well, I have demonstrated how this acts to allow for the continued imposition of domination of Aboriginal people cloaked in false empathy which is bereft of the true nature of its destructive and inhumane force.

In Chapter 2 my attempt to respectfully address the cultural and traditional knowledge of many Nations was a delicate and hesitant project and I realize that this

attempt can be seen as presumptuous and audacious. I can only say in my defense that I considered long and hard how best to illustrate the important elements of the earth and tribal knowledge of the indigenous people of the Turtle Island without revealing or pretending to know the full scope and complexity of the cultural and traditional ways of each Nation. The means to deal with this was to look for the fundamental similarities and the inherent logic of indigenous thought contained in the words of many respected Aboriginal leaders and authors and to conjoin these in one discussion.

The belief that Aboriginal people can benefit from a concerted voice which is respectful to the specific expressions of their culture and traditions is shared by many Aboriginal people. The purpose here is not to homogenize who we were and are, but to locate our earth and tribal knowledge front and centre and 'alongside' of western knowledge and theory.

We cannot expect the full liberation of our consciousness as indigenous people if we are divided and conquered by our own individual struggles for reclaiming our identities and our universal rights. The internal struggle of all Aboriginal people is now surreptitiously being used as the new 'divide and conquer' strategy of the foreign and imposed ideology. The 'diversity' of the Aboriginal community is now used to explain the need for governments to deal with each Nation independent of our universal rights and responsibility to each other and ourselves, and to exercise our collective earth and tribal knowledge to guide our collective way into the future. Sadly, many of our leaders have fallen into the trap of 'diversity' and are now espousing this same skewed sense of identity in pursuing the specific interests of one Nation over others. This effectively diminishes the power of our collective earth and tribal knowledge and theory and

subsumes their narrow focus into the administrative and colonizing apparatus of colonial governments. This is, I believe, what Adams (1999) and Alfred (1999) are referring to, in part, when they suggest false consciousness and the loss of our culture and traditions to guide our own social construction of reality on our own clear terms. And further to this Adams (1999) and Alfred (1999) suggest that the absence of a clear and collective voice of Aboriginal people is compounded by the struggle to be heard by an arrogant and self-serving foreign ideology which inherently and systemically continues the colonizing agenda. Articulating an Aboriginal perspective is an attempt to address this deep concern and to respectfully represent the fundamental logic of our earth and tribal knowledge and theory that we all share in common.

Chapter 2 deals with ideological domination as well. This discussion was intended to show how this phenomenon is a systemic feature of Euro-Canadian knowledge and theory which encumbers the articulation of a collective and resilient Aboriginal perspective and surreptitiously continues the attempt to change Aboriginal people. What is important about this part is that ideological domination is found everywhere including social policy analysis in social work. As social policy analysis is the foundational and informative compass of Euro-Canadian ideology it makes sense to reveal and uncover the systemic and colonizing nature of this phenomenon and to reveal how it continues to act as a marginalizing and oppressing force towards Aboriginal people now more gentle and hidden. This helps to explain the contention why Aboriginal people still feel that they are not being heard or well understood.

Chapter 3 identifies the methodology used in this study. Choosing the funneling and spiraling ethnographic approach of Silverman (2004) and Creswell (1998, 2003) held

promise for revealing a collective articulation of an Aboriginal perspective and for exposing the true nature of dominance. Although the expressions of an Aboriginal perspective were illustrated across a broad and varied range it was the natural logic and the 'simple complexity' of an Aboriginal worldview immersed in tribal and earth knowledge and theory which allowed for the completion of this work. And, the funneling and spiraling approach allowed for the exploration and analysis of dominance revealing its systemic and inherent colonizing nature.

Chapter 4 and 5 are the culmination of the work begun in Chapter 2. Chapter 4 captures the preliminary articulation of an Aboriginal worldview and the analysis of dominance as this affects Aboriginal people. In Chapter 5, two paradigms which reflect this worldview were presented and discussed: 1) an Aboriginal ideological paradigm for the analysis of political ideology, and 2) the contrasting of an Aboriginal perspective to a contemporary social work paradigm. Chapter 4 reveals the systemic nature of dominance and Chapter 5 locates this in an interrogation and analysis which reveals its continued marginalizing and oppressing force in the objectification, nihilation and neutralization of an Aboriginal perspective which is found in social policy analysis. This preliminary worldview, analysis of dominance, and their extension into the two paradigms is not meant to be imposed upon any one Nation. The point for articulating these was discussed earlier in this conclusion but can be re-iterated here in a slightly different way.

In considering the worldview, the results and analysis which demonstrated the inherent and systemic nature of dominance, and the presentation of the two paradigms from an Aboriginal perspective, Aboriginal people may find that these may have some utility for addressing a number of concerns which impact upon their lives. At the

individual level, and in the search for meaning, these outcomes of the study can act as a starting point for the beginning of an exploration of their own healing journey. The logic of the worldview, the outcomes from the results and analysis, and the paradigms hold across Nations and can be connected to the specific cultural and traditional imperatives of particular Nations without damage to the integrity of their specific teachings.

At the level of the group or structure these can be used as a template for understanding and assessing where colonization has impacted upon collective identity and where this may act to further erode and dismantle the logic of their own collective truths.

As a point of reference, I think here of the 'new institutions and structures' developed in response to the struggle for autonomy and self-determination and self-government. These include such things as: health transfer agreements; administrative and management structures, processes, regulation, laws and standards; child welfare initiatives; and justice memorandums of understanding currently in progress.

Taking one example, child welfare was one of the first avenues to express self-determination and has gone through a long and protracted process of development from the 70's onward. This development has led to its current expression in the Aboriginal Child Welfare Agreements and the establishment of Authorities and Agencies for dispensing child welfare services to Aboriginal people by Aboriginal people. The very difficult challenge faced by Aboriginal people in this process towards self-determination has been to maintain the integrity of their vision as Aboriginal people, maintain the cultural imperatives, and to locate these in the institutions and structures of Aboriginal creations. And I think some of this has been accomplished but not without some costs.

For child welfare it may be helpful to consider the articulation of an Aboriginal worldview, the analysis and interrogation of dominance and the paradigms for determining if and where these new institutions and structures reflect an Aboriginal perspective. So, for instance how does the legislation and standards for practice reflect the worldview of Aboriginal people? In what ways do these capture the important elements of spirituality, collective responsibility, equality and the central logic of our inherent goodness as extensions of creation? How do the Authority and Agency structural apparatus articulate and reflect the notion of spirituality, equality and of representative leadership found in traditional teachings? Do these structures represent the full participation of its members in its operations? Do the vision, mission statements and the goals and objectives of Authority and Agents reflect the spiritual nature of our existence and the language and meaning of an Aboriginal worldview or do they approximate Euro-Canadian principles of bureaucratic operation? Do the practice principles express the worldview of Aboriginal people which emerges from the fundamental goodness of human beings or do they simply reflect contemporary practice or a derivative thereof? Do the service delivery mechanisms reflect the inherent values of Aboriginal people? For example, equality, shared responsibility, interdependence and collective responsibility which demand a community response over an individualizing and pathologizing response to service? And finally, are the cultural and traditional ceremonies and the ethical and moral principles illustrated as 'lived' expressions in the ever-day life of Authority and Agency operations?

In closing this research it should be clear that the inclusion of an Aboriginal perspective for social policy analysis is not acceptable as a piecemeal and selective focus.

Rather, this inclusion must start and be supportive of an analysis which continues to interrogate, emphasize, and problematize the inherent and obfuscated nature of ideological domination found in colonization theory and social policy analysis and which has an impact on both social work policy and practice. The subtlety of ideological domination as an a priori concept couched in the historical, philosophical and intellectual development of western thinking makes ideological domination a structural feature. And the objectifying and neutralizing social/psychological strategies for absencing complicity and responsibility inherently act to support this domination and resist the inclusion of an Aboriginal perspective for social policy analysis, practice and social work. As social policy analysis concerns itself with an understanding of ideology following a critique and analysis of the major political ideologies and how these inform policy and practice, this analysis must recognize where it is complicit in the continued domination of Aboriginal people and the encumbering of a resilient and collective articulation of an Aboriginal perspective for social work. Not doing so is a tacit acquiescence to the current state of knowledge at best, and at worst, to the status quo. The result is to support the marginalization and oppression of Aboriginal people, even if it occurs more gently and with a greater degree of ideological sophistication.

The implication for social policy analysis as the foundational premise of social work has particular responsibility and utility for supporting an Aboriginal perspective. The whole discussion on the development of the Canadian welfare state, social policy and political ideology requires significant attention to an Aboriginal perspective beyond the minimal inclusion that is the current condition of this focus of social policy analysis. This is so simply because inclusion demands it. But more important, without the inclusion of

Aboriginal people and their issues and concerns in these discussions the whole discussion is incomplete and does not truly reflect the truth of Canada's development. Quite simply it exempts the very people it displaced for profit, privilege and usurpation. Moreover, the horrific nature of this development needs to be problematized as a central feature of the discussion. Problematizing this reveals and educates Canadians to the obfuscated truth of their privileged place in Canadian society and informs the history in a manner that can lend support to Aboriginal people and their journey of decolonization without being encumbered by uninformed resistance and passive support. The ideological defense mechanisms that block this awareness need to be uncovered and destroyed.

Social work has a particular responsibility to this as it has been one of the greatest supporters of the status quo towards Aboriginal people and has contributed to the conditions we now have to deal with. Child welfare, the provision of health services and justice and corrections are all fields of practice which social workers have lent their energies towards, and all of these have been complicit in the marginalization, oppression and attempts at assimilation leading to cultural genocide.

Equally important, social work has also been one of the strongest supporters of social change and has acted as one of the greatest allies for Aboriginal people. Where social work is able to accept its responsibility and complicity, as suggested in this thesis, the capacity to fully become agents of change can be achieved alongside Aboriginal people through the extension of equity, social justice and a real expression of inclusion. Further, as Aboriginal people have involved themselves in social work as a potential source for decolonization and healing they have extended their trust once again and it

would be shameful and inhumane to denigrate this trust through a lack of action and a passive resistance.

The journey through this thesis, and it was a journey, has helped strengthen my analytical capacity and understanding; it has also solidified my resolve to continue speaking and writing in this vein of thought. This is so because I share in the hope and the vision for a better future for my children, grandchildren and the future generations of Aboriginal people. Without a sense of hope and vision there is little else. This is so because it is obvious that as a global community we are heading in a direction that threatens to destroy the planet and our humanity along with it. Where it is possible to contribute to halting this progression there is hope. The perspective presented here can contribute to the development of an Aboriginal perspective. It is, I believe, also an ideal expression of what we can become. This is consistent with the hope and the ideals of some of the greatest thinkers of Aboriginal and western societies and one that should never be abandoned no matter how bleak things appear to be. The current reality of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people as members of the human family suggests that there is a sense of this bleakness particularly as our leadership is moving in directions which appear to be in contravention to our basic humanity. As our communities continue in obfuscation and mystification many of us are being lulled into the complacent reality of a false and damaging capitalist consciousness.

Finally, the results found here and the presentation of the knowledge and theory from an Aboriginal perspective are the result of over thirty years of participation in both the Aboriginal community and Euro-Canadian society as a healing journey. In this sense the knowledge conveyed and the theories proposed do not belong to me or to any one

person. They belong to the thousands of people who have honoured me with their presence in the lodge and in my life and I am deeply indebted and humbled by their perseverance and their tenacity to hold onto something so important to our continued existence and which, in turn, has allowed me to share this in these pages.

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