

Kinoo'amaadawaad Megwaa Doodamawaad –
They Are Learning With Each Other While They Are Doing:
The Indigenous Living Peace Methodology
by
Paul Nicolas Cormier

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
The University of Manitoba
In partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
Peace and Conflict Studies

Faculty of Graduate Studies
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg

Copyright © 2016 by Paul Nicolas Cormier

Abstract

This research explores the deep meaning land holds for Anishinabeg culture through the presentation of an Indigenous methodology that has been described as research by and for Indigenous Peoples using techniques and methods drawn from the traditions and knowledge of those people. The research attempts to apply an Indigenous worldview, known as holism, in the field of Peace and Conflict Studies by critically considering research as a process of violence towards Aboriginal peoples. This assertion is based on the placement of higher level education within an institution designed to perpetuate norms in the broad interest of settler society founded on European views of the world. The resulting ontological violence or cognitive imperialism propagates cultural violence towards resident Indigenous populations.

If we assume research and peace building are synonymous in Aboriginal contexts, then the solution to addressing the violence lies in designing research with the groups we are attempting to assist. This requires a paradigm shift from the traditional methods of research design to one that is more nuanced and flexible in its approach. This approach must consider two fundamental truths of an Aboriginal worldview: First, that change is constant and therefore, it is the rate and direction of change that is critical to consider; and two, one cannot begin to move towards peaceful relations without first moving towards peace within.

The questions considered in this work are essential for any academic discipline or organization and speaks to the purpose of higher level education and the ways in which we acquire, contest, and negotiate knowledge development. Violence, as with peace, are cultural constructs and each academic discipline has its own culture similar to ethnic or organizational culture.

The process of learning — the ways in which we acquire knowledge, is also a process of acculturation. Thus, when we learn to conduct research, we are being acculturated into the culture of the academy and our specific academic discipline. In traditional cultures that are founded on land based life ways, the symbols for knowledge transfer and processes for learning are found within narratives about the land because the natural world holds the symbols of knowledge transfer.

Acknowledgements

Meegwetch – Thank You

Thank you to all the people who assisted me with this research. I carry every experience and lesson with me; the speeches, the discussions, the ceremonies, the hugs, the laughter, the tears, the dreams, and the friendships. All those experiences have shaped my personal narrative to this point in my life and all form part of my knowledge.

Charles Fox was the first Aboriginal political leader I ever heard with the courage to openly discuss residential school and the sexual abuse he suffered — I am still in awe of his strength. At that time, I never even knew what a residential school was.

Since then, almost twenty years ago, there have been many Elders, many lessons; to many for me to even remember their names. The ones I do remember are Peter Christmas who taught me knowledge belongs to all people; Alan Wolfleg, my adopted brother, who showed me that history has many sides, many views, and that book knowledge does not always tell the Aboriginal truth; Morris Shannacappo, who very clearly demonstrated, the eternal spirit that exists in all Aboriginal children through song and dance; Mary Robinson who taught me the meaning of Mide – to be kind to all living things; The Elder from Ottawa (whose name I cannot remember) who explained to me how internal dissonance can be created when the individual's spirit is stronger than their physical presence on earth; Donna who gifted me a drum and told me to play it when I felt sadness. She said she had been carrying it for me and that it was a healing drum; Norma who made me feel so welcomed when I returned home after many years of being away; Stan who invited me to my first ceremony; Mahekin (Norm Mulligan) for guiding me on my first fasting ceremony, and all the others who shared with me.

The last few years have enabled me to reconnect with family and friends. It has also allowed me to make new friends and come to balance within myself. Meegwetch to Pierre, Lana,

Chooch, Chilla', Mary, Simone, Lillian, my new brother Terry, Charlie, Marj, Cathy, Johnny & Hazel, Lexi, Ruby, Cheetah, Stanley; My family members who supported me my entire life Blanche, Clifford, Mal, Wanda, Gilbert, Granny and Grandpa.

Lastly, thank you to my academic support for allowing me to go in directions that must have seemed beyond normal, Peter, Jessica, Brian, Iaian, and Sean.

At this time I would also like to acknowledge the community Elders who allowed me to use their video and accompanying transcripts to inform my research. Meegwetch to: Charlie Hardy, George Borg, Mona Cormier, Blanche Deschamps, Lillian Hackner, Clifford Deschamps, Wanda White, Terry Bouchard, Ethel Sault, Ruby Martin, Frank Lesperance, Geraldine Thompson, and Simone Parsons.

Dedication

I dedicate this work to my father whom, even after so many years, I still miss so badly. The journey's across Canada, the car rides to hockey tournaments, your undeniable belief in me...Every time I advance in my education I remember how badly you wanted to return to school, your love for learning, and your incredible work ethic.

As I complete this journey, I know you are smiling down on me prouder than ever.

Table of Contents

List of Tables.....	9
List of Figures.....	10
<i>Niwiisagendam – I’m Hurting</i>	11
<i>Ni and the face of Evil?</i>	12
<i>Who are we?</i>	13
Preface – ‘I Wasn’t Always an Indian’.....	15
o A Moral and Practical Necessity in Peace and Conflict Studies.....	17
o Research Processes and Land.....	19
o The Term Indigenous and its Use.....	21
o Thesis Data Organization – Practice what you Preach.....	24
o I’m Hurting – Niiwiisagendam.....	28
o Thesis Structure.....	30
<i>Ni and the Pattern of Violence</i>	33
<i>Ni and the Teacher</i>	35
Chapter 1: Introduction – The Problem with Conflict.....	37
o Structures of Violence and Conflict in the Present World Order.....	41
o Conceptualizing Indigenous / Aboriginal Conflict and Peace.....	46
o Structures of Violence and Canadian Society.....	50
o Worldview and the Structures of Violence in Research.....	54
o The Challenge for Peace and Conflict Studies.....	57
o A Methodology for Peace and Conflict Studies in Indigenous Contexts?.....	60
o Conclusions: The Paradox of Complexity in Conflict.....	67
<i>Ni and his sister</i>	72
<i>Where did we come from?</i>	73
Chapter 2: The Nexus of History and Culture – Indigenous Worldview, Peace Culture and Land.....	75
o Introduction: The Paradoxical Dilemmas of Complexity and Indigenous Peace.....	75
o Holism, Aboriginal Identity and Living Peace.....	79
o Culture, Indigenous Worldview, the Research Process and Peace.....	82
o Holism.....	85
• Describing Holism.....	85
• Application and Use.....	89

○ Popular Conceptions of Peace and Peace Narratives.....	93
○ Aboriginal Peoples and the Aboriginal Peace Narrative.....	95
• Lessons for Students of Peace and Conflict Studies.....	100
○ The Land as Process of Acculturation: <i>Kinnoo’Amaadawaad</i> (The Are Learning With Each Other) Peace Culture.....	102
○ Conclusions: Aboriginal Peace As a Nuanced Approach to Culture in PACS Research.....	108
<i>Ni and the Workshop</i>	113
<i>Ni and Those Last Days</i>	115
 Chapter 3: Identifying the Peace / Research Process – Learning Culturally Specific Processes for Building Peace.....	117
○ Introduction: Indigenous Research/Peace Methodology?.....	117
○ The Narrative of <i>Kinoo’amaadawaad Megwaa Doodamawaad</i> – They Are Learning With Each Other While They Are Doing: An Indigenous Living Peace Methodology.....	122
○ Action Research: Empowerment, Emancipation, Indigenous Peace and PACS.....	125
○ A Research Ceremony: <i>Megwaa Doodamawaad</i> (While They Are Doing).....	130
• A Fasting Ceremony as a Metaphor for Research.....	132
• Choosing the Site.....	134
• Preparing for the Fast.....	137
• The Sweat Lodge Ceremony ‘Entering the Spirit World’.....	142
• Entering the Fasting Site.....	145
• The Sweat Lodge Ceremony ‘Returning from the Spirit World’.....	153
• Gift Giving and Sharing of the Meal.....	156
○ Conclusions: Ceremony, Research, Rediscovery and PACS.....	158
 <i>Ni and His First Ceremony</i>	163
<i>Ni and the Blueberry Patch</i>	163
 Chapter 4: Building a Peace Paradigm by Building Peace Culture Through Narrative.....	166
○ The Narrative of <i>Opaaganasiniing</i> (Pipestone).....	166
○ Introduction: Land, Symbols, Narrative, and Peace.....	169
○ PACS Research: Building a Peace Paradigm by Building Peace Culture through Narrative.....	175
• Culture and Narrative.....	178
• Source, Perspective, and Narrative.....	182
• Culture, Source, Narrative, and Perspective: The	
• Culture, Source, Narrative, and Perspective:	

The Symbols for Learning Indigenous Peace.....	185
○ Our Community Story: The Symbols of Peace in the Culture of <i>Opaaganasiniing</i> (Pipestone) People.....	187
• Land Disputes and Contested Realities.....	188
○ Conclusions: <i>Aki Gakinoomaagewin</i> – Teachings (learning) from the Earth (land).....	202
 <i>Ni and the Storm</i>	211
<i>Ni and the Healing Spirit</i>	212
 Chapter 5: Learning from my Research Ceremony: Conceptualizing A Complex Indigenous Conflict System (CICS).....	214
○ Introduction: Worldview, Research, and Complex Indigenous Conflict Systems in Indigenous Contexts.....	214
○ The Drum — Dewe’ igan.....	219
○ A Strategic Approach to Indigenous Peace Intervention: <i>Aki Gakinoomaagewin</i> – Teachings (Learning) from the Earth (Land).....	221
○ Systems, Systems Thinking and Understanding Indigenous Conflict in the World System.....	223
○ Viewing Change as Constant: Circles, Cycles, and Patterns.....	227
○ Internal Peace vs. External Peace.....	231
○ Fundamental Beliefs of a Complex Indigenous Conflict System and Peace.....	236
○ Opposing Forces, Tension, and Fundamental Truths.....	238
○ Aboriginal Culture, Identity, Social Conflict, Research, and Transformation within the Complex Indigenous Conflict System (CICS).....	240
○ Trauma, Story, and Indigenous Healing within the Complex Indigenous Conflict System (CICS).....	244
○ Anishinabeg Identity in the Complex Indigenous Conflict System (CICS).....	247
○ The Final Word.....	250
○ The Final Stories.....	253
<i>Ni and Forgiveness</i>	254
 Bibliography.....	257

List of Tables

1. Summary of Community Workshops: Process Development.....	139
2. Our Community Story Example 1: Summary of Circle Processes, Individual Elder Interviews, and Process Evolution	144
3. Example Interview Summary: Questions Asked.....	146

List of Figures

1. Exponential Complexity in the Complex Indigenous Conflict System (CICS).....	225
2. Adding Dimension to International Complexity in a Complex Indigenous Conflict System (CICS).....	226
3. Accounting for Perspective in the Complex Indigenous Conflict System (CICS).....	229
4. Accounting for External and Internal Factors, Forces, and Considerations in a Complex Indigenous Conflict System (CICS).....	235
5. The Complex Indigenous Conflict System (CICS).....	237

Niwiisagendam (I'm Hurting)

Niwiisagendam is his name. He is a spirit, a place, a people, a temporal reality; he is *Nijji* — my friend. He is also *nisaye* — my brother, *nimise* — my sister and all other words that describe family, community, and nation. He comes to me when I *nibaan* — sleep. Sometimes, I can see him, smell him, hear him, feel him, and taste him.

I can feel his weight on *nikaakigan* — my chest. He suffocates but also brings joy, happiness....tears. Unknown to me, he has been with me my entire life. Only recently was I made painfully aware of his haunting presence. He brings me answers, caresses me with education, and teases me with liberation, pain, and suffering. He is *Niwiisagendam*. We will call him “*Ni*”.

Ni is me. He is all the Aboriginal people I've met and the ones I will meet. *Ni* is the story of my life and the lives of too many of my Aboriginal brothers and sisters. His story is what you will find in the pages of this work. First considered a story of violence, it has become a story about peace, one that is intimately linked to geography, time, space, land, and the natural environment.

Ni is a character I created to protect the identities of the people, families, and communities I've met. *Ni* can be thought of as the spirit of many Indigenous Nations who live with the legacy and continued violence of colonialism. A violence that severed the sacred relationship between Indigenous peoples and the land upon which they continue to live — Our pain is the pain of the land?

Ni and the Face of Evil?

“Ni” had a dream. So terrifying that when he woke he reached for his wife to make sure she was still there — not knowing if the dream was reality and the life he had been living was the dream.

So real was that dream, that as he considers the narrative, he begins to cry. This often happens when his damaged spirit thrusts itself upon the present reality. Time seems to collapse and the dreams transcend space moving him to another dimension. He brought pain and tears that night, the same way he did forty years earlier leaving him vulnerable to doubts in love, protection, and God. Coming from a foreign land, he married into the family. His mother said, “He is your uncle.” *Ni* believed her.

In this dream, *Ni* was living with a number of other children in a home for boys. He was in his teens and the majority of the other children were much younger. The adult and care taker of the home was his uncle.

In this particular instance, he can hear him coming up the stairs and they all begin to panic because they know he is coming to sodomize the youngest and newest child among them. They know this because he has done this to all of them. For *Ni* personally, he can still feel the pain in his rectum.

As he slowly, deliberately stalks them, *Ni* decides in his mind that he cannot let this happen again and as his uncle makes his way through the door *Ni* picks up a shovel and hits him with it four times. Each time the shovel hits his head, he hears a crack that sounds like ice splitting from the extreme cold of northern winters, and he feels his uncle’s skull breaking under the force of his blows as he falls to the floor.

Ni drops the shovel, gathers up the children, and they go and hide in another room. He picks up the phone and calls 911, telling them that he killed his uncle; soon after the police arrive. They take his statement and as he describes what happened, he feels relief when they tell him no judge will convict him because of the abuse perpetrated on them.

As the relief settles inside, the pain of what he has done begins to creep into his heart and the scene slowly shifts to a time in the future.

The boys who live in the home are all in a room sitting in a circle. A councillor is working with them trying to help them understand what happened, they are all crying. When it is *Ni*'s turn to speak, he breaks down and weeps uncontrollably. In his mind he knows that what he did was right because he had to protect the smaller children. In his heart he remains incredibly sad because all he keeps thinking is that he took his uncle away from people who loved him and now they will never see him again. Despite the numbing pain he feels from being sodomized, he is overwhelmed with the grief of his actions. What else could he have done?

Who are we?

The *Anishinabeg* people are not the rulers of the land. They teach each other how to live in harmony and balance of nature off the land, that's who we are, we are caretakers.

We're not like the *Waabishkiweg inini* (white man), they come here and they say this is ours, you can't walk on here this is my land. They're even telling us today the air is ours. You can't turn on the radio because it's my air.

I think if we're care takers then we're the ones that keeps the balance and harmony of the nature that's out there, for the earth is our grandmother, we feed off it, and the sun, this lake, that's what we worship, that's what I worship. I give thanks to that every day. I give thanks to

the Earth, I give thanks to the moon, I give thanks to the sun, I give thanks to the four directions.

Because I feel very strongly I know who I am. I am no different than the animal that's running free out in the bush right now or the eagle that soars in the sky.

I'm a free Anishinabeg. That's who I am. And I'm here to keep the balance of nature.

Preface — ‘I Wasn’t Always and Indian’

I wasn’t always an Indian. Or perhaps, I was always an Indian, but didn’t really know it. As a community Elder Donna once explained to me, “Receiving your spirit name is recognition of your Aboriginal spirit — which is eternal. By receiving your name, you are recognizing and reconnecting with your spirit in this life. But you have always known your spirit. It has always been with you and will always be with you — in this life and into the next.” (Personal comment to author) With every unexpected path my life has taken, I reflect on this teaching. Is there such a thing as a spirit? Does the inanimate or land have a spirit? What does it mean and what relevance does it have in my life? Can it help me be at peace and/or bring peace to others?

I cannot help but wonder if the act of recognizing and reconnecting with my spirit was the means and the end to becoming balanced — to finding peace, or at the very least, moving towards peaceful relationships. Maybe the act itself was a way of healing and these questions are just part of living in a colonial country under foreign societal structures and cultural mores. “All domination involves invasion” explains Freire (1970), “at times physical and overt, at times camouflaged, with the invader assuming the role of helping friend.” (p. 153) Very clearly, my research path has been a lesson in learning about peace. What I have discovered is that peace means many different things to many different people and that in Indigenous context’s, little consideration is given to their views on peace and their desires to live peace. It seems that popular definitions of peace are controlled by the imperial forces of contemporary world politics and the cultural context those powers employ. This necessitates the questions, who defines peace? Who defines peace processes? What impact do those definitions have on the lives of the people we are invading as helping friend? Language can be a prickly subject and the powers that define typically have the power to control.

In Canada for example, even the terms used to define Indigenous people under the constitution are a relic of failed colonial law. Supposedly intended to provide special rights and privileges, the term 'Indian' has become offensive to many. It is actually a misnomer for the native / Indigenous peoples of this land coined by Christopher Columbus when he 'discovered North America' thinking he had found India. Now, there are three Aboriginal groups in Canada defined by the Canadian Constitution Act 1982: "Indians, Inuit, and Metis." (Imai, Logan, & Stein, 1993, p. 5) In my life time (46 years) there were times when this legal definition caused an amazing amount of confusion as I came to understand I was white, then a Metis and suddenly as a teenager I became a status Indian. Now, despite my best efforts to try and mitigate the impact of these definitions on my family, my children struggle with similar issues.

The irony of that term and the sad reality of Aboriginal people in Canada is that the colonists were so effective at assimilating native populations through the use of law and other societal structures, that it is virtually impossible to legally change the name. It has become the identifying legal term that actually protects the rights of native people and the term that Aboriginal people have come to identify themselves. There have been many heated debates on 'who we are/' and 'what do we call ourselves?' within the Aboriginal populations of Canada.

During the course of this research project, there were a number of instances where individuals shared their experiences on this difficult subject that demonstrate the impact various levels of government have on local peoples. For example, during one circle process used for data gathering, Ruby — who was born non-status, shared that she became a status Indian after she married her husband (who was a status Indian). Upon receiving her Indian status she lost her right to vote. For Aboriginal women, the opposite occurred. During the same sharing circle, Mona explained that when she married her husband (who was non-status) she had to give up her

Indian status. Similarly, in another sharing circle, one participant Mary, angrily voiced her concern for her sister losing her Indian status when she married her non-status husband. “Just because she married her husband doesn’t make her a white woman....I’m still an Indian. I don’t care for that term (Bill C-31) one bit.”

The government also instituted a number of policies to encourage status Indians to give up their Indian status. For example, research participants recalled that at one time, the Canadian government paid \$80 to any individual who would give up their Indian status. As we will see below, these debates and others cut to the roots of cultural development within many native communities in Canada; Often, the debates revolve around land access and control.

Current world patterns of peace building follow similar paths of Aboriginal colonial rule and the subjugation of Indigenous populations. As the primary tool of peace and conflicts studies, so do the patterns of research. As a tool of colonial rule, the formal education system and the research conducted within that institutional setting has become a structure of violence that can be problematic for Indigenous researchers trying to improve the lives of their communities.

A Moral and Practical Necessity in Peace and Conflict Studies

Academia and research are difficult terms for Indigenous Peoples because of their history and the meanings associated with them (Smith, 1999; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008): “Qualitative research in many, if not all, of its forms (observation, participation, interviewing, ethnography) serves as a metaphor for colonial knowledge, for power, and for truth.” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 4) As a researcher in Peace and Conflict Studies, I believe I have a responsibility to actively work with the prescribed research tools to ensure I maintain relational accountability (Wilson, 2008) to the individuals I work with and the people who will read this work. One approach is to situate readers to my history and reality as an Aboriginal person. In my context,

given my history and the history of Aboriginal people in this country, this is both a moral and practical necessity.

It is important that readers understand my research perspective and subsequent writing bias. I will actually, embrace this concept believing that it is an essential component of an Indigenous research paradigm by inserting narratives from my personal story and my research partners throughout this work. I hope that by openly identifying and including my reality, readers will consider my arguments for the unique perspective they bring which has been suggested as a practice for acknowledging bias in research. (Smith, 1999; Kenny, Faries, Fiske & Voyageur, 1988; Lum, 2003; Kirby & Mckenna, 1998) Working within a field dedicated to understanding the symbiotic relation between peace and violence, I argue it is one of the approaches that MUST be included when conducting research in the field of Peace and Conflict Studies. I also argue that in an Indigenous worldview, one cannot achieve peace with others until you find internal peace. Thus, assisting others in finding peace becomes a path to personal peace.

The symbiosis that exists between the terms peace and conflict becomes a metaphor for many dynamics within our academic field and the groups or individuals we sometimes eagerly — even blindly, try to assist. By consciously deciding to involve ourselves in the relationships of others, we actively integrate ourselves into their systems. By choosing to conduct research, the preferred tool of our field, we formally engage in the lives of others. As we will see in this research, this challenge does not come without its own unique considerations which I will try and organize into a methodology applicable to my circumstances.

The patterns of peace and violence are not so easily changed. The life long struggle for recognition of self in the midst of self-perpetuating systemic patterns of violence provides an incredible challenge for individuals caught in this dynamic. Critical in moving towards

understanding these patterns is developing processes based on the cultural norms of the groups being engaged and creating those processes in a way that includes the desires of the group.

Research Processes and Land

My research journey to this point has been a difficult one. This started with my research for my Masters' degree where I felt like I was being coerced into conducting research in a way that did not respect Aboriginal people and has progressed through to my current experience with PhD studies where I have found negative stories of power imbalance, academic jealousy, intellectual property theft, and competition for jobs, money, and recognition. LaRocque (2010) describes her experience in Canada's archives, libraries, cathedrals, martyrs' shrines, museums, movies, forts, and university hallways as "places of Eurocentrism — as places of exile" (p. 35) for Aboriginal peoples. I ask the question to peace researchers, can we facilitate peace if we work within these places of exile for some populations? What impact does this have on our ability to research peace if we exist within this structure of violence?

I have had a similar experience to that described by LaRocque (2010). However, I believe part of my perceived exile has to do with trying to work within a paradigm that doesn't fit my assumptions. This is perhaps what Maxwell (2005) described as trying to do a physically demanding job in clothes that don't fit — at best you'll be uncomfortable, at worst it will keep you from doing your job well. Little Bear (2009) suggests that worldview is at the basis of culture consisting of a society's philosophy about the nature of reality, the values that flow from this philosophy, and the social customs that embody these values. My discomfort with research stems from this contradiction between my cultural realities and the cultural realities of the academy.

As we will see below, many Aboriginal / Indigenous academics feel similar to me and are discussing their discomfort in conducting research in stereotypical paradigms (Tuhai-Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008; Kenny, Faries, Fiske, & Voyageur, 2004; Loppie, 2007; Struthers & Peden-McAlpine, 2005) and challenging the processes of formal research through critically analyzing current strategies of inquiry (Bird, Wiles, Okalik, Kilabuk, & Egeland, 2009; Lavallee, 2009; Lincoln & Gonzalez, 2008; Strega, 2005). Where this work differs is within the land / peace interface which I call the ‘nexus of land and culture’ in an Indigenous worldview. In an Indigenous view of the world land can be seen as healer, teacher, provider, friend, and home — land captures all the terms we know to mean peace. Similarly, in the context of research, land is inspiration, data source, methodology, ontology, axiology, epistemology, and all terms that describe the formal process of research — land is methodology, land is Mother. This connection to land is at the root of cultural development and learning. With the help of my research partners, we have defined this dynamic as ‘Aki Gakinoomaagewin’ – Teachings (learning) from the land (earth).

Although some authors have explored the perceived loss of self and social-psychological attack of identity resulting from colonialism through perception, emotion, and subjective experience (Lederach, 1997) in relation to loss of land, or identity needs associated with land (Rothman, 1997; Northrup, 1989), in Indigenous contexts this psycho-social relationship cuts to the very core of culture and the processes employed to transmit that culture. Thus, if we assume loss of land means loss of culture, then reconnection to land will increase resiliency moving towards the preservation or rediscovery of culture.

Some research suggests building connectedness to: the family, the physical environment, our inner wisdom, a strong psychological self, and social relationships (Denz-Penhey &

Murdoch, 2008) builds resiliency. In my experience this means reintroducing traditional ceremonial practices and reflecting on those experiences.

I assume that the Indigenous worldview encompasses the essence of social constructivism. For me, this means the relationship the groups I work with have with the knowledge gathered through experience. As a member of the research group, my views are an integral component of the narrative and the final product must be a reflection of the entire group's perspective. In Indigenous contexts, because of the importance land plays in the transmission of culture, land and stories about the land act as a catalyst in exploring the key assumptions of social constructivism as described by Creswell (2009): individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work; They develop subjective meanings of their experiences — meanings directed towards certain objects or thing and look for complexity in the views because of varied and multiple meanings; And, the researcher relies as much as possible on the participants' views of the situation being studied.

The Term 'Indigenous' and its Use

Attempts have been made to define Indigenous peoples internationally under *Article 1* of the International Labour Organization's Convention on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, and the Declaration of Indigenous Peoples. Efforts have also been made to define the term academically (Burrowes, 1996; Gurr, 2007; Westra, 2008) within peace and conflict studies. Common elements of these definitions include: descendants of the original inhabitants of a territory that was conquered (and is now occupied by an alien and dominant culture); nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples; typically a national minority, no centralized political institutions — at least not within recognized state boundaries; and, a different worldview including a custodial and non-materialistic attitude to the land and natural resources.

Definitions are always debateable and the term Aboriginal — the Indigenous peoples of Canada — is no different in this regard. There is a legal definition (Imai, Logan, & Stein, 1993), that definition is confusing for many people — Indigenous and non-Indigenous (Warry, 2007), and many authors discuss the term (Alfred, 1999; LaRocque, 2010). Similarly, the term “Indigenous” can also be problematic (Westra, 2008; Henderson, 2008; Burrowes, 1996). It is not my intent to try and define who Indigenous Peoples are (although I will explain how the term is used within this work below). However, for the context of this discussion, I want to emphasize the importance of land, attachment to traditional territories, and their meaning in cultural transmission / revitalization.

For example, land is the principle means of satisfying Indigenous Peoples’ needs for identity, justice, participation, and control (Burrowes, 1996), and Indigenous Peoples’ traditional lifestyles where they live close to the land, render them particularly vulnerable to unhealthy and/or unsafe environments (Westra, 2008). As the global village continues to shrink and the fight for control over natural resources due to resource scarcity (Gleditsch, 2007; Levy, 2007; Stewart & Brown, 2007) increases the pressure on nations to maintain access to natural resources, the critical relationship between Indigenous Peoples and their traditional lands will become increasingly salient. Furthermore, land in the context of colonization is particularly important given the design of colonial policy to separate Aboriginal peoples from their land (Shewell, 2004; Brownlie, 2003; Daes, 2009) and the desire for settlers of Canada to exploit the natural environment for economic purposes (Daschuk, 2013).

It is also critical for this research that readers understand the diversity of Indigenous Peoples around the world. One author suggested Indigenous Peoples make up five percent of the world’s population, embody eighty percent of the world’s diversity, occupy twenty percent of the

lands surface, are stewards of eighty percent of the world's bio-diversity, and represent over five thousand languages and cultures in more than seventy nation-states and six continents (Henderson, 2008).

In Canada, there are many Indigenous groups. I do not claim to speak for all of them, nor do I suggest my work can be applied in the context of other Indigenous groups. My research is exclusive to the localized knowledge of the people I am working with. When I use the term Indigenous it is because I am writing with an international context. I will use the term Aboriginal or native when I write within the national context of Canada. As I start to narrow my focus down to localized geography I will use *Anishinabe* or *Anishinabeg* which is the name we use to describe ourselves in the Ojibway language meaning “from whence lowered the male of the species,” (Benton-Banai, 1988) Ojibway, or Ojibway Nation. I will use *Opaaganasiniing* — the Ojibway term for Pipestone, when speaking of the local community.

Applying or discussing the term in this multi-leveled complicated way is planned and purposeful. It illustrates the diffusion of Indigenous populations around the world and the complexity of the interface between contemporary non-Indigenous societies and their Indigenous neighbours. Given consideration for the geographical location of Indigenous Peoples around the globe and their relation to current world conflicts, what role do they play in those conflicts? What role can they play in the resolution / management of those conflicts?

Modern society, as with all societies, is multi-layered and incredibly complex. Building on the work of Brown (1983) who discussed managing conflict at organizational interfaces, I assert that it is the interplay between systemic levels (discussed in detail in chapter 5) where conflict is most intense and provides the greatest opportunity for understanding conflict etiology. There is no better example of this dynamic than in the context of land, Indigenous peoples, and their

location within contemporary societies. The methodology I propose, will attempt to capture the multi-layered reality and complexity of present world systems on Indigenous peoples. I did not understand this dynamic when I started this work, it is through the research learning process that I have come to realize this.

Thesis Data Organization – Practice What you Preach

Indigenous worldview teaches us that sources of knowledge — researcher and researched, require respect and consideration when understanding phenomenon. All points of view, even those that are different from ours, those that would not seem popular, or those sources that are not normal or typical can add to understanding. This can include both animate, inanimate, and the metaphysical (dreams, messages from animals, lessons from the environment, messages from the spirit world). Our challenge is to look at knowledge as a gift and question why am I being given this gift, what is my relation to that knowledge or experience?

Within this work you will find two types of narratives. The first are presented through the eyes of “*Ni*” (explained in detail below) and reflect a life time of stories I have heard over my travels from a variety of personal sources. Although they are all based on fact, I have taken some creative liberties in an attempt to bring readers to that place and time. These stories are not necessarily personal and come from people all across Canada. The second come directly from interview and sharing circle data gathered with my community, the Red Rock Indian Band. These stories are directly quoted from participants with minor grammatical editing and are used to inform the theoretical discussion.

The two narratives written above, “*Ni* and the face of evil?” and, “Who are we?” are a reflection of perspective on the experiences of the people I have been intimately engaged with over my life time and a gift from the Creator. The mainstay of Anishinabe knowledge systems,

stories teach us about everything and anything we need to know, privilege Anishinabe knowledge systems and using them as a tool in presenting research becomes an act of decolonization (Ray and Cormier, 2012) through the reclamation of history. The stories in this work are both happy and sad. However, all contain lessons, and often the most difficult narratives provide the greatest opportunity for learning.

The first story is related as a personal experience. It describes a dream, and as stated in the description, it is terrifying. That dream is a description of something I came to question while conducting my research; if so many Aboriginal families have suffered horrific sexual abuse and violence and we suspected the behaviour, does coming to the realization of that abuse traumatize? The dream, the events of discovery leading to that moment, and the action resulting from that realization all form part of my research. They speak to research process as a path for peace; one that necessitates finding internal peace before having peaceful relations with others. According to Rotinonshonni scholar Brian Rice (2009), “When we are in grief, our eyes are closed and all we see is darkness...when we suffer from grief, we are not able to hear the words of those who try to heal us...that is because whenever someone suffers from grief their throat is so clogged up they cannot even speak.” (p. 415)

Clearly, in this context as a researcher, I am a part of this story and a part of the healing journey. But how do I manage this? What do I do with the knowledge shared with me by this experience? How does my life as an academic intersect with my life as a father, brother, spouse, friend, and confidant? More critically for this research, how does this new knowledge impact my ability, my communities’ ability, and my Nations ability to have peaceful relationships?

The second story is from an Elder and community member, *Minogaabo* (pronounced *Minogaabo* – Meaning *Standing straight* – *Be straight forward* – *Walk the straight path*), who

closely assisted me in designing and conducting my research. The narrative describes a teaching from my community on ‘who we are’. Some people believe we were placed on the shores of Lake Superior at the mouth of the Nipigon River by the Creator — who we call God, to protect the area from invaders from other lands. Although the description seems to simply capture why we are located where we are, there are a number of underlying considerations in the story that are relevant for this discussion: What is the meaning of land in this context? What does it mean to live in harmony and balance with nature? How does it impact perception of wildlife to view oneself as different, but not more important, than animals? What does it mean to be free? How does giving thanks or being thankful contribute to finding peace? Does living in harmony and balance mean the same as peace? What does it mean for a cultural group if you view the earth as ‘mother’ or ‘grandmother’?

Considered in relation to one another, these stories and the ones you will read in this work become a contradiction, a peace paradox within my culture. Research on traditional forms of conflict management in Indigenous communities suggests we had traditions that promoted nonviolent means of solving problems (Ross, 2006), fostered positive relationships (Yazzie, 2004; Turner, 2004), and encouraged peaceful relationships (Wilson, 2008)¹. Rice (2009) in discussing restorative processes of peace and healing in the governing structures of the Rotinonshonni – Long House People — explains, we would have “lived at peace with one another through having a good mind...Once people’s minds had grasped the goodness that came

¹ I do not believe in the “noble savage” myth. I understand that we were warring nations and that those wars could be extremely violent. In fact, my research partners shared stories of the impact of wars/violence between Indigenous nations. “My grandma told me a lot of stories but I can’t get them all. I know she was kidnapped from there, where she came from Three Island. I have no idea. She told me...war party. They buried an Indian down the hill there, at the pump house. They wrapped him in Birch Bark or they had a blanket they wrapped him...they buried him there. There’s nothing there now, not even sand.” (Elder Charlie) However, for this discussion I want to focus on the positive lessons traditional culture may provide in addressing Indigenous and non-Indigenous conflict in a modern context; the key question being, what can we learn by embracing these perspectives on traditional Indigenous cultures?

from living in peace with one another and they began to perform righteous acts, others would want to follow by example.” (p. 411) This is similar to what I experienced over my life time, discovered in my community as reflected in the Elders story and what I hope readers will understand by the time they finish reading this work; we had governance processes that assisted the people in living peacefully with one another. This necessitates the questions, what went wrong? How have our communities ended up in a place that seems so contrary to our traditions? What were those processes of peace building? Is it possible to reintroduce or redevelop those processes in a community?

This Elder, Terry, also participated in the sharing circles we conducted as part of the methodology and assisted in identifying the ‘*Aki (land) Knowledge*’ gathering process, questions or subjects for the sharing circles, conducted many of the individual interviews with other community Elders, and assisted in the review and analysis of video data. I co-developed this research with him because if peace is a process, then I believe that process must be developed with the individual or group you are trying to assist. Similarly, if the research process is the peace process, then that process must be developed with the research group. Lastly, if you are a part of the group being assisted, then you must learn with each other while working towards the identification of that process. In this way, you must practice what you preach. As we will see below, this approach led me to knowledge I never would have experienced if I had planned everything in advance. More importantly, through the creation of this work we have become good friends and many of the lessons you find in this research relating to peace are a direct result of discussions we had and stories we shared.

The Aboriginal world view necessitates consideration for patterns, cycles, and circles. I will attempt to recreate this circular pattern in the presentation of this work. Thus, not only will it

be a consideration in the methodology, it will also guide the presentation of material and form conclusions. If we assume behaviour and phenomenon are cyclical, ‘what goes around, comes around’, how will this affect our relationships? How can this assist us in understanding patterns related to conflict etiology and the search for peace?

The narratives (personal, those of *MinoGaabo*, and other community members) will be presented within the body of the theoretical discussion to provide context thereby recreating this cyclical dynamic. Stories/knowledge gathered over my life time will open each chapter presented through the literary character of “*Ni*”. As the work evolves, individual narratives will become a family narrative, a community narrative, and a nation’s narrative. Conclusions will be formed based on these narratives in relation to the theoretical discussion.

I’m Hurting – *Niwiisagendam*

Niwiisagendam or ‘*Ni*’ is a character I created to protect the identities of the people who have shared their stories with me. I have done this to maintain relational accountability to my research participants which I argue forms the foundation of an Indigenous research paradigm for the field of peace and conflict studies. I believe I must practice a form of inquiry that is ethical, performative, healing, transformative, decolonizing, and participatory (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Maintaining positive relationships with my research partners now and into the future must be a guiding principle of my approach. In my circumstances, being a member of the research group, it is actually essential if I am to remain an active part of the community.

Ni is my attempt to ‘name the unnameable’ or ‘speak the unspeakable’. It reflects my desire to assist the Indigenous community, and thereby myself in describing the incredible pain many Aboriginal people have explained in verbal stories and books, the pain that lurks on the

edge of consciousness. This pain runs so deep that I have heard it described as the pain of the land. It is a pain that I experience but cannot seem to name where it comes from.

“I’m hurting” is a good description of the people who make up the Aboriginal Peoples of Canada of which I am a part. There are many research projects that document the violence in Aboriginal communities and even more that attempt to make sense of the hurt and violence. This includes: examples of extreme violence (Ross, 2006), a high proportion of prostitution – compared to non-Aboriginal women (Farley, Lynne, & Cotton, 2005), high incidents of suicide (Kirmayer, 1994), male partner violence (Brownridge, 2003), sexually offending Aboriginal youth (Rojas & Gretton, 2007), child maltreatment (Blackstock, Trocme, & Bennett, 2004), and urban Aboriginal gangs (Deane, Bracken, & Morrissette, 2007) to name a few.

I would assert that self-proclaimed ‘peaceful’ western nation states like Canada provide important examples of failed colonial experiments throughout the world and the resulting violence that accompanies Eurocentric domination on local Indigenous populations – critical to understand if we are to stop repeating dominant imperial narratives (patterns) of the past where world powers systematically export their systems, which always contain messages of superiority. Make no mistake, the systems of European culture and society are everywhere in contemporary Canada and these systems are incredibly violent towards some resident populations. Colonialism is alive and well sheltered by the illusion that it is no longer practised. Even where the colonizers have withdrawn, political colonization persists (Hingangaroa Smith, 2009). In current mainstream peace study discourse the international community assumes responsibility for a population no longer able to care for itself and in need of rescue. Hence, “paternalistic attitudes abound as locals are viewed with pity and as incapable of meaningful agency – certainly not without careful and overbearing supervision.” (Thiessen, 2011, p.120) Is this contemporary

attitude any different than failed colonial experiments of the past and the continuing violence embedded in those processes?

I maintain, if designed ethically, with full consideration for Indigenous worldview, the research process can in fact become a peace building process. However, that process must begin with localized definitions of peace based on the needs of the affected population and acceptance of peace as a process, not an end state. In an Indigenous worldview, change is constant and tradition teaches us that relationships, conflict, and change are all dynamic learning processes that evolve with the passing of time and the context of geography. Thus, the critical factor in my experience with Indigenous conflict management is being able to embrace learning processes as one of the essential patterns of change. The obstacle we face is designing a methodology that captures this phenomenon.

Thesis Structure

Chapter 1 of this work provides an understanding of violence and peace from a theoretical perspective, a conceptual discussion on Indigenous / Aboriginal conflict, and a further introduction to the violence inherent in the academy and specifically the discipline of Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS). I will identify the critical challenge for students and practitioners of PACS in Indigenous contexts and propose a strategic approach to conflict intervention using formal research presented as a methodology.

Chapter 2 will explain the theoretical foundations of what I call “The Nexus of History and Culture”. I will identify historical patterns of conflict and violence within the Anishinabeg people that I learned while applying *Kinoo’amaadawaad Megwaa Doodamawaad* – They Are Learning with Each Other While They Are Doing. The conflict between Aboriginal people and the people of Canada has always been about land existing far longer than the existence of Canada

as a nation. Historical patterns of violence exist precisely because of the value of land to European settlers. However, in Indigenous contexts, land has a far greater meaning than previously considered in PACS. Although some authors have argued the importance of considering the ‘intangible qualities’ of land in conflict intervention strategies, I assert that given the importance of land to Aboriginal / Indigenous cultures, land can be used strategically in research processes, dispute systems design, and strategic non-violent resistance to identify and build localized cultural based peace building activities. The approach is premised on the concept of worldview or holism, the meaning of land in Aboriginal worldview, and the importance of land in cultural transmission / learning processes in Indigenous contexts.

Chapter 3 begins with the narrative of how the concept of *Kinoo’amaadawaad Megwaa Doodamawaad – They Are Learning with Each Other While They Are Doing: The Indigenous Living Peace Methodology* was developed. I will then discuss the theoretical foundations of the framework using the body of literature on conducting research with Indigenous peoples known as action research or participatory action research. I will argue that due to its explicit aim to foster empowerment, its commitment to mutual inquiry, local ownership, and active involvement of research partners in every stage of the research process, participatory action research can be used as a culturally congruent process for peace building in Indigenous contexts. I will propose five principles to guide peace building/research activities in Indigenous contexts. I will then provide an explanation of how I conducted my research by using the metaphor of a traditional Anishinabeg ceremony known as a ‘fasting ceremony’ as a framework for the discussion.

Chapter 4 is a presentation of my research data. The chapter will begin with the narrative of *Opaaganasiniing* or ‘where the pipestone comes from’ in the Ojibway language. The story is one of significance for my research partners as it is believed by some community members that it

is the original name of the area. I will then discuss the use of narrative in the ebb and flow of cultures over time and argue their use in the development of localized peace building initiatives in Indigenous contexts. I argue that if peace is culturally constructed, imbedded in the natural environment, and a process — not an ‘end state’, then process must be the first consideration if the goal is peaceful relations. Gathering stories about land provides the necessary link to local cultures that act as a catalyst for developing localized peace building processes. The narratives are used to identify the symbols of peace in the culture of *Opaaganasiniing* using processes of analysis from the field of organizational development / organizational cultural analysis. The chapter will conclude with a summary of my findings highlighted by the introduction of the Complex Indigenous Conflict System (CICS).

Chapter 5 will be a presentation of my primary findings. I will first take the concepts of an Aboriginal worldview provided in chapter 2 and translate them into theoretical elements to be used in considering complexity in the analysis and management of Indigenous conflicts. I suggest that these elements can form the components of the framework for analysis employed within the *Kinoo’amaadawaad Megwaa Doodamawaad* — ‘They are learning with each other while they are doing’ methodology that I define as a Complex Indigenous Conflict System (CICS). The framework can be used as strategic theory for explaining the nature and causes of conflict within the international system and in particular situations, for guiding the formation of strategy to design non-violent interventions, and provide tactical advice to support those interventions as proposed by Burrowes (1996) “A Strategy of Nonviolent Defense: A Gandhian Approach.” I will then discuss the fundamental truths of the CICS in relation to personal and social identity and its affect on health/healing. The chapter will conclude with some final thoughts and stories.

“Ni and the Pattern of Violence”

It was mid-September when *Ni* thrust himself into reality. It was a glimpse of the pattern of violence that would become so familiar, like an embrace from the spirit world or the faint brush of a soft kiss across a cheek. Hauntingly real, relentlessly ruthless, and agonizingly painful, the story permanently imprints in the recesses of the mind.....

The story began in the faint arms of darkness, grandmother moon reflecting her light through the windows. “I have something that I want to tell you” she said, tears beginning to form in her eyes. “I’m not sure how to say it, so I’ll just say it. I was raped by uncle when I was a teenager.”

Ni wasn’t sure what to say or how to respond. What do you say to such a statement? He sat in silence.

She continued, “It hit me when I was away at school. I was taking a nap after being at class that morning. It was so vivid that I knew it had to be real.” “Are you sure?” I replied.....and then, she shared her story.

“I was a teenager when it happened. My mom told me that Auntie and uncle wanted me to babysit for them on a Saturday because they were going out to a dance. I thought it would be a good way for me to make a bit of money so I agreed. When uncle came back from the dance I could tell that he was really drunk. Aunty went to bed and he told her he was going to stay up a little longer to drive me home. After she went to bed he came and sat beside me on the couch and started talking all nice to me.”

“Before I knew what was happening, he tried to kiss me! I tried really hard to push him away but he was too strong and ended up on top of me. I’m not sure how I ended up in uncle’s room, but all I remember is the smell – like really bad sweat and horrible body odour mixed with

beer and cigarettes. He pushed my face down on his bed and raped me. It's so real. I can't get it out of my head — the tears were flowing freely now. How could he do that to me?"

"He finished his business and left me there alone sobbing. I think he called my mom because she arrived to pick me up what seemed like an eternity later. I remember leaving and looking back as I was walking out the door. All I remember is seeing an evil smirk on his face and then sitting in the car and crying. Mom frantically asking me, "What's wrong?" and me not being able to respond or explain. Then we were home and I couldn't stop crying. I had to sit on the toilet and nothing came out but the waste he left behind."

"It makes me so mad."

As she was speaking, *Ni* started to remember that time. He remembered Aunty having a 'nervous breakdown' and the family speaking about how 'Aunty and Uncle' weren't getting along.

When *Ni* was sure she had finished, he told her that he remembered the family whispering about it over tea. He didn't have the heart to tell her that he thought he may have similarly been in the room of that creepy little house they never wanted to visit at Christmas.

"That's why I could never come to see auntie when she had cancer. She was there that day and she didn't do anything." *Ni* thought to himself, "maybe that's why Aunty had so many emotional problems, did she know what happened that night? Was she keeping that inside of her?"

“*Ni* and the Teacher”

“*Ni*” rode with us that night in the car. Driving back from a meeting, the moment came where time stood still, when culture, trauma, and environment collided. There in the darkness, with the faint rhythm of passing hydro poles in the corner of my right eye and my friend and Elder sitting in the passenger seat next to me, “*Ni*” related his childhood experiences of school....

She came to the village as a teacher, as a trusted member of the community. Her memory, like her story, was a breeze through the whispering pines that left an undeniable smell in the air; A smell that permeated the nostrils and offended the senses bringing dread and leaving trauma.

He started, “I was just a little kid when it started. I’m not sure where she came from, or how she ended up at our school. But she left so much pain in our community.”

He continued, “One day, she asked me to stay after class. I think I was five or six years old. She told me that she needed my help with something and asked me to come over to her desk. She told me that she needed me to do something and that it had to be our secret.”

As he related his story, the tension in his voice became palpable, his voice began to shake, and although I could not see him, I knew that he had started to cry. In my heart, I knew what was coming next and although I was frightened for what he might say, I felt grateful for his comfort in being able to share his story with me. I choked back my own tears, gripped the steering wheel tighter, and said a silent prayer to the creator for the strength to absorb what he was about to speak. As sure as the pavement that passed beneath our rolling wheels, his words left an undeniable scar on my heart.

He continued, “She took my hand and slid it up underneath her skirt — I didn’t understand what was happening, but I felt that it was wrong. She then worked my little fingers over the waist

of her panties and started rubbing herself on my hand. I started to cry, but she just kept going, her breathing became deeper and faster. I begged her to stop, but she didn't listen."

As he continued, the tears started to form in my own eyes and I had to force myself to keep breathing. "How could she do that to me?" He pleaded, "I was just a child! And she was a teacher. She did that to me for years until I quit school. Nobody knows what happened. I never told anybody. Do you know that she died and was buried in our community? It makes me so mad."

Chapter 1: Introduction — The Problem with Conflict

*“The land provides life and peace”
(Ariss and Cutfeet, 2012, p. 162)*

What does it mean to hurt? What does it mean to feel pain? Where does it originate?

Conversely, if one feels pain, how do we manage it? Is it possible to move from a state of pain and/or suffering to non-pain, non-suffering or peace? For the field of Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS) questions about violence, pain, and suffering are both complex and critical as they form the basis of our field. Understanding the causes of war and violence, moving individuals from a state of war and the resulting violence to a state of peace is often our focus — the elusive state of peace, is often the objective. However, as we will see from this research, pain, violence, suffering, war, and peace all come loaded with historical and cultural context. They are terms that, when heard, typically produce the popular narratives of war. Narratives historically politicized and employed in the contemporary subjugation of innocent by-stander populations around the world. PACS requires passionate peace voices to counter the ongoing din created by war narratives (Matyok, 2011). One of these passionate peace voices seldom heard, silenced by contemporary war narratives, and almost never considered in modern peace building activities is that of Indigenous peoples.

Current research in Peace and Conflict Studies suggests that Indigenous Peoples have been largely forgotten within literature that analyzes the fight over territory between nations, the assertion of sovereignty within claimed boundaries (Ewan & The Native American Council of New York, 1994; Abu-Saad, 2008) and the processes upon which we claim to include alternative voices like Indigenous Peoples (Tuso, 2011). At the same time, there seems to be an increased interest in the traditions of Indigenous Peoples as offering possible solutions for global, national,

and local issues (Boulding, 2000; Burrowes, 1996). However, as explained above, even the term Indigenous or in this specific context, Aboriginal, come loaded with historical and contemporary meanings often driven by colonial thinking; Colonialism that remains alive and well in the lives of many Aboriginal people in Canada. Certainly this is the context of my research and the lives of the people I have been working with. The question then becomes, how does one include marginalized voices in the study and analysis of conflict, particularly when “scholars of peace and conflict studies often espouse the rhetoric of inclusion, but the reality of peace practice often falls short of expressed ideals.” (Matyok, 2011, p. xxii) In the case of Indigenous peoples in the context of modern war narratives, nation building, and failed or failing states, PACS has failed miserably in acting on its expressed ideals.

History has taught us that research has, and continues to be, a primary tool in the subjugation of Indigenous Peoples around the world. Research was used to legitimate the creeping policies that intruded into every aspect of Indigenous lives (Smith, 1999) with its current form remaining largely unchanged. Colonizing nations relied on the human disciplines, especially sociology and anthropology to produce knowledge about strange and foreign worlds. This close involvement with the colonial project contributed, in significant ways, to qualitative research’s long and anguished history becoming a dirty word (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008, p. 5). For the field of PACS, conflict resolution still remains a Euro-centric model in all aspects of its functions including theoretical frame, research orientation, practice and degree curriculum (Tuso, 2011, p. 246). Walker (2004) asserts that “the majority of formal research on processing conflict continues to focus on Western methodologies” (p. 546) thereby marginalizing non-Western voices.

This research project explores the role of land in conflict and peace building in Indigenous contexts through the development and testing of *Kinoo 'amaadawaad Megwaa Doodamawaad – They Are Learning With Each Other While They Are Doing: The Indigenous Living Peace Methodology*. The research is designed as a practical application of an Indigenous research methodology to be used to facilitate peace building in Indigenous contexts. It is my belief that Aboriginal peoples always had, and continue to have, their own processes for facilitating peace². If this is true, what would those processes look like? How would they function in contemporary society? What would the objective of peace building activities be?

Similar to Indigenous research (Wilson, 2008) and Indigenous Philosophy (Turner, 2006), Indigenous peace building must leave behind dominant paradigms and follow an Indigenous paradigm for building peace based on an Indigenous worldview often defined in literature as “holism”. The challenge then is to embrace inter-relational and holistic thinking and apply it to peace building. “Clearly, peace studies must begin to pursue holism as the framework, process as the primary method, and peace in its widest sense as the goal, if it is to energize the intellectual transformation necessary to a paradigm of peace.” (Reardon, 1992, p. 402)

Following the works of Wilson (2008), Hart (2009) and others (Turner, 2006; Atleo, 2004) the Aboriginal worldview will be used as the lens for exploration. This project assumes that research and the research process, when viewed through the Indigenous worldview, is in fact a peace building process. The issue we face is one of identification and acknowledgement of violence within our field including the foundation of that violence, recognition and acknowledgement of alternative voices in peace building activities, and focus on process rather

² There are a number of authors who document traditional Indigenous processes for peace, explained in detail below. One example is Mills (1994) *Eagle Down is our Law: Witsuwit'en Law, Feasts, and Land Claims* in which she details the relationship between land, the natural world, and reconciliation.

than end results. This work demonstrates that peace, as with conflict and violence, are cultural constructs necessitating consideration for local meanings of peace in intervention design.

As with any academic exercise, definitions often become a focus of discussion. For formal research processes within the academy, definition is critical because it provides a common basis from which arguments and rationale manifest forming the foundation where common critical reflection can occur. Within the field of PACS that foundation is largely based on Eurocentric conceptions stemming from the origins of the current formal education system within European societal structures. “As just one instrument of a complex colonial project, Euro-Western educational systems were implicated in educating Native children as low class labour and for producing hegemony and enacting oppression through disrupting Indigenous practices of transmitting and renewing cultural knowledge.” (Friedel, Achibald, Big Head, Martin, and Munoz, 2013, p. 1) While this particular quote is focussed on lower levels of education, as readers will see through this work, the post secondary education system and research is equally plagued by the same hegemonic and oppressive notions, due to its foundation in European views of the world.

This chapter will begin by introducing readers to the terms violence and conflict through a review of literature. The discussion will then turn towards describing Indigenous / Aboriginal conflicts and how they are typically described in academic literature. Critical in these discussions, and of paramount consideration for this work, is the understanding that these definitions are largely based on Western perspectives founded on European worldview situated within the academy. As the primary driver in peace building initiatives, activities, and approaches around the globe, the academy is heavily implicated in ongoing neo-colonial peace building projects. Research, as the primary tool of the academy — founded on European

worldview, has developed into what Galtung (1990) called “a culture of violence.” This raises a number of considerations for the field of PACS that will be presented as a challenge for the field. To address this challenge I propose a paradigm shift in the area of PACS research based on a strategic approach to conflict intervention employing an Indigenous worldview. This approach will be described as a methodology.

Structures of Violence and Conflict in the Present World Order

The two narratives that opened this chapter provide graphic evidence of the types of painful experiences that can result from structural violence in colonial countries like Canada. Although difficult to identify the original or root causes, the seemingly pervasiveness and depth of violence in Aboriginal communities across Canada (of which readers will gain an understanding from this work) is difficult to ignore. The pattern’s of continuous violence across generations that accompanies the North American colonial project has left an undeniable scar on the lives of many Aboriginal people. In fact, researchers have struggled to find terminology that adequately captures the intergenerational nature of the trauma:

Intergenerational or multi-generational trauma happens when the effects of trauma are not resolved in one generation. When trauma is ignored and there is no support for dealing with it, the trauma will be passed from one generation to the next. What we learn to see as "normal" when we are children, we pass on to our own children....The unhealthy ways of behaving that people use to protect themselves can be passed on to children, without them even knowing they are doing so. This is the legacy of physical and sexual abuse. (Wesley-Esquimaux & Smolewski, 1999, p.2)

The ebb and flow of cultures over generations accompanied by historic colonial patterns of land conquest around the globe cannot be denied. Clearly, humans have demonstrated an almost psychotic belief that nations, driven by the popular ideologies of the time, cannot coexist without war. In fact, history seems to have proven this to be true as modern examples of the historical

patterns of conflict remain in the forefront of world politics mirroring past political patterns of world domination. As societies evolve, the “clash of civilizations” (Huntington, 1993) seems inevitable. The structures of dominant societies that support violence are exported to foreign lands and the traditional systems of conflict management are forgotten as foreign systems are forced on local populations.

For this research project, it is critical to understand that war is just one type of overt violence and the popular war narrative is just one tool in the instigation, justification and glorification of violence. Contemporary society, driven by the popular media, tends to view conflict and violence as synonymous. However, conflict does not have to be destructive or violent. Deutsch & Coleman (2000) summarize the issue suggesting that, “the manner in which conflict is handled determines whether it is constructive or destructive.” (as cited in Fisher, 2000, p.1) Conflict should not be confused with violence which requires the intentional harming of others for one’s own ends (Boulding, 2000).

Conflict exists as a social phenomenon that occurs in social situations between groups or individuals “when two or more persons or groups manifest the belief that they have incompatible objectives.” (Kriesberg, 1998, p. 2) There exists “incompatible behaviours between parties whose recognized or unrecognized interests are affected by their interaction — one parties’ actions are intended to oppose or frustrate the other (Brown, 1993), or one parties’ perception of another’s to frustrate an intended action (Thomas, 1979). Conflict can then be thought of as a “disagreement between two or more individuals or groups over an issue in which both parties have a vested interest and seek favourable outcomes for their own interests.” (Weller and Weller, 2000, p. 163) Because of the social nature of conflict, human individuality and differences in the context of limited physical and social resource, there is no such thing as a conflict free society.

Conflict is ubiquitous in nature (Boulding, 2000). It is the way we manage conflict that determines its destructive nature.

Conflict becomes destructive when outcomes are imposed unilaterally by one party over another and seen as oppressive or humiliating requiring redress or revenge. Destructive conflicts have four characteristics: (i) They are social situations; (ii) There is a perception of incompatible goals or values; (iii) They include antagonistic feelings by one party towards another; and (iv) They include attempts by one party to control the other (Fisher, 2000; Kriesberg, 1998).

Northrup (1989) defined the prolonged state of conflictual psychosocial processes as “intractable” conflicts. The author suggested that intractable conflicts have three primary characteristics: (i) Resistance to being resolved; (ii) Intensifying features unrelated to initial issues in contention; and (iii) Involves attempts (and/or successes) to harm the other party, by at least one of the parties. Hence, “the passage of time adds to the sides’ sense of grievance, elevating sunk costs and making compromises less attractive.” (Crocker, 2007) Intractable conflicts become situations that cannot be resolved (Thorson, 1989) appearing endless, erupting into emotional displays and even violence from time to time. They involve deep feelings, values, and needs that cannot be settled by an order from outside authority.” (Burton, 1987 as cited in Tidwell, 1993, p. 38)

The popular war narrative accompanied by its overtly destructive nature drives contemporary peace building activities. Once the ‘war’ is over, the peace becomes “poverty, insecurity, and excludes true reconciliation with former antagonists.” (Mac Ginty, 2008, p. 11) The author’s of the *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development* suggest that global systems in the 20th century were designed to address interstate tensions, one-off episodes of civil war, and that war between nation states and civil war had a “given logic”

(p. 2). As we move into the 21st Century, the international war narrative is less easily defined. Current countries and sub-national areas now face cycles of repeated violence, weak governance, and instability. Kritz (2007) suggested that 93 percent of major armed conflicts recorded in recent years worldwide are ethnic and religious disputes over self determination or secession, and violent power struggles between opposing domestic factions. Especially dangerous are those disputes that involve territory that is valued for its intangible rather than tangible qualities — religious, ethnic, and historical claims to territory (Diehl, 2007). Other authors assert that most of the worlds conflicts are now concentrated in Africa (Mack, 2007), in poorer developing countries (Lederach, 1997), and in the old or new third world (Ayoob, 2007).

Overt war between nations or one-off episodes of civil war where antagonists are clearly identified and fighting is accomplished with bombs and bullets is viewed as a dynamic of the past. However, repeated cycles of conflict and violence occurring once the ‘war has ended’ exacts other human, social, and economic costs that last for generations (The World Bank, 2011). For example, in poor countries war-exacerbated disease and malnutrition cause far more death and disability than bombs and bullets. The poorer the country and the more destructive the war, the greater the number of excess deaths caused by disease and malnutrition (Mack, 2009). As Stewart & Brown (2007) state: “It is widely accepted that underdevelopment is a major cause of conflict, thus giving rise to a vicious cycle in which poverty begets conflict and conflict begets poverty.” (p. 219)

The relationship of wars between recognized nation states in the contemporary world order and the resulting structural violence left behind once the bombs and bullets have stopped is one of critical importance for this research. In fact, during the course of this project there were a number of examples of the effects of violent colonial structures that left a lasting effect on my

Anishinabeg research partners. Two examples are the legacy of residential schools and how Anishinabeg veterans were treated when they returned from the war

Residential School

Charlie: But now I'm going back to my school, residential school. I was there for four years.

I was about ten years old I guess. And I went to grade four. I got strapped in there and I couldn't talk my own language and every time Indians came to see me there, I couldn't talk to him in Indian...my language.

He got a licking, I got a licking too.

And I was sexually abused. They brought in a worker there, I don't know who he was, but I know his name, I don't know if he was a volunteer there, I had no idea, but I got my settlement in there.

And also I got TB, which I didn't know when I was young, but I went to this big building, I don't know what I was doing there, I wasn't sick. And nowadays, my Doctor told me I'll never get TB again. I got scar on my lung and I lose my breath once in a while, that's the reason I can't talk right here.

Returning from the War

George: Because he was in the 2nd World War, stories of being...he was held...watching people killed.

When they came back they weren't even recognized as someone that was in a war.

They were native, they weren't even allowed to go in bars, they weren't allowed to drink. They had no equal rights to their fellows, a white soldier.

Due to its colonial history and its treatment of Indigenous peoples, can self-proclaimed peaceful countries like Canada be considered a 'post-war' state similar to other post-war states in the contemporary world order in relation to their Indigenous populations? What can we learn from the years of restless peace that exist within our borders and how can this inform modern day peace building activities?

In the context of Canada and its relationship with Aboriginal peoples, the story of conquest glorified as the settlement of vacant lands is a clear example of a 'post-war state' that can be described as a social relationship between organized social groupings whose characteristics remain destructive, intractable, and intergenerational. Henderson (2008) notes, "The idea of

empire and the colonial state was built on violence toward Indigenous others. It was built on cruelty, destruction, and genocide in Europe and the discovered lands.” (p. 15) With colonialism came the structures of European society that remain largely unchanged in contemporary Canada bringing profound consequences for human psychology and leaving a legacy of trauma, fear, and dread: “no ecology, no culture, no people, and psyche remain untarnished with the technology of social control and oppression everywhere.” (p. 21) These structures, I assert, harbour the violence that remains extreme in many Aboriginal communities and it is these structures that must be understood, reconstructed and managed if we are to move from a culture of violence to a culture of peace.

Conceptualizing Indigenous / Aboriginal Conflict and Peace

The destructive, intractable, and intergenerational nature of the on-going violence toward Indigenous peoples in colonial countries like Canada manifest in the pain, suffering, poverty, and extreme violence within communities. This continued oppression through structural violence results in an urgent need for reconciliation (Warry, 2007; Wadden, 2008; Turner, 2006; Stonechild, 2006). Boulding (2000) appropriately summarized the present and ever growing challenge between nation states and colonized Indigenous peoples: “Since mutual respect based on mutual listening and learning is a precondition of peaceable relations between peoples, the failure of the colonizing West to respect the lands and peoples colonized is perhaps the single greatest obstacle to future peaceful cooperation.” (p. 194) Given some authors have argued that ethno-national self determination is likely to pose grave threats to the territorial integrity and juridical statehood of postcolonial states (Ayoob, 2007) nation states must actively seek innovative processes for reconciling differences with resident Indigenous populations.

Indigenous Peoples remain among the poorest and most marginalized in the world (Whiteman, 2009). The Assembly of First Nations released a report in 2009 that suggested in Canada, First Nation communities rank 76th out of 174 nations when applying the United Nations (UN) development index 2001 compared to non - First Nation Canadian communities who ranked 8th. This means that shockingly, many so called ‘third world’ countries rank higher than First Nations communities on the UN development index. On average, Indigenous Canadians can expect to die five to eight years earlier than non-Indigenous Canadians, routinely suffer from poverty, violence, sickness, and premature death, and Aboriginal status has been recently listed as a key predictive variable in the analysis of Canada’s overall health outcomes (Daschuk, 2013). All anyone has to do is scan the daily popular media to get a sense of the growing disparity between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians and the intensifying frustration among Indigenous Canadians towards their circumstances.

Daschuk (2013) characterized the historical link between North American Indigenous Peoples’ and European settlers as a “complex interaction of the global economy and the spread of disease” (p. 182) that began in the 1600’s. He goes on to assert that the decline of First Nations health existing today “was the direct result of economic and cultural suppression.” (p. 186) As we flash forward to contemporary times, the current emphasis on the economic dimension of human life and globalization have pushed the planet beyond its current carrying capacity (Boulding, 2000) resulting in environmental pressures leaving states more conflict-prone than ever. As time passes, the current complexity of an ever shrinking global village and the resulting environmental pressures including control over natural resources due to resource scarcity (Levy, 2007; Gleditsch, 2007; Stewart & Brown, 2007) will increase the incidents of conflicts and war.

Indigenous peoples remain culturally and materially dependant on lands, forests, and natural resources, as a result, they have been, and will continue to be, one of the most adversely affected by the global economic system (Gurr, 2007). Traditional lifestyles where cultural survival is dependent on access to traditional lands render Indigenous communities particularly vulnerable to unhealthy and/or unsafe environments (Westra, 2008) caused by resource exploitation. In fact, the structures of European society imported to Canada with colonial conquest remain focussed on exploiting Indigenous peoples for wealth and profit. If Aboriginal people were required in order to access resources — as in the case of the early fur trade or to act as allies in times of war (Daschuk, 2013), they were conveniently tolerated. However, when they became problematic by acting as a barrier to resource exploitation or formed opposition to the path of ‘progress’, they were violently removed from traditional homelands. This pattern of ‘resistance – response – change’ remains as predictive today as it did hundreds of years ago.

Despite efforts to present Canada as a peaceful country internationally, a review of statistics related to Aboriginal peoples’ suggest a very clear divide between the dominant peaceful settlement narrative and the violence present in many Aboriginal communities, violence similar to that described as underdevelopment and repeated cycles of violence resulting from weak governance and instability. Levy (2007) suggests a single act of violence by a state or other group does not constitute war. The idea of war implies a certain threshold of violence is crossed and involves sustained violence through the coordinated use of force by a political organization or group. Organized violence is not considered war unless the other side fights back. Thus war involves intense sustained violence between political organizations or groups, though the relevant threshold of intensity varies significantly over the millennia and over different cultural systems.

The destruction of traditional homelands is the destruction of Indigenous Peoples. This occurs through the severance of the complex interface between traditional land based life ways and local peoples. The systems used to exploit natural resources becomes an interface between land and human beings that will become increasingly salient over time where all environmental problems are interpreted as resource scarcity problems (Gleditsch, 2007). Thus, for Indigenous Peoples whose cultural survival is dependent on access to traditional lands, this concept of peace as the absence of war becomes unachievable. The absence of war does not provide human security as defined by the United Nations as, “safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression and also, protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life.” (as cited in Gleditsch, 2007, p. 177)

Galtung (1969) created a dichotomy for conceptualizing the various iterations of peace between what he calls ‘negative’ and ‘positive’ peace or the absence of personal and structural violence. “Just as a coin has two sides”, he writes, “peace also has two sides: absence of personal violence, and absence of structural violence. We shall refer to them as negative peace and positive peace respectively.” (p. 183) This concept of *positive peace* - the absence of all direct, cultural, and structural violence requires a shift from a concept of peace as the absence of war, to a concept of peace as a positive, organic process of relations. Peace building would then be seen as “creating new kinds of social space in society for new behaviours and new social relations, broadly conceived.” (Boulding, 2000, p. 56) Focussing peace building efforts on the elimination of structures that support violence allows a focus on security for Indigenous Peoples as defined by Burrowes (1996), that includes, “recognition of their traditional rights, measures to protect Indigenous Institutions that regulate resource use in harmony with nature, and processes

to ensure meaningful participation by Indigenous Peoples in the decisions that affect their lives.”
p. 140)

Structures of Violence and Canadian Society

Freire (1970) suggested that any situation where one group or person objectively exploits the other or hinders the pursuit of self-affirmation is one of oppression because they interfere with the individual's ontological and historical vocation to be more fully human. This type of oppression manifests as unequal power and life chances (Burrowes, 1996) resulting from limiting individuals' physical and psychological capabilities (Uvin, 1998). Also referred to as “silent violence” (Spitz, 1987), this type of violence in the form of oppression exists within structures of Canadian society where the established rules or norms of the system support the ongoing unequal distribution of power (Cormier, 2010) that can lead to hunger, poverty, and inequality (Hodgkins, 2008).

Structural conflict occurs between parties over interests embedded in social structure — parties that do not even, in a sense, know what is going on (Burrowes, 1996). Structural violence, Botes, (2008) suggests, is often referred to as institutional violence, and arises from “social, political, and economic structures that sanction the unequal distribution of power and resources” (p. 363) and can be found in policy, administrative decisions, economic sanctions, the workplace, and families. When these structural conditions and situations go beyond one's ability to accommodate, they often lead to physical (behavioural) violence possibly manifesting itself socially (Burton, 1997 as cited in Botes, 2008). In these “high intensity conflicts” (Fisher, 1993) the sources of conflict shift from conflict of interests, a small number of issues, adequate individual and group functioning, and a mix of competitive/cooperative orientation to denial or

frustration of basic needs and/or struggle for power. The groups are primarily battling “for their very survival in terms of identity, scarcity, freedom, and recognition.” (p. 118)

European settlement of North America has been extremely violent. Founded on European views of the world and structures of society, contemporary processes of westernization remain inherently violent with Indigenous peoples around the globe victims of modernization and settlement. Since direct and immediate killing is avoided by making the causal chain longer, the actor avoids having to face the violence directly. “To the victims however, it may mean slow but intentional killing through malnutrition and lack of medical attention hitting the weakest first, the children, the elderly, the poor, the woman.” (Galtung, 1990, p. 293) Exploitation in this context meaning those at the top, construct and maintain the structure so they receive more than those at the bottom. This archetypal violent structure has remained the same over centuries beginning with the early fur trade in the 1760’s to the late 1800’s (Daschuk, 2013), to contemporary times where relationships with Indigenous peoples has become a ‘culture of’, or ‘cultural’ violence.

By ‘cultural violence’ we mean those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence – exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science (logic, mathematics) – that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence...cultural violence makes direct or structural violence look, even feel, right – or at least not wrong. (Galtung, 1990, p. 291)

For Aboriginal people in Canada, the ontological violence of westernization (Walker, 2004) remains the biggest obstacle to peaceful relations with non-Aboriginal Canadians. The evidence to support this assertion is clearly reflected in the academic analysis of the structures that dominate our lives including child welfare (Bennett, 2008; Simard, 2009; Firestone & Weinstein, 2004), health (Crowshoe & Mannes Schmidt, 2002; Adelson, 2007), social work (Sinclair, Hart & Bruyere, 2009; Shewell, 2004), education (Stonechild, 2006; Thompson Cooper & Stacey Moore, 2009), resource / parks management (Nadasdy, 2003), research

(Wilson, 2008; Hart, 2009), and law (Ariss & Cutfeet, 2012). We must consider that “Although institutions and structures appear void of human influence, outside the control of individuals, it is individuals who in fact are responsible for the construction of institutions.” (Berger & Luckman, 1966 as cited in Cormier & Ray, in print)

One example that remains pervasive in the lives of Anishinabeg peoples is the church or organized colonial religion³.

The Church

Simone: Did any of your grandparents...

I know, remember my grandfather, Easter time. He used to go down to the lake and get water and he used to bring it up and he used to wake us up because we had to have a drink and make the sign of the cross because that was holy.

Christmas morning, Easter morning...I mean and it had to be running water and we used to do that every Easter.

Oh so cold drinking that cold water.

Blanche: And we were all baptized in the bush with the missionary.

Father Roland...he used to come, like when we were living on McKirdy that's where we received our...made our first communion, had catechism and everything.

And our grandfather, made sure our parents made sure that we went to church from that time on every Sunday.

Simone: Well down at the Landing Road, when Father used to come and say mass, my grandfather would make an altar.

And we used to be so glad because we didn't have to go to school.

We went to mass because that's when my granny would bring out her preserves and grandpa would be making pancakes and....and then go to school the next day.

How come you weren't at school?...Because we had mass at our house and felt so proud.

³ I selected these particular excerpts because they reflect both the positive and negative aspects of organized religion on the people. It is important to note that typically religion and the church are presented negatively in discourse due to some of the more widely known examples of residential schools. However, at least in the case of some of my research partners, they look at the church in a positive way. My objective in presenting these examples here is to illustrate the influence of the institution of the church. These have been both negative and positive. The critical consideration for this discussion is that the institution of the church is a foreign structure or system and individuals typically shape institutions for a planned and purposeful objective.

Mona: And the priest used to come once a month I think, down at the mission.

And we used to go by canoe from Parmacheene to go across and it was just like a big powwow. But there was no drums or anything like that.

It was like a big get together and everybody took lunch, and they had mass there and the priest had...it was just like a bazaar...get all these nice things that the kids would win when we were playing games.

I used to really like that.

There was a great big tree by that church I remember, where everybody would sit underneath in shade. That was nice.

Parmachene Church

Terry: Do you remember the old church at Parmachene? Do you remember going there as a kid?

Lillian: We didn't go there, yah, I was young, yah, there was a church there.

Terry: They weren't using it at the time aye?

Lillian: No they weren't.

Mona: But, my Pop said, ah, I don't know what happened to everybody he said, they came and built a church and everybody moved out.

Lillian: Everybody used to go across you know, speaking of water, my grandmother and grandfather we got in the canoe and go across to Lake Helen to go to church.

Church or the Pool Room

Blanche: How about Clifford, my brothers as they were getting older in age.

We had to get up and go to church and so...of course we all had to go to church.

We used to have that path clear right down to the road by Canadian Tire.

So they went ahead and told mom, well, we're going to church now.

Wilfred and Clifford.

So they went down that road.

Father Muldoon would say two masses on Sunday.

So they said, they were just going up over the snow bank and here it was Father Muldoon coming.

He stopped, "boys where are you going?" To church (everyone laughing).

Mona: They were on their way to the poolroom.

The Priest and the Secret

George: Years and years ago there used to be a priest...and old Indian trapper.

His trap line was back past second lake, back in that area. He used to go back there.

He said he found something and he showed it to a bishop that used to come to the church here and this bishop was from Montreal...Used to come here maybe once every 6 months or something.

So this trapper was showing this guy that, so they went back there, this trapper took that bishop back there and brought stuff back.

He scared that native guy not to tell anybody, he said “don’t tell anybody.”

Word got out after there’s stuff back there, but apparently in a cave, you got to go into a cave and that’s where they found this stuff.

But this guy took a big supply home, but he died eh that bishop.

So nothing ever happened, this guy was scared to say anything cause at that time the natives were really afraid of religion.

The search for positive peace and human security in Aboriginal contexts has been elusive, the absence of direct structural violence a seemingly impossible objective given the colonial history of Canada and the on-going colonization of its Indigenous population. If society is ignorant to cultural violence, violence that does not feel wrong, how do we address the structures that support or even encourage violence towards some resident populations? Human security can no longer be narrowly defined as the absence of war. It must encompass economic development, social justice, environmental protection, and governance systems (Annan, 2001) based on cultural traditions of local peoples’. Creating new social space in society for new behaviours and social relations by eliminating underlying causes and conditions of hostilities including structural and cultural violence can bring positive peace (Sandole, 2001). This focus allows the management or elimination of oppression symptomatic of the structural conditions that influence behaviour caused by laws, policies, authoritarian practices, and cultural group or peer norms (Weller & Weller, 2000).

Worldview and the Structures of Violence in Research

There is an ever growing body of research that discusses Indigenous world view and its application in a number of disciplines including lands and resource management (Borrini-

Feyerabend, 2004; Davidson-Hunt, 2003; Westra, 2008; Thoms, 1996; Berkes and Davidson-Hunt, 2006), child welfare (Foxcroft, 1995; Bennett, 2008; Simard, 2009), peace and conflict studies (Tuso, 2011; Burrowes, 1996; Boulding, 2010), including restorative/traditional justice (Crowshaw & Manneschmidt, 2002; Edossa, Babel, Gupta, & Awulachew, 2005; Turner, 2004; Yazzie, 2004), policy development (Kenny, Faries, Fiske, and Voyageur, 2004; Warry, 2007), and research (Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008; Atleo, 2004; Denzin, Lincoln, & Smith, 2008). These works and others critically dissect systems of western society using an Indigenous worldview as the lens for analysis.

Edward T. Hall (as cited in Walker, 2004) defines worldview as “the underlying, hidden level of culture...a set of unspoken, implicit rules of behaviour and thought that controls everything we do.” (p. 528) The individual’s worldview has its roots in the culture; in the society’s shared philosophy, values, and customs containing the deep-rooted and implicit assumptions about what life and reality are all about, “These assumptions are the guidelines for interpreting laws, rules, customs, and actions.” (Little Bear, 2009, p. 83) In the context of research, Creswell (2009) suggests worldview is seen as a “general orientation about the world and the nature of research that a researcher holds. These worldviews are shaped by the discipline area of the student, the beliefs of advisors and faculty in a student’s area, and past research experiences.”(p. 6)

Educators have come to understand that the models of teaching they have been taught, the definitions of inquiry with which they have been supplied, the angle from which they have been instructed to view intelligence, and the methods of learning that shape what they perceive to be sophisticated thinking all reflect a particular vantage point in the web of reality. (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008, p. 139)

Differences in worldview are more than cultural points of interest, they are sites of political contestation of power (Walker, 2004). Thus, the process of identifying or forming one’s

research worldview for Indigenous researchers is not a confirmation of Aboriginal identity, but a compromise, a renegotiation of Aboriginality (Adelson, 2000) into the dominant paradigm to comply with the power structures of the academy.

Western societies' power and willingness to implement their models of conflict resolution, and by extension formal research, without consideration of Indigenous worldview perpetuates ontological violence, "the forceful introduction of one worldview to the extent that it marginalizes or suppresses another worldview." (Walker, 2004, p. 546) Epistemological tyranny, suggests Kincheloe & Steinberg (2008), "still functions in the academy to undermine efforts to include other ways of knowing and knowledge production." (p. 144) Palys (2003) asserted that "Having one epistemological group impose its standards on another is little more than the academic equivalent of cultural imperialism." (p. 28)

Rather than being a process of rediscovery, PACS research has predominantly become a process of colonization (Smith, 1999). An experience in cognitive imperialism that Battiste (2009) asserts is a form of cognitive manipulation used to disclaim other knowledge bases and values that denies people their language and cultural integrity by maintaining the legitimacy of only one language, one culture, and one frame of reference. The result is that "cultural minorities have been led to believe that their poverty and impotence are a result of their race...This ideology seeks to change the consciousness of the oppressed, not change the situation that oppressed them." (p. 198) This level of sustained attack over five centuries facilitated the internalized Indigenous belief within the educated elite that their cultures are somehow inferior and have nothing to contribute to modernity (Tuso, 2011).

Although this research project attempts to challenge the existing accepted research paradigms in PACS, I question whether a true Indigenous research paradigm can exist given the

structures of the academy, the historical power of dominant research approaches, and the violence perpetrated on Indigenous peoples in the name of ‘science’, ‘progress’, and ‘accepted research’ around the world that continues to this day?

As I write this work (July, 2013), another story has hit the popular media about how the Canadian government conducted research on unwitting Aboriginal people who were subjects in nutritional experiments. The experiments were long standing and included 1,300 people with most of them being children. The testing included withholding food, vitamins, milk rations and other health necessities from children at various residential schools across Canada to identify the effects of malnutrition on human beings in the 1940’s. It is ironic that as Hitler was conducting experiments and committed genocide on the Jewish population in Europe with Aboriginal Canadians fighting as Allies in World War 2, North America was violently separating Indigenous Peoples’ from their traditional homelands and conducting unethical cruel experiments on Native people. Powers (2002) suggested that U.S. ratification of the genocide convention would license critics of the United States to investigate the eradication of Native American tribes in the nineteenth century.

The Challenge for Peace and Conflict Studies

Cognitive imperialism is an extreme form of violence that infiltrates the structures of society. It is particularly insidious as it becomes unseen to the majority of the population forming the foundation upon which a culture of violence can blossom and spread. The study of cultural violence, suggests Galtung (1990) highlights the way in which the act of direct violence and the fact of structural violence are legitimized and rendered acceptable in society by making reality opaque so we do not see the violent act or fact.

Founded on the European world view, contemporary Canadian societal structures have evolved into totalizing forces, “the imposition of serialized space and time, of individualization and homogenization.” (Kulchyski, 1992, p. 177) Although emphasizing capital and the capitalist state, totalizing forces can exist in other aspects of society resulting in dispossession, “Those cultures and peoples that do not accord with the State-constructed nation are “foreign agents” in the national body and therefore dispossessed.” (p. 177) False premises that there are no alternatives weaken the confidence of Indigenous people and challenge one’s ability to imagine anything other than state centred projects like “economic development” as a viable pathway to resurgence (Corntassel, 2012, p. 95). In the context of colonial countries like Canada, it would not be an oversimplification to say that European thought developed as a belief system appropriate to one powerful and permanent European interest: Colonialism (Blaut, 1993).

In the international forum, the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples is the response to the totalizing force of human rights (Henderson, 2008). In the area of scholarship, the assertion of Indigenous worldview is the response to the dominant research paradigms described by Guba and Lincoln (1994) as positivism, post-positivism, critical theory, and constructivism. Wilson (2008) summarizes the primary issue we face as Indigenous scholars within the totalizing forces of the academy:

Indigenous scholars have in the past tried to use the dominant research paradigms. We have tried to adapt dominant system research tools by including our perspective into their views. We have tried to include our cultures, traditional protocols and practices into the research process through adapting and adopting suitable methods. The problem with that is that we can never really remove the tools from their underlying beliefs. Since these beliefs are not always compatible with our own, we will always face problems in trying to adapt dominant system tools to our use. (Wilson, 2008, p. 13)

For the field of peace and conflict studies, the importance of considering cognitive imperialism in our research activities cannot be understated. As government agencies around the

world attempt to regulate scientific inquiry by defining what counts as ‘good’ science (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008) and universities define acceptable research practices based largely on Eurocentric ideals defined from within and “regulated according to positivist epistemologies,” (p. 6) the field of peace and conflict studies similarly struggles with the totalizing forces of the academy. Given our location within the academy, is it possible to remove the violence from our field? What is the culture of peace and conflict studies? If it is not peaceful, is it possible to change it? How would we make it peaceful?

Matyok (2011) characterizes our field as a “design discipline characterized by peace science and peace scholarship as on-going peace development.” (p. xxiv) He continues, asserting that what is called for is an entirely new way of defining knowledge development within the field introducing a new disciplinary definition that takes knowing out of the academy and places it in the world. Thereby becoming real practice where academics engage in a dialectical relationship. “Peace development is a process of becoming, not a state of being” (p. xxvi), and “It is no longer possible to speak of solely local or national conflicts. All conflicts include micro, mesa, macro, and mega elements. Peace and conflict work occurs at all levels of analysis, often simultaneously.” (p. xxvii) Indeed, this certainly seems to be the case for this project and is reflected in the analysis frameworks developed in chapter five.

This challenge for peace and conflict studies is a challenge for many academic disciplines, governments, and world leaders: “as agents of colonial power, Western scientists discovered, extracted, appropriated, commodified, and distributed knowledge about the indigenous other,” (Denzin & Lincoln p. 5) thus instigating a culture of violence towards Indigenous peoples. The evidence of structural violence exists in western countries not meeting every day basic needs (clean water, health care, education) of some resident minority populations (Galtung, 1990).

A Methodology for Peace and Conflict Studies in Indigenous Contexts?

Contemporary definitions of peace and peace building within the field of peace and conflict studies are often associated with conceptions of the liberal peace characterized by recurring themes that “run through most orthodox interpretations of liberalism.” (Mac Ginty, 2012, p. 170) These themes have been summarized as: “the recognition of the individual as the basis of society; notions of tolerance and equality of opportunity; the promotion of freedoms that are believed to be universal; a belief in the reformability of individuals and institutions; the rationality of individuals and collectives; and the defence of property and free markets.” (p. 170) Similarly, Ariss and Cutfeet (2012) suggest that Euro-Canadian Law is largely based on the Liberal paradigm suggesting the two most important espoused (or claimed) values of the Canadian legal system are individual autonomy and equality. The current “strategic coordination of the (neo) liberal peace building project is heavily invested in hierarchy, Western outlooks, expressions of western power, upper-level control, and ignorance of local wisdom.” (Thiessen, 2011, p. 129) As a critical tool in liberal peace interventions, the formal education system, the academy, and thus research, is heavily implicated in current manifestations of international and localized peace building projects.

Thiessen (2011) asserts that current mainstream discourse in peace building “props up the West as the peace building authority and savior situating expertise solely in the laps of experts from western countries.” (p. 129) Other authors have been similarly critical of the ontological violence of westernization (Walker, 2004) within aspects of our academic field suggesting that “Western methods have assumed hegemony in the fields of conflict resolution and mediation” (p. 527) and Western systems of conflict resolution, “have not developed concepts and practices which meet the spiritual dimensions of peacemaking involving ritual.” (Tuso, 2011, p. 255) This

spiritual dimension of conflict management, I would argue, is an essential consideration for peace in Indigenous contexts.

Kinoo'amaadawaad Megwaa Doodamawaad – They Are Learning With Each Other While They Are Doing: The Indigenous Living Peace Methodology is the story of one man, one community, and one nation's search for peace. It is a story about relationships with the animate and inanimate and a rediscovery of tradition. It is a story about land, the natural environment, and the interface between culture, identity, and Mother Earth. It attempts to embrace relational accountability (Wilson, 2008), and decolonize research methodologies (Smith, 1999) using the field of peace and conflict studies and one Indigenous group in Canada as the context for discovery and discussion. My intention is to design an Indigenous methodology defined by Evans, Hole, Berg, Hutchinson, & Sookraj (2009) as “research by and for Indigenous Peoples, using techniques and methods drawn from the traditions and knowledge of those people” (As cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. X) and test its usefulness in the field of Peace and Conflict Studies.

The Indigenous Living Peace methodology assumes a strategy of inquiry founded on an Indigenous world view. It arrives at a research destination by employing data gathering/methodological tools or techniques embracing relational accountability as discussed by Wilson (2008) in his work *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*. He suggests that the shared aspect of Indigenous ontology and epistemology is that relationships do not merely shape reality, they are reality; and that the shared aspect of an Indigenous axiology and methodology is accountability to relationships (p. 7). Other authors highlight the significance of unifying relationships and the indivisibility of the human, material, and spiritual in holistic research (Kenny, Faries, Fiske, & Voyageur, 2004), theory that assumes a meaningful

relationship between variables (Atleo, 2004), and the relationship between animate and inanimate beings based on the shared essence of life (Smith, 1999). All these authors share a common use of Indigenous worldviews — which I will define as holism, thereby emphasizing a critical connection between Indigenous peoples, the traditional lands / environments they inhabit, and research.

Evidence gathered for this research suggests that Indigenous peoples learn from the land both practically and metaphorically. Sharing narratives about the land, contesting, and interpreting those stories is the process of acculturation used to pass cultural knowledge to future generations.

Practically learning from the land occurs by directly practicing traditional land based traditional life ways as described by Elder Charlie explaining how he learned from his dad how to find directions when travelling on the land:

Finding Directions

Charlie: Directions...I taught that too. Directions, when you're lost in the woods, it depends on where you get lost.

You look...wherever you are sitting, beside a pond, a lake, whatever it is. You gotta' know your directions, where's the North, where's the East.

Okay what you do...if you know your directions in the bush, you know where to go. No matter. I came from...you go beyond that you go right straight.

The point is you gotta know where your North is. When you know your North, you know where your South is, okay?

Now, what I used to do...I taught this...I didn't actually do it, but, the way I was taught by my dad. My dad taught me that.

If you go look behind a swamp, if you get a swamp there...cedar...okay that's fine. Now, you find that, you look in the back, if it's darker in the back, then the sun never hits there, so there's your North. There's your North right there. Then right across is your South.

And your West is, anywhere in this area, you see all the trees up there, you look the lower branch, always pointing West where it's closer.

Metaphorical learning occurs through both legends and what I would call spiritual stories. An example of a legend would be the “Wolf Story” as told by Elder Ethel:

Ethel: The story I remember most of all was the one about the wolf.

They were living down the river this man and his wife.

I guess they were getting on in years and it was winter time. It was wintertime and the man said I got to leave you guys pretty soon I can't stay here with you.

He had little children and he says "I can't stay here too long because I got to go and I gotta find some wood and some animals to eat, they are getting all gone around here, they are getting depleted".

So he said "I'll go, I'll tell you when I got to go, but I got to get ready to go."

He packed up some stuff and from the rafters he pulled down a big bundle and he took that bundle and them kids didn't know what he was doing.

They went to see and here...he pulled a big knife out of the bundle. He said "I'll do that bundle...when I'm gone...I'm gonna put the knife like that on the wall" and that's what he did.

The knife and he hit it in the wall like that (*makes stabbing motion*) and he told them, "When I'm gone you watch that knife, when I'm gone, when I won't be coming back it'll fall and that's when you'll know. I want you to go down...up the river to your grandparents, they'll look after you there."

So he went...he finally went on his trip to go hunting leaving them kids behind.

He told them don't go outside, stay in the house, just come out to bring some wood in and get some water, that kind of stuff and when you get them, when you get to bed, remember what I told you about the knife. When it falls I won't be coming back, that's when you bundle up your stuff, whatever food is left you take that and some dry clothes with you.

They said "Ok we'll do that."

So then he was gone...he went...he was gone and the boy kept doing what his dad told him, two little boys.

Then one day when they were playing around the fire that knife fell down, it fall on the floor. He said "we gotta go"...the next morning..."tomorrow morning we'll have to pack up and go".

So they went and took off down the river, up the river to where their grandparents were, long ways. Anyway they were going and they finally seen a clearing over there...a clearing where maybe somebody is but and they walked up and didn't see anybody.

So the sun was getting warm and they made a lunch. They said, "we'll make lunch when we get there and we'll go again".

When they got to the clearing they made their lunch and then they fell asleep on the ground and when they woke up, the oldest boy woke up and he couldn't find his little brother and then he looked down the lake. In the reeds, that old man was sitting in the canoe and he was calling that boy.

They said "no don't go, remember dad said, he told us not to talk to nobody, not to bother nobody."

So he went down there and caught him, but he didn't catch him in time and he got in, he seen the boy crawling, getting into the canoe and the old man was sneering at him.

So he just got down there and he says "let me have my brother back".

He said, "NO" and he just laughed at him and he goes like this to the canoe and the canoe took off across the lake.

When he got to the other side he was calling that boy...he wouldn't...well he was out in the canoe, how could he come and he heard him hollering. He hollered "Chi me, Chi me" and the boy answered back Ashuk da optun miangano???" he told his brother.

When they beached on the other side he seen that nice wolf jump across... silver wolf he jumped out of the canoe and ran in the bush.

An example of spiritual stories would be the following narratives that were shared in succession during one of the family sharing circles in which participants reflected on the death of loved ones and how they learned through a spiritual connection that they had passed away:

Denny and the Lamp

Mona: I remember when Denny died. Wanda and I we were sleeping in a tent with my mom, this is true I didn't make it up. This really happened.

My mom was sleeping in between us. Wanda was on one side and I was on the other and we had a lamp by the doorway and she had lowered it down, and I saw Denny come in. He took the lamp and he moved it over to the other side of the door and he smiled and he went back out and I went back to sleep.

A little while later Pop came in and told mom you better get up, Denny....doh.

But I so remember him opening the flap of the tent and taking the lamp and putting it on the other side and then he smiled and went out. And then after Pop came in and told mom to get up Denny had died.

Standing by the Door

Lillian: You know that happened to me as well.

When Elizabeth Pelletier had this appendicitis and she was sick at home for a long time, long time.

So finally Mr. Pelletier took her to the hospital and she lived four days and she died there.

And then I was coming from visiting aunty, you know, Christine. We were leaving there and there was this lady standing right beside the door.

And I was walking in, I was asking, who's that lady? My mom said, what lady? I saw a lady standing in there, and it was getting dark.

Till this day I don't know who it was and then we heard she died.

Similarly, another participant shared in a separate interview, his experience in learning about the death of a loved one:

The Gun Shot

George: Sam was a trapper and a prospector.

Sam, I can remember going out with him prospecting, we stayed out all summer and one year we were out and we were sleeping in a tent and all of a sudden he jumped up in bed and he said “did you hear that?”

I said “No I didn’t hear anything”.

He said “well there was a gunshot” and he said “there is no one around in this area but us.” So he says, “that would mean to him that something has happened in our family”.

So then in 3 days, a plane fly’s in there and tells us that his nephew and my cousin Michael Morriseau got into a car accident that same evening that he heard the gunshot.

So we worked and we didn’t come in that time because everything was all over eh. But he heard the gunshot, I didn’t eh. But it was exactly, roughly the same time, when Michael was in the car accident and he died.

All these examples demonstrate the connection between the spiritual world and the meaning it holds for the Anishinabeg people as interpreted by Elder Terry who conducted these interviews:

Interpreting the Spiritual Connection

Terry: It goes to tell you we have a spiritual connection eh, with the now time and the future and the past or with the world because this is how we are brought up.

We were spiritually connected to the earth because we lived in harmony and we used all these things like the gunshot you didn’t hear, Sam heard and he knew something was wrong already and not knowing really as a result of that gunshot.

When the plane later came over and the message was given to you that the nephew was killed in a car crash. See there is a spiritual connection there and that’s important to emphasize on stuff like that ok. That’s good.

In conceptualizing this research project, I used the five following principles as ethical guide posts for designing peace research in Indigenous contexts all founded on the concept of relational accountability: 1) The establishing and nurturing of relationships before, during, and

after my research activities; 2) Consideration for the physical, mental, emotional, spiritual in relation to family, community, nation, mother earth including the environment — land, water, air, spirit; 3) Not developing a rigid research process based on my individual desires. To ensure the on-going emphasis on relationships, the community should develop, learn, grow, and benefit from ceremonial research activities; 4) In following a constructivist research paradigm, account for multiple realities and perspectives, take individual experiences and develop group or community knowledge; 5) Due to its explicit aim to foster empowerment, its commitment to mutual inquiry, local ownership, and the promotion of active involvement of research subjects/partners in every stage of the research process, action research can be used as a culturally congruent process for peace building in Aboriginal contexts.

The Indigenous living peace methodology assumes land access and use, which I suggest has a much broader meaning in Indigenous contexts including other aspects of the natural environment (land, water, air, earth, spirit), is the root cause of every conflict involving Indigenous people. Conversely, renewed land access and use can facilitate peace if that reconnection is structured with consideration for local ceremony, custom, and ritual. The Indigenous peace methodology assumes Indigenous people have their own processes for peace building and these processes have existed since time immemorial reflected in traditional land based life ways shared through stories. Twisted by the experience of trauma over time, the narrative of peace has slowly transformed into one of violence through “a complex process of negotiation and renegotiation that is bounded within socio-political economic circumstances.” (Mac Ginty, 2012, p. 168)

Conclusions: The Paradox of Complexity in Conflict

This chapter began with an assertion that pain, violence, suffering, war and peace all come loaded with historical and cultural context. ‘Conflict’ is the term typically used to describe the various degrees of violence presented in the popular media, and the international response, although various degrees of destructiveness and intractability exist within PACS research. The international war narrative drives modern peace building activities and results in the neglect of populations who live in post-war violence due to the belief that if there is no war, then violence has stopped. However, this type of thinking neglects the many displaced peoples around the world who live in so-called ‘post-war’ states. Galtung (1990) cautions, “War is only one particular form of orchestrated violence, usually with at least one actor, a government.” (p. 293)

I assert that Canada, as a colonial country, reflects many of the same characteristics of post-war states in relation to its Indigenous population exacting human, social, and economic costs often equated with ‘underdevelopment’. The concept of structural violence was then introduced as a theoretical frame critical in understanding post-war violence. Countries like Canada offer contemporary examples of the pain and suffering present in states that displaced Indigenous Peoples’ generations ago characteristic of the ‘new security’ dilemma within the international community. Intergenerational trauma remains a constant reminder of the violent settlement of Canada although the country attempts to present an international narrative of ‘peaceful settlement’.

While Canadians see themselves as world leaders in social welfare, health care, and economic development, most reserves in Canada are economic backwaters with little prospect of material advancement and more in common with the third world than the rest of Canada. Even basics such as clean drinking water remain elusive for some communities. (Daschuk, 2013, p. 186)

As a group of people that remain culturally and materially dependent on a healthy environment, the destruction of traditional homelands is the destruction of Indigenous Peoples. Human security, as defined by the United Nations, does not provide peace for Indigenous peoples as it comes loaded with cultural significance with the definition based largely on Western conceptions of governance and societal structures. This definition neglects local definitions of peace because peace, as with violence, is culturally constructed.

Culture, Avruch (2008) suggested, is socially distributed across a population and psychologically distributed within individuals across a population “enabling members of a single human community to get along with one another and their surrounding environment through a shared set of habits of action.” (Rorty, 1999, p. 188) Thus, Robertson (1988) argues, “Culture consists of the shared products of society; society consists of the interacting people who share culture.” (p. 55) The guidelines society gives to its members on what is considered acceptable behaviour are norms. Norms are so important to the structure of society that we create institutions around them — “an orderly, enduring mechanism for ensuring greater uniformity of behaviour by perpetuating norms learned in the broad interests of society.” (Hiller, 1991, p. 83) The institutions created to perpetuate norms in the broad interest of Canadian society have become totalizing forces which perpetrate structural violence on Aboriginal Peoples. These structures have created a culture of violence within the Canadian population towards Aboriginal Peoples.

In the 1930’s Raphael Lemkin compiled the rules and decrees imposed by the Axis powers and their client states in nineteen Nazi-occupied countries and territories in Europe to “be able to demonstrate the sinister ways in which law could be used to propagate hate and incite murder.” (Power, 2002, p. 26) The work published under the title *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, would

become the foundation upon which the United Nations Convention on Genocide would be created. One reviewer claimed that “While the Nazis shamelessly displayed their intentionally planned misdeeds, the western Allies stumble into illegal practices and cover them with humanitarian or other formulas.” (p. 39) Almost every one of the nine charges laid against the Nazis could be made against the Allies.

Lemkin’s original work clearly demonstrates how countries employ the tools of state to serve political interests and how those tools, in his example law, are used to create a culture of violence towards a group of people. For this research I assert that the basis of structural violence in Canada lies with differences in worldview between Aboriginal peoples’ and European settlers who imported their structures of society as part of the larger colonial project to access Indigenous traditional lands for economic exploitation. This dynamic is described as ontological violence, epistemological tyranny, or cognitive imperialism.

As a primary tool of state, the formal education system is heavily implicated in the facilitation of cognitive imperialism. By extension, post secondary school, graduate research, and the field of PACS are similarly employed as a cog in the machinery of Westernization — a machine operating on the pain and suffering of many populations. This is the biggest challenge for our field. Peace development is a process of becoming, not a state of being, and the complexity of analyzing conflicts on the world stage becomes a paradoxical dilemma because as the global village shrinks, the structures that harbour violence become more complex and subtle, hidden from the eyes of the majority of people feeling ‘right’ and/or, at the least, not unjust.

The dichotomy created by theorists between the constructive and destructive nature of conflict assists us in understanding that conflict is a complicated term with cultural context and the most severe political connotations. Just as research has been conducted on the destructive

nature of conflict, over decades, theorists have similarly argued the beneficial dynamics of conflict. Simmel (1955) asserted the positive aspects of conflict suggesting conflict is not always dysfunctional having both positive and negative aspects. Coser (1964) suggested conflict is in fact necessary to maintain relationships acting as a safety valve in some circumstances, and Kriesberg (1988) identified conflict as a necessary part of social life, not always destructively waged. Yet, it seems the popular war narrative drives the present world psyche.

Acceptance of conflict as a societal reality necessitates acceptance of purposeful intervention to achieve a set of goals through the on-going management of conflict (Thomas, 1979) and effectively managed, conflicts can provide opportunity for learning, increase creativity, and strengthen relationships (De Dreu, 1997). Thus, conflicts are never truly resolved, they are managed. Conflict management reflects the historical and contemporary nature of Indigenous / colonial relationships and the on-going struggle for peaceful relations between Aboriginal people and the Canadian Nation State. “The differences in wants, needs, perceptions, and aspirations among individuals and among groups, stemming from individual uniqueness, require a constant process of conflict management in daily life at every level from the intrapersonal (each of us has many selves), to the family and the local community, and on to the international community.” (Boulding, 2000, p. 89)

Analyzing and managing this ‘paradox of complexity’ in conflict will require a paradigm shift in the way that we research conflict in the field of PACS. In considering the passionate peace voices of Indigenous peoples in the field of PACS we are opening a world of critical theory that can add a perspective seldom considered in the study and analysis of conflict. A world that I believe allows for the respectful inclusion of all cultures and voices in the research and management of conflict. However, it will require looking at situations in ways that we were

never formally trained and seeing the world as more than just the physical environment as exemplified by some of the narratives shared within this chapter.

As the foundation of Aboriginal culture, land is the single biggest consideration in the analysis and management of conflict. Land is the nexus of history and culture where alternate definitions of peace can be found — “The land provides life and peace.” (Ariss and Cutfeet, 2012, p. 162)

Ni and His Sister

Ni met his sister's new boyfriend today. Although the initial introductions seemed pleasant, as the conversation progressed uneasiness grew in the pit of his stomach making him increasingly uncomfortable. That anxiety intensified with every passing minute and successive glass of wine. As the night fell and the stink of wine, cigarettes, and sweat infiltrated his senses, the future uncle of *Ni*'s nieces and nephews transformed into a ghost from his past. It began with an accusation and ended with the confirmation of alcoholism by way of a heated argument. That first confrontation was a sign of things to come — with every passing year and attempt to gather as a family at times of celebration, the episodes of happiness grew into memories of violence. *Ni*'s reminiscence of the few childhood memories that he cherished so deeply began to transform into instances of nervousness, fear, and dread for the safety of his children.

“Christmas should be a time of fun and happiness”, he thought to himself. “Why should I have to worry about the safety of my children to protect the family unit?”

It was only years later as the nightmares and anxiety coalesced into reality that he began to understand the origin of those fears. It started with dreams of pain and suffering that he didn't understand and ended the way it always did with feelings of “not being good enough,” “not being smart enough,” and “not feeling loved and protected.” Triggered by the smell of wine and cigarettes, the pain of childhood experiences that lived on the edge of his consciousness left him confused and blind to the narrative of his reality.

Always the stench of cheap wine, extreme body odor, and cigarettes — this was the recipe that left the palpable taste of suffocation in his mouth and the pain of sodomy in his rectum. This was the same recipe that would not allow him to have an adult relationship with his sister whom he

loved so dearly. How could he tell her that her relationship and living conditions brought back those memories of violence that seduced him into complacency for the safety of his family?

Where did we come from?⁴

I told them that we were situated between two great lakes, Lake Superior and Lake Nipigon. And the Nipigon river runs from Lake Nipigon down to lake Superior. There's about a twenty mile stretch there.

I believe that we were put here by the Creator. We didn't come from Africa, we didn't come from Europe, we didn't come from South America, we came *here (emphasized)* from Turtle Island. We were put here when the Creator says let there be life in the world. I believe that. And we were put here for a reason.

It's just like in the middle of the field, you see a flower, a beautiful flower in the middle of the field. Picture that. There's a whole background area that's so beautiful, it beautifies the whole area that flower. It's there for a reason. That's like each and every one of us here today, is here for a reason.

We were put here between these two great lakes for a strategic reason by the Creator. We're supposed to protect the upper great lakes from the Iroquois when they come up and invaded the communities of North Western Ontario on the shores of Lake Superior. We were put here for that reason, to protect that. I talked to some of those in the past and I listened to each and every one of them as they spoke in turn. It caused me to realize that they corroborate on some of the stuff that my grandma told me and what I believe.

⁴ This is a direct quote from transcripts gathered during my research. Although some of the grammar is incorrect, I do not feel it is appropriate for me to change the words of the speaker so it is written exactly the way it was spoken. I am using this quote because it demonstrates that local peoples have a distinct understanding of why they exist and where they are geographically situated that is often times different from history books or other research.

Because those stories about the Iroquois used to come up here and invade this country to steal women and children and kill the warriors and the old people and the old men, they go by taking them back down. So some of the stories that were told to me by some Elders in the past are from our community, from around here, that there were look out rocks and they were used to lookout for the longboats that were going to come up here.

So, I believe we were put here for a strategic reason to protect the upper great lakes, to protect this country up here, this beautiful country we have here.

Chapter 2

The Nexus of History and Culture – Indigenous Worldview, Peace Culture and Land

The way on which conflict is defined, perceived, responded to, and managed is culturally embedded; that is, there is a “Culture of Conflict” in each society. Clearly, when cultural assumptions about conflict differ between antagonistic groups, these differences can become another source of conflict etiology or escalation. (Fisher, 2001, p. 18)

INTRODUCTION: THE PARADOXICAL DILEMMAS OF COMPLEXITY AND INDIGENOUS PEACE

Characteristics of underdevelopment demonstrated by some populations in Canada, like the Aboriginal population, provide evidence of the structural violence omnipresent in Canadian society. The culture of violence that has blossomed under the guise of modernity is sheltered by the popular war narratives of our time keeping the Canadian population focussed abroad on international episodes of war that drive contemporary peace building activities on the world stage. The result is that self-proclaimed ‘peaceful’ countries like Canada look abroad, rather than within, when considering the various degrees of destructiveness and intractability of conflict, allowing Canadian society to flourish into a culture of violence as discussed by Johan Galtung (1990).

The traditional boundaries of international nation states have become blurred by the ongoing cacophony of the new security landscape exemplified by terrorism and other groups labelled as ‘enemies’ that transcend the historical boundaries of nations. The ever shrinking global environment magnifies the need for embracing the paradox of complexity in conflict and PACS research. As the cultures of the earth become closer through the marvels of modern technology, conflict and violence become multi-layered and increasingly complex. As the

paradox of complexity increases salience, the tools of PACS must similarly embrace complexity or risk ineffectiveness.

As the essential tool of Canadian acculturation, the school system propagates and harbours structural violence towards its resident Indigenous populations. Founded on the European worldview and approach to education, post secondary education and the modern academic institution was created to perpetuate norms in the broad interest of British / European society. Canadian society, existing as a remnant of European society, has consistently perpetuated violence towards Aboriginal peoples through the forcible removal from traditional homelands orchestrating the decimation of Aboriginal cultures to exploit natural resources for the economic gain of colonists. Research as a critical tool and function of higher education is heavily incriminated in the violence perpetrated towards Aboriginal societies. We cannot forget that the school system, and thus research, are tools of the State and reflect the worldview of the culture from which the system originated.

The new security dilemma masks the requirement for developing conflict intervention strategies based on the needs of local populations creating ‘the peace paradox’ that exists within Indigenous cultures. If we assume that Aboriginal Peoples had their own processes for resolving conflict, what happened to those processes? How did so many Aboriginal communities become destructively violent? This seemingly paradoxical dilemma is a result of colonization, forced settlement, and the clashing of cultures where one culture elevates itself to a higher standard so it may hurt others for personal gain. It is a dilemma often associated with the conquest of land for the building of nations.

As suggested in the preface of this work, if we assume that ‘in a traditional Indigenous view of the world land is healer, teacher, provider, friend, and home’ — capturing all the terms

we know to mean peace. Then in peace research land can be inspiration, data source, methodology, ontology, axiology, epistemology and all terms that describe the formal research process. Peace in this sense becomes a process of learning and necessitates reaching beyond the norm of current peace building examples popularly characterized as the 'liberal peace'.

Peace in Indigenous contexts is not an 'end state' but a life long journey that requires an understanding that peace, as with conflict and violence, are cultural constructs necessitating consideration for local meanings of peace in intervention design. This assertion was very clearly reflected in my interaction with community research partners throughout this work in the narratives, structure, and over all presentation of the methodology.

As a discipline concerned with the study of conflict and peace, PACS research must embrace holistic approaches to analysis using frameworks that consider theory, practice, and complexity in the contemporary world order. This assertion requires a rethinking of the role of research in PACS and the role we play as researchers in the formulation of methodology in PACS research. Assuming peace process and research are synonymous, we must consider the sources of our research design and methodologies to ensure our work does not commit violence on the populations we are trying to assist. The systems used to exploit natural resources acts as an interface between land and human beings. Similarly, given the critical role land plays in the contexts of Indigenous cultural preservation, land can act as an interface between researcher and research subjects.

The conflict between Aboriginal people and the people of Canada has always been about land and historical patterns of violence exist precisely because of the value of land to European settlers. However, in Indigenous contexts, land has a far greater meaning then previously considered in PACS. Given the importance of land to Aboriginal / Indigenous cultures, land can

be used strategically in research processes, dispute system design, and strategic non-violent resistance to identify and build localized cultural based peace building activities. This approach is based on analyzing conflict and peace through the lens of an Aboriginal worldview known as ‘holism’.

This chapter will discuss the link between land, Indigenous identity, and the search for peace. I will first introduce the concept of worldview and identify key components of an Indigenous worldview. The Indigenous Living Peace methodology is based on the assumption that traditional land access holds the critical interface between Aboriginal culture, security, and peace.

I will then present the meaning of peace for Anishinabeg people. Similar to conflict, peace is a cultural construct with specific meanings to localized cultural groups. In Indigenous contexts land as ‘the nexus of history and culture’ provides opportunity for analyzing complex interfaces where the colonizer and colonized are interdependent. These spaces provide opportunity for teaching and learning becoming a place for the contestation and negotiation of contemporary Anishinabeg identity allowing consideration for the possibility of peace. This assertion is based on the critical role land plays in identity formation and negotiation in Indigenous cultures.

The chapter will conclude by presenting critical assumptions for conducting PACS research in Aboriginal contexts that integrates the Aboriginal worldview and the Anishinabeg meaning of peace. It is assumed that, if designed properly with consideration for the local Aboriginal worldview, research can be employed as a peace building process in Aboriginal / Anishinabeg contexts. This assumption is based on the ‘nexus of history and culture’ — a worldview that embraces complexity and holistic thinking. By conducting research in a way that

facilitates understanding of local manifestations of ‘holism’, we can create a lens for analyzing conflict that embraces the paradoxes of complexity and peace based on localized peace building objectives.

HOLISM, ABORIGINAL IDENTITY AND LIVING PEACE

Holism has been described as an Aboriginal worldview and constitutes the essence of Aboriginal identity (Kenny, Faries, Fiske, and Voyageur, 2004; Anonymous, 2002; Wa’na’nee’che’ and Freke, 1996; Bopp, Bopp, Brown, and Lane, 1985; Benton-Benai, 1988). In reviewing these works and others, holism typically has four common elements within the confines of a circle. It is looking at the connection between the physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual portions that make the entire individual. At the core of this concept is the connection beyond the individual to family, community, nation, and Mother Earth (The world) which includes the environment – land, water, air, and spirit. This concept is also known as circle teachings. Circle teachings include worldview primarily discussed within the sacred circle and relationships within the sacred circle (Rice, 2005); “For many Aboriginal peoples, a circle represents the space in which we live” (p. 4). “In the Ojibway understanding of life, everything comes full circle.” (Rice, 2011, p. 209)

Fixico (as cited in Turner, 2008) describes Aboriginal thinking as “seeing things from the perspective emphasizing that circles and cycles are central to the world and that all things are related within the universe. For Aboriginal people who are close to their tribal traditions and native values, they think within a native reality consisting of the physical and metaphysical world.”(p. 101-102) As an example, the Gitksan people of British Columbia believe that, “the ownership of the territory is a marriage of the Chief and the land. Each Chief has an ancestor who encountered and acknowledged the life of the land. From such encounters comes power.

The land, the plants, the animals and the people all have a spirit – they all must be shown respect. That is the basis of our law.” (Turner, 2008, p. 66-67)

This type of thinking was reflected in some of the narratives gathered for this research exemplified by the stories Respecting Other Beliefs, and Reciprocity.

Respecting other Beliefs

Lolo: My grandfather really believed in his religion, that’s one thing. I’m not over religious but I do believe in God.

I had throat trouble...Dr’s said, “you’re going to get an operation”...I was about seven or eight years old.

So my grandfather ran to the Bishop. Bishop said...he blessed me...he said “as long as you believe in God you’ll never get surgery on your throat as long as you live” he said.

And I still believe that and I’ll always believe that.

I don’t go around preaching to people, you should do this, do that. That’s up to the individual. What you believe is what you believe...Yah.

Well my grandfather, one thing I didn’t agree with him, he didn’t want us to associate with people from different religion, that I don’t agree with. Whether you’re a Presbyterian or whatever you are, it didn’t matter, that’s their religion.

Jehovah Witnesses come to the house one time. I told them that. “Look it, gentlemen”, I said, “you respect my religion and I’ll respect yours. But don’t expect me to follow you” I said. I got respect for other peoples’ religion. That’s their belief that’s up to them I said, not me.

Reciprocity

Ethel: Sweet grass is nice.

You can smell it when you come across it.

All you do is put some tobacco down and pick it that’s all. That’s how the elder’s did it. They put some tobacco down and then they said some prayers...whatever they know... thanking the great spirit for that sweet grass and letting it grow again.

Just like the Miinan, the blueberries. They do the same thing there and the blueberries never shorted. They always grew nice and thick and go and pick them again. They’re supposed to be very good for you, that’s what the elders say.

You don’t have to go hungry if you got blueberries.

Despite the seemingly westernized surface culture reflected in the daily lives of the community, when asked to share stories about their lives on the land, the deep beliefs of their culture related to respecting the physical and metaphysical worlds were told. This dynamic occurred not only in the narratives of the people, but as you will see in Chapter three, also in the processes community members used to gather the information.

There is an ever growing body of research that discusses Indigenous world view and its application in a number of disciplines including lands and resource management (Borrini-Feyerabend, 2004; Davidson-Hunt, 2003; Westra, 2008; Thoms, 1996; Berkes and Davidson-Hunt, 2006), child welfare (Foxcroft, 1995; Bennett, 2008; Simard, 2009), peace and conflict studies including restorative/traditional justice (Crowshow & Manneschmidt, 2002; Edossa, Babel, Gupta, & Awulachew, 2005; Turner, 2004; Yazzie, 2004), policy development (Kenny, Faries, Fiske, and Voyageur, 2004; Warry, 2007), the law (Ariss & Cutfeet, 2012), and research (Absolon, 2011; Atleo, 2004; Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008). These works and others (discussed in detail below) provide guidance to the key considerations for building research methodologies in Aboriginal contexts.

Although we must be cautious in making claims to one Indigenous world view, I would suggest that by reviewing existing research and literature, and considering it in relation to local community narratives, it is possible to identify common patterns or elements that can be employed for the identification of frameworks in the design of research methodologies for PACS in Aboriginal contexts. How can research methodologies be ethically designed in Aboriginal / Anishinabeg contexts to address issues of totalization within the academy?

Critical in addressing this question is consideration and inclusion of Aboriginal views on peace because peace is a lived experience. Rice (2005) asserts that “In modern and historical

times people sought to follow a path that offers peace within themselves and a meaning for their existence; many Aboriginal peoples call this path the red road,” (p. 52) “This reciprocal relationship is developed from early childhood and is critical to one’s ability to *pimadaziwin*, an Anishinabe term meaning ‘life to the fullest’ or elderhood” (p.26). Henderson, (as cited in Rice, 2005) “uses the Mi’kmaq term, *Nstou’qnm* when referring to Algonquian consciousness; it means the Indigenous life-long learning process” (p.63). Thus, peace in Aboriginal contexts is not an “end state” as in the classic Kurt Lewin model of change (Burnes, 2004). It is a continuous life long journey reflected in the daily interaction the people have with the land.

CULTURE, INDIGENOUS WORLDVIEW, THE RESEARCH PROCESS, AND PEACE

Avruch (2008) identifies the term culture as one of the three most complicated words in the English language and that there are literally hundreds of definitions. The problem “lies with recognizing that the term comes to us from the nineteenth century with different meanings, and that these meanings come attached to political agendas of one sort or another.” (p. 167) Culture, he argues, is socially distributed across a population and psychologically distributed within individuals across a population. The primary consideration being that everyone has culture, and in fact, have potentially several cultures.

Culture is formed through the interaction of people in society. We are not born with culture, it is learned, socially shared, adapted, cumulative, and passed down (reproduced or inherited) in social relations. Culture consists of *material* and *non-material* shared products of human society (Robertson, 1988) and shared sets of habits of action, “those that enable members of a single human community to get along with one another and their surrounding environment.” (Rorty, 1999, p. 188) Individual cultures are multi-faceted with many of us belonging to a lot of different cultures; our native town, university, intellectual, religious tradition, organizations, and

groups. Culture is “the total of human-produced values, behaviours and symbols that a group of people share. It includes morals, laws, customs, beliefs, knowledge, symbols, art, tools, organization or, in sum, the way of life of a people; When people who interact share a culture, the result is a society.” (Hiller, 1991, p. 75)

Culture comprises a society’s philosophy about the nature of reality, the values that flow from this philosophy, and the social customs that embody these values (Little Bear, 2009) also known as worldview. Edward T. Hall (as cited in Walker, 2004) defines worldview as “the underlying, hidden level of culture...a set of unspoken, implicit rules of behaviour and thought that controls everything we do.” (p. 528) The individual’s worldview has its roots in the culture; in the society’s shared philosophy, values, and customs containing the deep-rooted and implicit assumptions about what life and reality are all about, “These assumptions are the guidelines for interpreting laws, rules, customs, and actions” (Little Bear, 2009, p. 83) as exemplified by the Elder’s interpretation of an experience she had with her mother as a little girl when they were fishing:

Sturgeon says ‘Thank you’

Ethel: It was very hard...me and my mom used to go fishing.

My dad had a little kicker on a canoe.

One time we caught a nice big sturgeon but my mother didn’t want to eat it. She thought there was something wrong, it had a big hump on its back.

She couldn’t decide if she’s gonna eat it or not so she tied it up around the gill and she tied it to the shore and she left it and then one day she said, nope I’m gonna let it go.

She said we’re not gonna eat it because she didn’t like it because she thought there was something wrong with it.

So she went down to the river, lake, yeah river that was at Muskrat.

She let that sturgeon go and when the sturgeon...she let that sturgeon and it turned around faced her again and he put his head up and looked at her and he went.

She thought that was something that meant something but she didn’t know what it meant, I guess he was just thanking her for letting him go.

It is my assertion for this work that in Aboriginal contexts, a research process designed in an ethical manner would, in fact, be a peace building process. Such a process must be framed within the worldview of the local cultural group with peace (according to a local Indigenous perspective) as its final objective.

Peace for the Anishinabeg is not an end state to be achieved or a work shop objective, it is a continuous life long journey; it is respect, harmony, balance and relationality. Fundamental in this view is access to traditional lands. The land gives rise to our way of being (Ariss and Cutfeet, 2012) and continuing to live on the land the way our ancestors did allows the transference of culture from one generation to the next. Health has as much to do with social relations, land, and cultural identity as it does with individual physiology, writes Adelson (2000). Health ideals, she suggests, are rooted in cultural norms and values that permeate, define and extend beyond the physical body.

When Anishinabeg people interact with the land and practice tradition, we are in fact, employing the tools of cultural transmission. Conversely, when those daily patterns of life are disrupted, as in this example of the impact of logging and hydro development on fishing practices, the traditional processes of cultural transmission are lost.

Fishing Disrupted

Mona: My mom used to set hooks in the winter time.

She used to leave here from our house and go over the hill, like now there's a highway there. She'd go over the hill, all the way down to Lake Helen.

Then she'd go back the next day and she'd come back with these great big fish.

Clifford: When I went out there with him one morning, in the spring time, it was sort of half rain. And I'm telling you, we had a packsack full. Both of us eh, great big Pike about the length of that table. That's how it was in Lake Helen.

Ever since they quit running river drives, even the fish are gone.

Mona: I remember they had a picture of me, remember, the fish was the same height.

HOLISM⁵

This section will provide a description of the concept of holism. The following question will guide the discussion: Are there common elements of an Aboriginal worldview that can be identified to act as framework for the ethical design and implementation of research methodologies in Anishinabg contexts? My objective will be to summarize some of the research and consider it in relation to community narratives gathered during this research project in an attempt to identify common elements for use in the development of research methodologies in Anishinabeg contexts. The review of this literature is divided in two sections: ‘Describing Holism’ and ‘Application and Use’.

Describing Holism

As introduced above, holism has been described as the Aboriginal world view, the connection between the physical, mental, emotional, and spirit including the family, community, nation, and environment — land, water, air, and spirit. Traditional teachings related to holism are sometimes known as circle teachings. “All experiences of the individual are seen in light of the four aspects of physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual... This concept has been referred to as ‘holism’ and goes beyond the individual to a deep connection to family, community, and nation, as well as to the environment – land, water and air.”(Anonymous, 2002, p. 3)

Jim Dumont, an Anishnawbe traditional teacher in the Midewiwin lodge, (As cited in Rice, 2005) describes the four basic teachings of the four directions encompassing the sacred

⁵ For this discussion I will be suggesting common elements of an Aboriginal world view and using examples from various groups across Canada. When considered in relation to community narratives gathered during my research project, I believe, in the end, there will be distinct patterns that will demonstrate the similarities between Aboriginal and Anishinabeg views on holism for use in the design of PACS Indigenous research methodologies which will be applied in chapter 5.

circle of life. The Eastern Door — *the seeing path*, including cosmology, vision, beliefs, and values evolving from the spirit world; The Southern Door — *ways of relating*, including environment, interactions between Aboriginal people and other beings, the cycles of life, time, mathematics, and numbers; The Western Door — *coming to knowing*, including Elders, the learning path, and Aboriginal knowledge; And, The Northern Door — *ways of doing*, including ceremonies, healing, prayer, and life ways. Rice concludes, “Each of these directions relate to personal fulfillment when people integrate an Aboriginal world view into their lives, including sharing of knowledge, dreams, and states of being.” (p. xii)

Holism forms the basis of Native American / Aboriginal spirituality and is more than religious tradition. It is not a set of dogmas demanding blind faith, or a moral code of rules and regulations that must be obeyed (Wa’na’nee’che & Freke, 1996), it is “a way of coming into natural harmony with life, and living from this centre of balance,” (p. 23) similar to living with Tao for Taoists or Dharma for Buddhists. It is more a way of living, understanding that we are all related: “we two-leggeds share one Creator with the four-leggeds, the winged ones, the crawling people, the plants, and standing people or trees – even the stone people, the rocks and the minerals. We are all one family. We are all of the earth and all made living by the love of the Great Spirit. We are all part of one circle of life and our individual well-being relies on the health of the whole.” (p. 37-38)

Smith (1999) described holism as the concept of essentialism. A human person, she suggests, does not stand alone. We share with other animate and, “in a Western sense, ‘inanimate’ beings, a relationship based on the shared ‘essence’ of life; The significance of place, of land, of landscape, of other things in the universe, in defining the very essence of a people.” (p. 74) “The circle of life fully encompassed all of the Creator’s children. It included four

elements: humans, animals, plants, and minerals. Each of these beings were considered brothers and sisters to one another, thus deserving of respect and honour.” (Morrisseau, 1999, p. 4) Not respecting all of creation would bring great shame to yourself, your family, and community.

Hart ⁶ (2002) suggests that there are five key foundational concepts if one is to achieve what the Cree call *Mino-Pimatisiwin*, the good life. They include values and perceptions based upon an Aboriginal worldview that include:

Wholeness – expressed in sets of four like the cardinal directions (north, east, south, west), the four aspects of humanity (emotional, physical, mental, spiritual), the four key periods of the life cycle (birth/infancy, youth, adulthood, elderhood/death), the four races of the earth represented by four colors (red, yellow, black, white), the four primary elements (fire, water, wind/air, earth), and the four seasons (spring, fall, summer, winter);

Balance – implies each part of the whole requires attention in a way where one part is not focussed upon to the detriment of the others. “Balance occurs when a person is at peace and harmony within their physical, emotional, mental and spiritual humanness; with others in their family, community, and the nation; and with all other living things, including the earth and natural world.” (p. 41) Balance includes giving attention to what connects each part of the medicine wheel or the relationships between each part;

Harmony – includes respect for one’s relationships with others and within oneself, as well as the give and take within the entities. “It focuses on establishing peace with oneself and the life around.” (p. 43) It involves the relationships of all the various powers, energies and beings of the

⁶ Hart’s (2002) discussion summarizes the works of many authors. These include: Regnier (1994); Clarkson, Morrisette, and Regallet (1992); Young, Ingram, and Swartz (1989); Longclaws (1994); Malloch (1989); Zieba (1990); Canda (1983); Guay (1994); Ross (1996); Bopp, Bopp, Brown, and Lane (1985); Janzen, Skakum, and Lightening (1994); Nelson, Kelly and McPherson (1985); Pepper and Henry (1991); Wilkinson (1980); Aiken (1990); Hallowell (1992); Brant (1990); Ellison-Williams and Ellison (1996); Herring (1996); Attneave (1982); Johnston (1976); Dion Buffalo (1990); Odjig White (1996); Longclaws, Rosebush, and Barkwell (1993); Peat (1994); Absolon (1993); Auger (1994); Herring (1996).

cosmos and happens with everyone — human, plant, animal, and planet — fulfills their obligations and goes about their proper business;

Growth – the development of a person’s body, heart, mind, and spirit in a harmonious manner.

“Growth is represented as the movement towards the centre of the medicine wheel.” (p. 43);

Healing - viewed as a journey, is something that people practice daily throughout their lives. It is the broad transitional process that restores the person, community, and nation to wholeness, connectedness, and balance. It is also about people taking responsibility for their own learning and growth.

The foundational concepts of wholeness, balance, harmony, growth, and healing are similarly echoed by other authors including Bopp, Bopp, Brown, and Lane (1984) who describe the symbolic teachings of the Sacred Tree and summarize the gifts of the four directions, and Benton-Banai (1988) who provides the Ojibway or *Anishinabe*⁷ version of how their nation was given the gifts of the four directions: “On the surface of the earth, all is given four sacred directions — North, South, East, West. Each contributes a vital part to the wholeness of the earth. Each has physical powers as well as spiritual powers, as do all things.” (p. 2) Rice (2005) suggests that seeing the world with Aboriginal eyes requires an understanding of the Eastern Door: Seeing the Path-World of the Spirit; Southern Door: Ways of Relating; Western Door: Coming to Knowing; and, Northern Door: Ways of Doing. He further asserts that “participation and experience are essential requirements for seeing the world with Aboriginal eyes.” (p. 7)

⁷ *Anishinabe* is the name the Ojibway people use to describe themselves. It is translated as ‘from whence lowered the male of the species’ (Benton-Banai, 1988). There are various spellings of *Anishinabe* depending on the dialect of the speaker/writer. This spelling is based on the author (Benton-Banai). It can also be spelled *Anishinabe*, *Anishinabek*, and *Anishinabeg*. I use *Anishinabeg* within this work because our local dialect does not use a ‘k’ when spelling. They all refer to members of the Ojibway Nation. Readers must understand that the Aboriginal Nations of Canada are incredibly different across the country and that there are different opinions on language, history, and customs within specific Nations and even within local communities.

Benton-Banai (1988) also describes seven instructions or gifts given by the seven grandfathers. These gifts are to assist man in living in harmony and balance with all of creation. They are: 1) To cherish knowledge is to know *wisdom*; 2) To know *love* is to know peace; 3) To honour all of the creation is to have *Respect*; 4) *Bravery* is to face the foe with integrity; 5) *Honesty* in facing a situation is to be brave; 6) *Humility* is to know yourself as a sacred part of the creation; and, 7) *Truth* is to know all of these things (p. 64). Only when a person is living up to his or her potential by practicing the seven teachings can he or she be a practitioner in the knowledge of society (Rice, 2011) and I would add, live holistically — or peacefully.

Application and Use

In the book *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*, Editor Marie Battiste (2009) presents a number of research papers on colonization according to the four directions of the sacred wheel suggesting “The medicine wheel illustrates symbolically that all things are interconnected and related, spiritual, complex, and powerful.” (p. xxii) In keeping with the teachings of the medicine wheel, she suggests colonization can be understood in relation to the four directions of the sacred wheel:

The western door — maps the contours of the ideas that shaped the last era of domination that underpins modern society; *The northern door* — where the diagnosis of colonization emanates; *The eastern door* — reflects healing colonized Indigenous Peoples. Healing ourselves, our collective identities, our communities, and the spirit that sustains us; And, *The southern door* — offers the foundation for reclaiming ourselves and our voice, as we vision the Indigenous renaissance based on Indigenous knowledge and heritage.

Atleo (2004) discusses the theory of ‘Tsawalk’ based on Nuu-chah-nulth origin stories, life ways, and experience expressed as *heshook-ish tswalk* — ‘everything is one’. The theory

refers to the nonphysical unseen powers and does not exclude any aspect of reality in its declaration of unity. Most importantly, the concept of *heshook-ish tsawalk* demands the assumption that all variables must be related, associated, or correlated (p. 117), thus embracing the basic character of creation – unity.

Turner (2006) explains the principle of renewal. He suggests that the concept of renewal is complex; along with respect and reciprocity goes to the core of Iroquoian political philosophy. The main idea behind the concept of renewal, he explains, “is that change is a natural part of any relationship whether that relationship is spiritual, physical, or political. This is because nature moves in cycles of renewal; life and death; the four seasons; planting cycles; migrations patterns. Relationships between people go through natural changes as well.” (p. 50) Bopp, Bopp, Brown, and Lane (1984) similarly suggest that the only constant in life is change: The coming together or breaking apart of things.

I would suggest that communities similarly reflect patterns in the activities of their daily lives because life patterns reflect the cycles of their environment and these patterns can become systemic in nature over time. An example from the narratives gathered for my research is the traditional pattern of seasonal migration travelling in-land to a site known as Parmachene during the winter months or travelling to the shore of Lake Superior during the summer months:

The Landing (The Mudflats)

Lillian: Well the dogs that used to pull all that wood in Parmachene, my grandma and grandfather brought them to the Landing.

They had to do the same thing there, get the wood in the bush behind the house. We had another big house there...One big room and the little kitchen...the same plan.

We had a big cook stove and a big barrel stove and the dogs used to have their own house.

Out behind, my grandfather made a makeshift thing...they were tied...you know they wouldn't go anywhere.

And we had this great big sleigh, we used to go in the bush and haul wood. And we had a great big wooden box beside the cook stove where we brought all the wood in.

You know they worked hard those people.

Seasonal Migration

George: Parmachene, I remember going there as a kid and all that was there was a church, which was torn down.

Parmachene was a, I was told that we used to stay there in winter time because my dad cut pulp. Go there in the winter and come back here and stay in the house in the summer time.

Lillian: And our neighbour was Paul John and I got to know Hazel.

Simone wasn't born yet then, I don't remember her.

But there was a little gully down there that's where Paul John and his family lived. And of course Flory and my mom were good friends and they would go together.

Eventually we moved to the Landing, but every summer we went back (to Parmachene) because my grandfather wanted to fish all summer, so we stayed all summer long in our home.

The people would also retreat back to Parmachene for other reasons as in the case of a flu epidemic:

Back to Parmachene

Clifford: My grandfather was very...when he used to go to town and he sees something going on he'd come back down and said, there's a flu spreading in town and load us all up in the canoe right back to Parmachene.

Until it blew over, we'd stay in the bush.

Yea we hunted there my brother and I, of course we were just kids.

I'd have to say we were pretty good with those slingshots for our age because we killed a lot of partridge.

And that was before we even started to school. I never started school till I was eight.

Kenny, Faries, Fiske, and Voyageur (2004) proposed a 'Holistic Model for Aboriginal Research' based on a framework that would include honouring the past, present, and future; honouring the interconnectedness of all life and the multi-dimensional aspects of life; And, honouring the spiritual, physical, emotional, and mental aspects of the person and community.

Shearer, Peters, and Davidson-Hunt (2009) co-produce knowledge through an “iterative process where community members and researchers create shared understandings of a phenomenon through successive approximations of its representation.” (p. 66) The result of this process is a matrix representing the holistic view of an Aboriginal cultural landscape called “keeping the land”. Community Elders explain, “every person throughout their life has an integral role in keeping the land.” (p. 80) The matrix includes four community groups; child, youth, adult, and Elder. It also contains a number of value statements within four quadrants of a circle. The name of each quadrant and the corresponding statements are listed below:

Everything is good	Good relations	Putting things in order	Pikangikum way of life
Joy in everything	Kinship relationships	Strong leadership	Knowledge of the land
“Re-creation” health	Respectful relationships with people	Elders’ Guidance	Elders knowledge
Healing, mind, body, and spirit	Reverence for all creation	Communal decision making	Land-based livelihood

The statements represented in this table demonstrate the relationship between land, people, and peace. Through the Aboriginal world view we see the connection between the physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual, the balance between and consideration for both internal and external factors and forces, and the importance of land to Aboriginal identity and cultural continuity.

We cannot forget that before the invented symbols used in contemporary written language, there existed other symbols for the transference of knowledge. These symbols exist in the physical spaces where traditional culture was practiced and reflect the worldview of the people. For example, one research participant shared the story of ‘The Woman in the Mist’ which is a local legend of the Nipigon River at a former falls location. This particular spot is

where the first of three hydro electric dams were built and resulted in the relocation of community members from Parmachene to Lake Helen.

The Woman in the Mist

Mona: The only one that I can remember is talking to Mrs. Borg — *Nabadoonh* (Button), they used to call her.

She was telling me that when they used to go up, that's before they built the dam, that they used to hear a...they used to see a woman... like I guess...in the falls. They used to see a picture, like a shadow of a woman in the falls (Terry: in the mist), in the mist and she was crying.

They never knew why...why this woman was crying.

But she said after they built the dam then they knew why she was crying because they were going to build the dam, they were going to dam it up.

That's what she told me.

This story reflects the connection between the people, their physical space, the spiritual part of their worldview and the respect they have for the river that sustained them for generations.

Considering this discussion on holism, we will now turn our attention towards the meaning of peace in Aboriginal contexts.

POPULAR CONCEPTIONS OF PEACE AND PEACE NARRATIVES

As introduced in chapter one, current popular forms of peace building are grounded in the neo-liberal philosophical tradition. Critiques of neo-liberal forms of peace building suggest they are a rescue mission, primarily using the tools of security to manipulate developing populations to the security of the West; That current post-war reconstruction ensures Western prosperity by limiting state sovereignty in order for Western corporations and world markets to take advantage; And, Indigenous forms of social and political organization are written off as tribal, clan-based and lacking modern functionality to justify Western forms of organization into non-Western contexts (Thiessen, 2011, p. 117). This mainstream discourse props up experts from the West as the peace building authority and saviour. “Strategic coordination of the neo-liberal peace building project

is heavily invested in hierarchy, Western outlooks, expressions of Western power, upper-level control, and ignorance of local wisdom” (p. 129). One of the primary vehicles for the promotion of neo-liberal peace is universal human rights and the rule-of-law. Thus, the objectives of current popular forms of peace building are not in the interest of peace for local populations, but in the promotion of Western liberal ideals within the global economic system.

The emphasis of Western ideals within popular forms of peace building undermines the cultural traditions of local communities and promotes modern versions of the civilized / savage dichotomy discussed by Emma LaRocque (2010). Similar to historic examples of the colonial project, in order to justify access to lands and resources for economic gain, local Indigenous populations and their cultural practices must be promoted as backwards, ineffective, or lacking modern functionality (Said, 1993; Henderson, 2009). Key in convincing world populations that war and subsequent peace building projects are justified, is the popular narrative that Indigenous peoples require assistance from the enlightened West (Henderson, 2008) — that despite their survival as populations for thousands of years, they cannot take care of themselves and thus require western education and experts to show them how to survive (Daes, 2009).

Human security has become the asserted goal of the neo-liberal peace project and the United Nations is the primary vehicle for promotion of this objective. “Human security can no longer be narrowly defined as the absence of war. Rather, it must encompass economic development, social justice, environmental protection, democratization, disarmament, and respect for human rights and rule of law.” (Annan, 2001) This also includes protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life (Gleditsch, 2007), and in Indigenous contexts, “recognition of traditional rights, measures to protect Indigenous institutions that regulate resource harmony with nature, and processes to ensure meaningful participation by

Indigenous Peoples in the decisions that affect their daily lives.” (Borrowes, 1996, p. 140) Some authors argue that this is especially important in Indigenous contexts where it is assumed that peace is a precondition of progress (Onah, 2008).

Galtung (1969) suggested that the absence of conflict and violence would be a state of peace. Therefore, any intervention must work towards a state of peace. Galtung’s (1969) discussion of positive and negative peace provides an important frame of reference for defining the two terms. He suggests: “Just as a coin has two sides, one side alone being only one aspect of the coin, not the complete coin, peace also has two sides: *absence of personal violence*, and *absence of structural violence*. We shall refer to them as *negative peace* and *positive peace* respectively.”(p. 183)

This concept of negative and positive peace has been embraced by many theorists in PACS including Sandole (2001) who describes negative peace as the prevention / cessation of hostilities and positive peace as the elimination of underlying causes and conditions of hostilities, including structural and cultural violence (p. 14); Byrne and Senehi (2009) describe negative peace as the absence of war and positive peace as the absence of all direct, cultural, and structural violence; And finally, Cortright (2008) suggested that positive peace involves transcending the conditions that limit human potential and assures opportunities for self-realization.

Peace in the context of human security has a different meaning and objective more in line with the goals of the liberal peace project described by Thiessen (2011). Galtung’s (1969) concept of positive and negative peace, although useful as a frame of reference for discussion, limits the ability to provide cultural context to peace by narrowly defining the term within two dichotomous but interrelated parts. Similar to Avruch’s (2008) argument for a more nuanced

approach to culture in PACS, a fluid more locally defined meaning of peace is required. This is especially significant in the context of Indigenous peoples whom I would argue have a very different meaning of peace when compared to popular definitions reflected in their traditional land life way's founded on an Indigenous worldview.

In considering the holistic world view, human security is not peace in Indigenous contexts. In fact, given current critiques of the neo-liberal peace project, this form of peace allows the direct subjugation of Indigenous peoples under the very structures that continue to perpetrate violence on the Indigenous peoples of North America, the Aboriginal peoples of Canada, and the Anishinabek people (Cormier, 2010).

If we assume research process and peace process are synonymous, then localized definitions of peace are required if true peace is to be the objective. The term peace has specific cultural meanings defined by local populations and the Indigenous worldview provides a distinct perspective from which peace can be viewed alternatively to dominant views.

ABORIGINAL PEOPLES AND THE ABORIGINAL PEACE NARRATIVE

Hart's (2002) five key foundational concepts of holism are: wholeness, balance, harmony, growth, and healing. In attempting to identify the meaning Aboriginal peoples ascribe to the term peace it is useful to consider each term individually, but more importantly, in relationship to one another. In Aboriginal contexts, these terms are often used interchangeably to describe peace. However, peace is never described as an end state or an objective to be achieved. It is a never ending life long process that embraces good relationships — not simply with other people, but with all of creation — both animate and inanimate.

For example, in describing the term *mino bimaadiziwin* — “the good life”, Simpson (2010) writes “My Nishinaabeg Elders tell me that good relationships are the foundation of mino

bimaadiziwin, the good life. They are the foundation of creating healthy relationships within our families, communities, and nations. They are the foundation of creating just relations with other Indigenous nations, nation states, and the world that sustains us.” (p. xiv) Similarly, Adelson (2007) suggests that from a Cree perspective “health has as much to do with social relations, land, and cultural identity as it does with individual physiology.” (p. 3) *Miyupimaatisiun* – “being alive well” has everything to do with “life on the land” with “being Cree”; “In fact, the health of the Northern Cree can only be understood within the context of the connections between land, health, and identity.” (Adelson, 2007, p. 60) *Heshook-ish-tsawalk* – ‘everything is one’ is more than the unity of the physical universe, explains Atleo (2004) from the West Coast of Vancouver Island, “*Heshook-ish-tsawalk* is a Nuu-chah-nulth perspective that is inclusive of all reality, both physical and metaphysical.” (p. xi) The Mohawk believe one must follow one’s path in life by *Ioterihwakwarihshion Tsi Ihse* – “walking in a good way.” (Thompson Cooper & Stacey Moore, 2009) Finally, the Cree of Northwestern Ontario employ *Kanawayandan D’aaki* (Ariss and Cutfeet, 2012) to protect, look after and keep the land. The role of *Kanawayandan D’aaki* is to guide the people in how to maintain a good relationship with the land because the land holds the key to language and culture.

This connection between language and culture is reflected in a number of narratives gathered during this research exemplified by the following two excerpts from research transcripts on place names and the original name of one local community. The names reflect the culture of the local people:

Place names

Clifford: All these places, even these townships, like up at Thunder Bay there, Papoonge they call it, that’s *Biboon* in translation Indian....What’s that? (Mona)... *Biboon*, winter...Oh yea (Mona)... Papoonge they call it.

Maniddoowaaning (Big Spirit Cave)

Clifford: And then I remember my dad talking about...years ago....Manitouwadge,...*Maniddoowaaning*.

This guy was paddling, and then you see by the night wind blowing, right on top of these big rocks, there was a woman standing there, all white gown and blond hair.

The guy would get closer and it would disappear.

And then it happened a couple of times.

That's when he was working in forestry.

So one time these people went up there and there was a hole in the ground up there. They used to throw rocks in there and they couldn't even hear that thing land that's how deep it was.

Then he says, years went by and there was a big gold mine there, that's where Manitouwadge... *Maniddoowaaning*. That's why they had that hole eh.

That's something I have never heard (Mona).

Maniddoowaaning Manitouwadge (Clifford).

Maniddoowaaning (Mona)

Conversely, the people seem to understand the connection between learning their traditional language and maintaining culture. When speaking of language loss, the typical reaction is one of sadness or a sense of losing something invaluable.

Language Loss

Ethel: All the tourists would stop and talk to him.

He made lots of nice little birch bark stuff that they used to sell at the Chalet Lodge.

I don't know if there is any more left, I'd like to get one if there is.

Cuz most of my grandchildren, they don't even speak Indian anymore and that's being lost...*Anishnaabemowin*.

Nobody bothers, nobody speaks it down there anymore. But they used to speak it back then. Everybody spoke Indian, that's the one thing that's different.

These five examples from the literature considered in relation to interview transcripts suggest an alternative view of peace linked to a specific cultures way of life, the ability to name and describe that way of life in traditional language, having the ability to carry on that way of life, and living in harmony with all of creation. "If a person is whole and balanced, then he or she

is in a position to fulfill his or her responsibilities to the whole. If a person is not balanced, then he or she is sick and weak — physically, mentally, or both — and cannot fulfill his or her individual responsibilities.” (Little Bear, 2009, p. 79) Bluenose and Zion (As cited in Ross, 2006) identify the role of the Navajo peace maker as wondering if the person involved is *hashhkeeki* — “moving towards disharmony” or is it *hozhooji* — “moving towards harmony.” (p. 127) Duran & Duran (2009) suggest that, “until recently, Native American people had a culture that abounded with the resources needed for a harmonious existence. The Native American person was a human being trying to understand and live in peace within his or her cosmological reality.”(p. 97) Unbalance or disharmony can manifest itself in physical indicators as explained by Wa’na’nee’che & Freke, (1996): “a person is spirit, mind, and body. A disharmony of mind, such as worry or guilt, can express itself as disharmony of body, such as tension, headaches, ulcers, or constant fatigue. Disharmony may manifest itself as simple feelings of unhappiness, or as the intense pain of a kidney stone.” (p. 70)

Within the circle teachings of the Aboriginal world view, healing through the search for harmony is an integral ingredient in achieving peace. Healing is bringing back to balance, making whole, or living in harmony with all three types of beings described in Ojibway cosmology as working together — human, non-human, and spirit (Rice, 2011). This is achieved through growth and learning. “The need for healing can be explained by the fact that the client/community has lost the ability to be in harmony with the life process of which it is part.” (Duran & Duran, 2009, p.92)

The best response to violence is healing...taking control of one’s own life is a healing issue. Strengthening the family is healing. Communities must consider how they can effectively reassume control over their destinies. If Indigenous peoples give up responsibility for their lives to others, they lose control of them. If, however, Indigenous people take back responsibility for their lives,

beginning with the individual, they can achieve internal sovereignty. (Yazzie, 2009, p. 47)

While some theorists have acknowledged the lack of consideration for the spiritual side of contemporary peace building processes and the use of ritual within the rubric of ADR (Tuso, 2011), these critiques fail to incorporate the fundamental belief in change as constant and therefore, peace and harmony as a life-long process. Ultimately, in the Aboriginal world view peace begins with the individual and grows out from there. “As everyone is unique and has their own place in the circle of life, so harmony is different for each individual, and the skill of the Medicine Person is to see into the unique predicament of a particular individual, and restore them to balance so that healing can naturally occur.” (Wa’na’nee’che & Freke, 1996, p. 70-71)

Lessons for Students of Peace and Conflict Studies

In this discussion on peace I have attempted to highlight three critical issues for students of PACS. First, that peace is a cultural construct. Peace has specific meanings to specific cultural groups. In the case of Aboriginal peoples peace is a life-long process of learning, of *mino bimaadiziwin* – ‘the good life’. This factor suggests that in Aboriginal contexts, peace is not an end state to be achieved but a continuous journey of self improvement and striving to live in balance and harmony with the animate and in-animate. Thus, the search for peace in Indigenous contexts is a process of learning just as research methodologies assist us in gaining more knowledge about our reality (Wilson, 2008).

Second, in Aboriginal contexts, peace is often associated with healing. Yazzie (2009) writes, “Ultimately, peacemaking is about healing.” (p. 45) When Aboriginal peoples speak of peace, we speak of healing and to achieve peace in Aboriginal contexts, one must heal one’s self, one’s community, and one’s nation. It is an individual journey from the inside out characterized by the fundamental lesson in the Rotinoshonni narrative of the peacemaker, “living at peace

with one another through having a good mind as a result of being righteous with others.” (Rice, 2009, p. 411) Aboriginal thought and identity are centred on the environment in which Aboriginal people live (Henderson, 2009). As a result, they heal individually or in groups through ceremony. Ceremony always includes connection to the natural and spiritual worlds through processes of rediscovery and learning.

Third, in Aboriginal contexts health and peace mean continued use of ceremonial practices with connection to traditional land based life ways because the land reflects the language and thus, culture of the people. The literature speaks of living a healthy lifestyle or refers to a specific cultures way of life. Thus, being healthy or peaceful means being allowed to practice traditions undisturbed within the familiarity of traditional lands. A holistic worldview necessitates access to lands and resources — not only for physical nourishment and survival, but for cultural continuity through rites of passage and ceremony. When designing Indigenous methodologies this requires techniques and methods drawn from the traditions and knowledges of those people by and for Indigenous peoples (Evans, Hole, Berg, Hutchinson & Sookraj, 2009). “The distance between ourselves and the environment is sacred,” suggests Wilson (2008), “and so you do ceremonies to bridge that space or distance.” (p. 87)

Underlying these three factors is the assumption that “Violent behaviour is learned behaviour, just as thinking that you must live with violent behaviour is learned.” (Yazzie, 2009, p. 44) Conversely, I would suggest that peace behaviour is learned behaviour. “Peace, order, and good government do not characterize present civilization upon earth.” writes Atleo (2004) “Unity, interconnectedness, interrelatedness, and other assumptions about the universe stemming from the theory of Tsawalk suggest that the prevailing assumptions of Western civilization may be incomplete.”(p. xix) This discussion clearly suggests that the ethics of Indigenous research in

PACS requires localized definitions of peace where moving towards peaceful relations requires learning to be peaceful by learning about peace in the traditions of local peoples because this allows the practice and therefore preservation of local culture⁸.

**THE LAND AS PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION:
KINOO’AMAADAWAAD (LEARNING WITH EACH OTHER)
PEACE CULTURE**

Ariss and Cutfeet (2012) suggest that the dominant socio-cultural perspective in Canada is to see land as a resource that requires management. However, in Indigenous contexts land has a greater meaning than considered in PACS literature. Through an Aboriginal worldview we see the deep meaning ascribed to land by Anishinabeg peoples. The common managerial approach to land management, and I would add conflict management, “estranges people from the land, as it fails to recognize the spiritual connection between people and the land they are on.” (p. 44)

Kanawayandan D’aaki means ‘keep my land’ and practice is critical to maintaining an intimate relationship with it.

The emphasis of worldview is to maintain our special bonds with the land — which is the ground, the animals, the water, the fish, the trees and us — all of what has been made by the Creator in our territories...it is not possible to learn of and relate to all of the land without having an intimate relationship with it. (Ariss and Cutfeet, 2012, p. 45)

This perspective goes beyond physical geography or land as a resource to be exploited for economic purposes. It speaks to the fundamental beliefs that form our identities as Indigenous peoples.

In the book *Landscapes of Origin in the Americas: Creation Narratives Linking Ancient Places and Present Communities*, Joyce Christie compiles a number of stories from Indigenous

⁸ My definition of peace does not equate to the stereo typical views of a utopia where there is no conflict. My definition includes active resistance and conflict because resistance causes a response and subsequent change (explained in conclusions chapter). In my opinion, this is the basis of learning and the fundamental belief of ‘learning with each other while we are doing’.

peoples in North America, Central America and South America that identify the meaning local people bestow on their cultural and physical surroundings and how the beginnings of a society or a particular social group is closely related to those memories (Christie, 2009, p. xi). Similarly, Oakes and Riewe (2009) explore the sanctity of the environment by illustrating the connection between landscapes and mindscapes through four perspectives of Sacred Landscapes: i) sanctity of resources, ii) the meaning of ancient sites and ceremonies today, iii) theoretical examination of landscapes and mindscapes and, iv) examples of protecting the sacred. Lischke & McNab (2009) suggest that “our knowledge comes from places, through our own experiences, and those of our cultural frameworks — essentially our creation stories (p. vii). This frame links people, environment, and worldview through historical narratives related to land.

These intangible meanings ascribed to land reach beyond creation or origin stories to many aspects of Aboriginal culture including day to day relationships among living things and the mores of specific societies (Atleo, 2004); peacemaking, restitution, compensation, and land exclusive use (Mills, 2004); culturally restorative child welfare practice and social identity formation (Simard, 2009); economics and economies (Kuokkanen, 2011), and health (Adelson, 2000). Indigenous peoples’ existence as societies or distinct cultural groups is dependent upon continued access to traditional lands providing continuity between the past, present, and future. Thus, interaction with the land becomes a process of acculturation.

Kinoo’amaadawaad or ‘learning with each other’ can also be translated as ‘teaching with each other’. Through this worldview learning and teaching have the same meaning and is all encompassing in its application to not only learning from one another as people, but also from the land (environment) as defined by Ariss and Cutfeet (2012) above, including the spirit. This concept is more than metaphysical and has very pragmatic application in Aboriginal culture. For

example Simon Brascoupe (as cited in Kuokkanen, 2011) suggested “it is the traditional economy, living on the land and with the land that brings meaning to Aboriginal peoples.” (p. 215) Traditional land life ways are both an economic and social system, encompassing various spheres of life that often are inseparable from one another and reflect the key principles of sustainability and reciprocity that reflect land based worldviews founded on active recognition of kinship relations extending beyond the human domain (Kuokkanen, 2011). Thus, hunting becomes not only “an enterprise that produces food, clothing, tools, and other necessities of life requiring interdependence of female and male labour in a foraging society,” (p. 228) but also a process of acculturation by living traditional land life ways.

This same train of thought can be applied to other types of traditional land life ways that surfaced during interviews exemplified by what I call the ‘Blue berry Economy’. Blue berries are a traditional food that brought together families and entire communities together during the late summer months. The people speak of these experiences as very happy times in which the tradition of picking transformed into a modern economic activity for revenue generation.

The Blueberry Economy — *Mawinzo (He/She picking blueberries)*

Ethel: Blueberries, that’s what the elders said. Their food is their medicine. So they knew.

George: We spent a lot of our summers picking blueberries in a lot of different blueberry patches.

We were taken there by...there was no cars. Somebody would come here...the buyers of blue berries, and haul us out there and set up a camp there and have a store out there where you met a lot of different people from Gull Bay and different areas around, people that were picking berries.

Charlie: All along that line I’ve been. I picked blueberries there. I can’t say that place now.

I picked blueberries last summer, stayed there....On the track and blueberries, holy were just like that.

Stopped there and made a shelter about that high, tarpaper put on top. Then branches on top, I face them down all like that. It was just like a room. Wasn't that wide though, just enough room for you to get in and keep dry.

Lolo: Stillwater Creek, there used to be a road, there used to be an old farm way up in there.

That's where, that was about 19...I think I was about seven or eight years old them days. I pick some blueberries there.

But you know what happened, Dave Mushquat told me, he met up with an old American, he said, I made Zechner rich. That time he was paying Zechner two dollars, two hundred and fifty dollars, a basket of blueberries.

Yah, Zechner was buying them there for a dollar and a quarter. Sometimes it would go up ten cents.

Similarly, in their examination of cultural landscapes, Miller and Davidson-Hunt (2010) suggest their Anishinaabe partners “perceive forest fires as beings which possess agency and who intentionally create order to landscapes” (p. 401) questioning the possibility of non-human agents having a role in the creation of meaningful spaces. From the perspective of their Anishinaabe partners, human beings exist within a network of beings and forces which exhibit agency and require ethical consideration in the management of nature. Barsh and Marlor (2003) identify how the Blackfoot people of the western plains learned how to drive bison from observing the behaviour of wolves. They suggest that, “Instead of collecting data on bison, the Blackfoot performed wolves. They tried to look like wolves and to move like wolves. They became wolves in ceremonies at home, in camp, and in the presence of bison herds on the prairie” (p. 585) concluding:

The technical content of stories may not be a literal expression of the underlying knowledge, but a direction to make observations and experiments. A story can be a model or plan for making a discovery; just as an engineer's diagram of a machine, or a biochemists formula of a molecule, is a model for making a thing. (p. 588)

These examples all suggest a connection between Aboriginal worldview, land, learning, and cultural identity. “Understanding that a spatial Aboriginal identity emerges from and is

maintained in a particular place/space requires an extension of our thinking beyond material objects to the relationships that underlie those objects.” (Frideres, 2008, p. 317) The meaning of land considered as a component of an Aboriginal worldview provides a nexus where history and culture converge. Aboriginal worldview is such that it is regarded as a network of relationships and provides people with a distinctive set of values, a feeling of rootedness, of belonging to a time and place; in the end, a distinct identity. Knowledge of these networks of relationships can be found in narratives about the land that retain the cultural clues of traditional Indigenous societies similar to those presented in this chapter and further below.

A good example of this dynamic is reflected in a story told by Elder Charlie who identifies local people as being from the Bear Clan. The story is humorous, but hidden within the humour are a number of underlying beliefs that illustrate the connection between humans and the spirit world. Consider that this story was told during an interview in which participants were asked to share stories about the land and their lives on the land.

The Bear Story

Charlie: You won't like what I'm gonna tell you.

Bear...now we're gonna talk about a bear.

Okay, now, the bear used to be our God actually, what you call that, you gotta worship something.

Okay, you them...food and oil for our lamp, skin for our blanket and the meat we could eat. Everything was good on the bear, what do you call that now.

Actually we are (from the Bear clan) but nobody says nothing.

I get no backing. I'll tell you my backing, I went to Rocky Bay...to Gene Lake. My first cousin, Dawbee...we were trapping...a camper.

We walked all that time cross country, got in a little before dark, straight out.

We had a gun, everything, trapped, a couple of traps. Down it went, spread right out. Her packsack was our pillow.....I don't know what time it was, I seen something wet here (pointing to his face).

I look up...a bear was licking my friggin face.

You think that's funny, it wasn't at that time, now it's funny.

He was licking my face.

I said bear don't eat me. I didn't get up right away. Ahhh go back to bed there's no bear around here. He's gone back to bed.

So we got up at dawn again.

You could see that bear he came down the beach, the sand eh, walked around Dawbee...never bothered him.

You could see where he put his paws, where I was laying there. You could see his paws, right between my shoulders.

Now the first time, a second time when I was hitchhiking, I come to this, I don't know what the name, I only had a little bit of money, I quit from one job to another. I didn't have, this little town didn't have no hotel.

So I asked one guy there, is there a dump anywhere? Yah, there's one about a mile down the road, there's a dump there.

I go and sleep in the car, I walked around...I found a dump. One station wagon there, there was no glass, it was broken, the back seat, then I lay down there, again he lifted my head up and he licked me again, that's twice now.

You wouldn't believe, if I tell you. Funny things happened to me.

I'm telling my life is like that (making a circle with his hand).

I told Frederick that story but he said no bear will ever gonna kill you, no bear. I don't care where he is, that's good luck he said...where I come from bear clan...that's why. I believed in that. He won't kill me.

When a bear wants to... my grandfather he proved that to me, if a bear wants to...like...we were on a shore, at black sands, we were all on the shore...we see a bear coming, on the beach coming down.

I wanna show you something, you won't believe me what I'm going to tell you.

If a bear wants to kill you he'll come all for it. But if he stands up and walks ahead of me, he'll take off...(Charlie chuckles).

My little pee shooter, short barrel. How I'm going to shoot a bear, we're gonna track him for grandpa eh?

It wouldn't kill him anyway.

He gets up grabs that stick there, about that long, come on you gonna fight, come one. Walked right up to him.

The bear turns around and gone.

That's why I knew, if he wanted to hurt you, he's going to come all fours, he's not going to go stand up on all fours and say come on and get me.

A lot of things happened. Just to prove that to me eh, I didn't believe him at first. He had his chance before, he would have done it.

You tell that story to somebody...I'll be bet they'll just laugh.

After you think about it now, it's not funny. As a man I got kissed by a bear twice.

CONCLUSION: ABORIGINAL PEACE AS A NUANCED APPROACH TO CULTURE IN PACS RESEARCH

In her book, *Cultures of Peace: The Hidden Side of History*, Boulding (2000) argues, there is no such thing as a conflict free society and that conflict is ubiquitous in nature due to “human individuality and difference in the context of limited physical and social resource.” (p. 89) This statement would seem accurate in the context of Aboriginal Peoples. Rice (2009) and others (Swamp, 2010; Woodworth, 2010) describe processes of peace making and governance within the structures of the *Rotinonshonni* – Longhouse People. Their descriptions suggest a cultural context of peace based on “living at peace with one another through having a good mind as a result of being righteous with others.” (Rice, 2010, p. 411) “And so, to work for peace, people have to overcome their own prejudices, their own anger, and recognize that we are individual human beings, and that deep inside us there’s a thing called love and understanding. And so we have to learn how to tap into that again.” (Swamp, 2010, p. 19-21) In the narrative of the peace maker, guidance to a culture of peace is given spiritually by the peace maker through three principles which he relates to the people:

The first principle is that peace comes inside of us as an individual. And if we accept that peace within us, then we become a human being that loves themselves, and is confident about themselves. The second principle arrives when the peace is put to work, and how that peace emits from the human individual, and how it will affect the other people around them. Because that’s what happens when you come next to a peaceful person. It kind of rubs off on you. And you will say to yourself, ‘Gee, I want to be that way too’. And third, they obtained the power of a good mind. (Swamp, 2010, p. 23)

The lessons of the peace maker in moving the *Rotinonshonni* from a culture of perpetual war and violence to a culture of peace speaks to the nature of our existence or the nature of our reality as Aboriginal nations — the ontological endowment of a people and the requisite internal peace before facilitating external peace. This evidence suggests an alternative cultural view of

peace and conflict based on 'living peace' as a daily process rather than an 'end state' to be achieved. Similarly, Hopi Elder Thomas Banyacya from an Indigenous Nation in North America, explained that "Hopi in our language means peaceful, kind, gentle, truthful people...the Creator made the first world in perfect balance, where humans spoke a common language...The Hopi and all original native people hold the land in balance by prayer, fasting, and performing ceremonies." (Ewan & The Native American Council of New York, 1994, p. 115-117)

In discussing the role of third parties in the intervention of conflict, Fisher (2001) suggests that third parties must come to know their own culture, to understand and respect the cultures they enter, and accurately perceive the effects of cultural differences between the parties and between themselves and each party; The latter being particularly important "when the party comes from a dominant culture and the conflicting parties from less dominant or even oppressed cultures." (p. 18) As students of PACS, we are often educated in and come from affluent Western cultures while many interventions occur in non-Western environments. What must we consider to ensure caution in transporting our own cultural models of conflict intervention and research to other places and peoples?

Perhaps the first step is recognizing that if there is a 'culture of conflict' in each society as suggested by Fisher (2001), then there must also be, or have existed, a 'culture of peace'. Clearly then, the suggested 'nuanced definition of culture' required in the PACS field argued by Avruch (2008) must include exploring peace, not only conflict. The lessons of the peace maker and the nexus of history and culture under the concept of cultural relativism necessitate the exploration of identity through the material and non-material artefacts of the cultural entity. These artefacts exist in narratives associated with the meanings groups place on their physical environment — land, providing the symbols necessary for the transformation of culture.

Carl Jung, in 1960 (as cited in Duran & Duran, 2009) believed that symbols provided the transcendent function that balances psyche and matter. A symbol functions as the “entity that transforms energy into the psyche; Culture plays an important role in the transformation of energy by providing a symbolic system that steers and guides the transformation of psychic energy for that particular culture.” (p. 92) In Aboriginal contexts, land or the physical environment, provides the symbols necessary for cultural transformation. Connection to land through ceremonies and rituals further reinforces this psychic connection.

The phenomenological, interactive, and multiple levels of analysis proposed in Fisher’s (1993) eclectic model of intergroup conflict allows the exploration of culture and identity within the context of the cultural entity or group. This approach can be equally applied to the *study* of peace and conflict. Although common definitions are important for the discussion of peace and conflict etiology within the academy, I would argue that in designing approaches to peace building, of which research is assumed as fundamental, the meanings people involved in the conflict ascribed to various terms is far more important than the definitions created by academics. This is the one way to ensure we do not perpetrate the ontological violence of westernization described by Walker (2004). Meanings communicated through language are rooted in the culture of the people we engage. Thus, terms and meanings must come from the people we are assisting. In Aboriginal contexts, these meanings originate with land, our interaction with the land, and the language or symbols we use to communicate our sacred relationships with land.

There is something about culture that is particularly salient to people — some would argue, un-negotiable (Rothman, 1997; Northrup, 1989). This is especially significant where land is associated with identity. “People create culture as a means of adapting to the environment, and

so their cultural practices are necessarily affected by the pressures and opportunities of the surroundings in which they live” (Robertson, 1988, p. 67). Thus, “Loss of land, or the threat of its loss (or threat of not obtaining it), means more than the fact of the loss of territory; it implies the loss of self, psychic annihilation in a sense.” (Northrup, 1989, p. 68-69) Rothman (1997) explains, “When conflict is rooted in the protection of identity needs, the stakes are far greater than in interest-based conflict born out of competition over resources...In identity conflict, groups struggle for their basic physical and moral survival.” (p. 8-9)

Based on this discussion on holism, I offer the following four considerations in the ethical design and delivery of PACS research methodologies in Aboriginal contexts: 1. For Indigenous Peoples, peace and peace building is not a separate process to be applied when conflict occurs. It is a lived, continuous process of applying balance and harmony to all aspects of one’s life. It is embracing complexity and change as constant, and analyzing the patterns of change to understand how it is connected to every aspect of our lives (Bopp, Bopp, Brown, & Lane, 1985). Inherent in this lens is learning; 2. In Indigenous contexts, land and the health of the land are intimately linked to the health of the people. Thus, if the land is unhealthy, the people are unhealthy and vice versa. A healthy Indigenous community is predicated on a strong attachment to the land; 3. In Indigenous contexts, peace can only be achieved with external groups once peace is achieved within. This can equally be applied within an individual, a family, a community, a nation, or internationally; 4. In Indigenous contexts, historical connection to the land is essential for community health. Rediscovering these connections through development of a community narrative about the land will increase resiliency and facilitate community health. These principles are predicated on a localized definition of peace nested within the Aboriginal worldview offering a promising path to peace for Aboriginal peoples.

We will now turn our attention towards the application of an Indigenous worldview in the context of PACS research by first explaining the process I used in the development of my research methodology based on theories of Participatory Action Research and then describe how my research was conducted from its initial germination point to completion.

***Ni* and the Workshop**

Ni sat in the workshop on child welfare in Aboriginal communities. The two day work shop began with a traditional ceremony that offered a glimpse of his culture — the culture he had never experienced. It brought a momentary break from the darkness recently building in his mind.

As the day progressed, he became increasingly uneasy as a shadow slowly rooted — that same shadow would envelope his life with sadness, completely overwhelming him at times, affecting his relationships with family, friends, his wife, and children.

The second day of the workshop began with a session on trauma. The speaker, a tall thin woman with long red hair and a flowing skirt shared her story of abuse. She described how, after returning from an evening of drinking, her uncle would crawl into her bed and sexually molest her. The molestation started when she was just a little girl and continued until she was in her teens and decided to run away from her community to stop the ongoing visits that now haunted her dreams.

As the session concluded, *Ni*'s sadness became palpable. The air grew thick, his heart started to race, and he began to fidget in his seat. When the workshop organizers called a break, it was all he could do to control the anxiety that made him want to run out of the room. He sat in silence as everyone began to speak around him. Their voices seemed distant and he imagined himself floating above the room far away from the people and feelings their stories were resurrecting. When the next session began, one of the men sitting beside him introduced himself as George. He said, "I knew your uncle. I would stop in to visit him when I was travelling through your town. We did some wild thing's, I was pretty crazy back then. We drank a lot." *Ni* sat in silence for a second until his mouth opened suddenly saying, "He was an evil man, he hurt a lot of people and molested my cousin." The conversation stopped immediately.

He had heard the stories whispered between his mother and aunties. He knew the violence that hid within the walls of that prison masquerading as a home. He felt it in his heart at Christmas and he heard it in the voice of the presenter recalling her own personal journey. He saw it in the faces of other workshop participants as the tears began to fall from their eyes.

He recalled the same pain in the eyes of his aunt whom he had learned his uncle — the same uncle George was reminiscing about, had sold her to strangers for sex when travelling by their home. Passed out from drinking, she didn't even know what was happening.

“I will not let the memory of that monster live on without people knowing the truth,” he thought to himself.

Ni put his hand up to ask a question (or share his story), he wasn't sure, he just knew he couldn't keep silent any longer. However, before he could get the words out of his mouth, the sadness overwhelmed him. He broke down and began to cry. He felt embarrassed and tried to hold it back with every last bit of energy. But once it started, he could not stop. He just sat there sobbing trying desperately for words to come out of his mouth.

To his surprise, nobody judged him. Through the tears, he saw the faces of the other participants who knew his pain. They looked at him with compassion.

A stranger sitting beside him put her hand on his shoulder breaking the last of his will. The session ended with *Ni's* tears flowing freely, nobody said a word. He stood up, walked out of the room and made his way down to the lake shore. There, sitting alone on a weathered old log on a beautiful sunny day in July, listening to the waves crashing on the shore, he began to face the realization of his personal journey for the first time.

***Ni* and Those Last Days**

Ni worked hard, harder than most. He continuously pushed himself to physical and mental exhaustion. It seemed like it was the only thing that kept the monsters away.

Distraction became the mechanism he used to get through his days that melted into the weeks, months, and the years of his life. Distraction drove his career path and personal relationships, the constant echo of violent footsteps transformed his actions to desperation. That desperation, in turn, led him to his drug of choice — alcohol and the brief respite it brought from his personal pain and the pain he inflicted on his loved ones. That pain drove him to the lonely streets of a far away city.

As he lied under the tree dizzy from another afternoon of drinking, unable to walk now, he let his spirit slowly drift above the city core he now called home, where it looked down upon the last days of his life. Alone and cold he thought about the family he left behind.

Afraid and desperate for breadth, tears trailing down his cheek, he begged for forgiveness from the foreign God parachuted into his community by the men in black robes who arrived out of nowhere.

Feeling the sting of the tears freezing on his cheek, he tried desperately to remember the loving arms of his mother. Her hugs chased the demons away at night when he awoke from the terrors of his dreams. He wished he could feel her arms again as his heart began to race, his anxiety growing towards the moment that he knew was coming.

As his last breath left his body, it was the faces of his brothers and sisters that formed in his mind — Family that he shared a bed with most of his childhood, the people with whom he shared a common history. His best friend and brother, his sisters whom he helped raise, and the fond

memories of their life on the land, these relationships were the real reason he left. He hoped they knew he left to protect them.

He prayed the way the black robes had taught him. He hoped they understood he left because he was afraid he would hurt them. He was finding it too hard to control the anger and the physical violence that would follow the binges. The last time his temper leapt from behind his normally cool demeanour scared him and everyone so badly, he knew he couldn't stay with them any longer.

The patterns of chasing squirrels in the summer, hunting moose in the fall, snaring rabbits in the winter, and waiting for the first signs of spring so they could move back to their summer home on the shores of the lake were broken. The peaceful patterns of their daily lives, transformed into the episodes he tried to drown over the last decade of his life. The waves of existence overwhelmed, the desperation of his lungs filling with water collapsed his chest.

Struggling for breath now, he tried to forgive. As his life drained from his body, hugging a wine bottle cold and alone on the streets of a ghostly city, he tried to forgive the person his mother told him to call uncle. He tried to forgive the person he never wanted to become.

Like the patterns of his family's traditional life, the seasons changed, the wheel turned, and his children and grand children, now without a father and grandfather, struggle with the same temptation of violence.

Chapter 3

Identifying the Peace / Research Process — Learning Culturally Specific Processes for Building Peace

INTRODUCTION: INDIGENOUS RESEARCH/PEACE METHODOLOGY?

What seems clear from the theoretical discussion on Indigenous Methodology, an Aboriginal Worldview, and research in PACS is that simply including, integrating, or translating an Indigenous perspective into the dominant paradigms is not sufficient in designing research methodologies and conducting research with an Aboriginal worldview. If we assume this is due to the differences in how Indigenous peoples' view, learn, develop, and acquire new knowledge about their realities, then we must also assume that many of the ways we currently gain more knowledge about our reality in PACS research is deficient in understanding Indigenous lives and defining peace in Indigenous contexts.

Wilson (2008) asserted that Indigenous research must leave behind dominant paradigms and follow an Indigenous research paradigm. A paradigm in research, he suggests, is a set of underlying beliefs that guide our actions, "These beliefs include the way that we view reality (ontology), how we think about or know this reality (epistemology), our ethics and morals (axiology), and how we go about gaining more knowledge about reality (methodology)." (p. 13) The challenge then is to embrace inter-relational and holistic processes, which for Aboriginal peoples, lies in the components of our worldview and the meaning of land in that worldview. The salience of this concept in relation to PACS becomes particularly critical if we consider that land acquisition and devolution has always been the indicator of success or failure in conflict. Thus, land and land management becomes the organizational interface between cultural groups in colonial contexts.

Ladson-Billings (2000) suggests that “The process of developing a worldview that differs from the dominant worldview requires active intellectual work on the part of the knower, because schools, society, and the structure and production of knowledge are designed to create individuals who internalize the dominant worldview and knowledge production and acquisition processes.” (As cited in Brown & Strega, 2005, p. 201) This assertion necessitates the question, what do we do if we believe our research paradigm is not recognized as a bona fide research orientation as suggested by some authors like Creswell (2009) or Guba & Lincoln (1994)?

As an Ansihinabeg researcher in PACS, this creates some challenging dilemmas and interesting possibilities. Primarily, how can we honour the relationships we have with our friends, family, community and nation while fulfilling the requirements for completing degrees? Is it possible to design research in a way that impacts our communities without creating further harm? These questions become particularly salient if your culture believes we do not learn or discover our worldview but are born into our worldview. Thus, I cannot separate my worldview from my Indigenous spirit — which I have been taught is eternal, and the current process of identifying my research worldview becomes a renegotiation of Aboriginal identity into the dominant paradigm as discussed by Adelson (2000). Quite simply, it becomes a forced compromise so that I may fulfill the requirements for my degree.

It would seem that if you originate from a colonized cultural group feeling the effects of cognitive imperialism, any act that attempts to recreate the structures of society hiding cultural violence becomes a form of subversive resistance towards what Kulchyski (1992) defined as the forces of totalization. The key then becomes developing appropriate research methodologies suited to the needs of the populations we are attempting to assist — Remembering that for this discussion, research and peace building are synonymous, and in this instance, I am the

researcher, a member of the research group, and intimately linked to the people I am attempting to assist.

Given the overarching goals of peace research in understanding the symbiotic relationship between peace and violence, the assertion of an Indigenous methodology defined by Evans, Hole, Berg, Hutchinson, and Sookraj (2009) as “research by and for Indigenous peoples, using techniques and methods drawn from the traditions and knowledges of those peoples” (p. x) suggests a theoretical basis for gaining more knowledge about the reality of Indigenous lives. However, the ways in which we gather information and analyze it contain implicit assumptions about the world and the different ways we classify people and organize the world (Kirby & McKenna, 1989). “The life-world is not a random set of events,” suggests Stringer (2008) “but is given order and coherence by a patterned, structured organization of meaning that is so ‘ordinary’ that people literally do not see, or do not consciously realize, the depth and complexity of the worlds they inhabit.” (p. 14) This cultural production can have negative consequences as in the case of cultural violence, or positive consequences acting as a form of cultural learning.

Cultural production functions as a form of education because it generates knowledge, shapes values, and constructs identity. Kincheloe & McLaren (2000) (As cited in Denzin, Lincoln, & Smith, 2008) label this dynamic as ‘Cultural pedagogy’ referring to it as the ways particular cultural agents’ produce hegemonic ways of seeing. In response, “Critical pedagogy”, they suggest, “attempts to performatively disrupt and deconstruct these cultural practices in the name of a more just, democratic, and egalitarian society.” (p. xiv) We must consider that the processes we use to conduct research, generate knowledge, shape our values, and construct our academic identities act as a process of acculturation. Subsequently, each academic discipline has

its own culture for teaching, learning, and conducting research and our identities as Indigenous academics are in a constant state of negotiation / renegotiation if we choose to become part of that system.

Berger and Luckmann (1966) suggest that although institutions and structures appear to be void of human influence outside the control of individuals, it is individuals who are responsible for the construction of institutions. Similarly, theories of organizational design and development such as those discussed by French & Bell (1995) and, Ancona, Kochan, Van Maanen, Scully, & Westney (1999), suggest it is individuals who theorize then actualize organizational design and the processes employed within institutions that maintain hegemony. Theories of organizational culture and change management (Schein, 1999; 1999) guide us in the systematic analysis of institutions using cultural analysis as the key focus of intervention design.

I suggest it is our responsibility as scholars in PACS to promote a culture of peace rather than perpetuating violence. By pursuing holism as the framework, and process as the primary method as suggested by Reardon (1992), the intellectual transformation necessary to a paradigm of peace lies within Indigenous ceremony that very clearly embraces holism and peace as cultural expression through practice / empowerment. The purpose of any ceremony is to build stronger relationships suggests Shawn Wilson (2008), “The research that we do as Indigenous peoples is a ceremony that allows us a raised level of consciousness and insight into our world.” (p. 137) We must turn to our Indigenous ways of knowing to promote peace in our work, and “work exclusively within Traditional knowledge systems so ‘methodologies’ may emerge from and be defined by our experiences and languages.” (Ray, 2012) By ‘learning with each other while we are doing’ there is no expert, there is no researcher. There are only people working and

learning together on a personal peace journey to improve the lives of our communities and ourselves through ceremony.

I will now present the background, theoretical frame, data gathering tools, and analysis techniques I used for my research. I will first provide the narrative of how the concept of *Kinoo'amaadawaad Megwaa Doodamawaad: They are Learning with Each Other While they are Doing* was created. The description provides readers with an example of how knowledge may be co-developed in Anishinabek contexts emphasizing the dialectical nature of learning, the importance of relationships in Indigenous research, and relational accountability in my proposed methodology. The story is an example of the assertion that if peace is the objective of research activities, then the conceptualization of research protocols and methods must originate with the populations we are trying to assist. Our ability to achieve this goal relies on the strength of relationships with our research partners that allow the creation of sacred space where we can 'learn with each other while we are doing'. By following local cultural protocols, the research process can be transformed into a culturally grounded process for building peace.

This story will be followed by an introduction to action research, also referred to as participatory action research in the literature. I will argue that due to its explicit aim to foster empowerment, its commitment to mutual inquiry, local ownership, and the promotion of active involvement of research subjects/partners in every stage of the research process, action research can be used as a theoretical frame for developing culturally congruent processes for peace building in Aboriginal contexts. Considering that peace building process and research are synonymous for this project, my objective with this project is to provide an example of how research projects can be conceptualized and developed with an Indigenous group so that it clearly reflects the worldview of that collaborating group. Similarly, I have tried to present the

results by modelling the dialectic of learning so that readers may understand that transformation of relationships involves active learning on the part of all parties involved.

I will then explain my research process by presenting the data gathering and analysis techniques I used in the development of *Kinoo'amaadawaad Megwaa Doodamawaad: They are Learning with Each Other While They are Doing*. The invitation from my Chief to develop a consultation policy described below, acted as a catalyst for many of my findings and conclusions including the initial development of an information gathering framework which eventually formed the basis of the methodology. This section will present the narrative of how my research ceremony evolved from conceptualization to the final product. The discussion will be presented using a fasting ceremony (explained below) as the framework for discussion. Data from sharing circles and individual interviews conducted during my research journey will be used to demonstrate how community members contributed to the evolution of the process.

The chapter will conclude with a summary of the discussion and critical learning from the development of *Kinoo'amaadawaad Megwaa Doodamawaad: They are Learning with Each Other While They are Doing* methodology.

**THE NARRATIVE OF KINOO'AMAADAWAAD
MEGWAA DOODAMAWAAD – THEY ARE LEARNING
WITH EACH OTHER WHILE THEY ARE DOING:
AN INDIGENOUS LIVING PEACE METHODOLOGY**

Note: This narrative was first written for an article published in the Canadian Journal of Native Education vol. 35 no. 1, 2012. It is critical that I share this story with readers as it is the germination point for my research, demonstrates relational accountability, and provides context for many of the ideas and concepts that form the description of the methodology in this chapter.

'They are learning with each other while they are doing' originated with a discussion about my frustration completing my master's degree and forms part of my research journey. The story

begins with an invitation to participate in a traditional fasting ceremony with my friend and academic advisor Brian Rice. Upon completing the ceremony we were driving to Toronto talking about research and I was explaining to Brian that I didn't want to develop my research alone in my office. I wanted to do it *with* my community. I wanted to create an environment where we could learn together rather than swoop in gather data and leave. He said to me, "You know, there is probably a way that your people describe a process like that. In the Mohawk language there is a way that we describe learning together or learning with each other. You should ask an Elder in your community if there is a way to translate what you are describing in your language."

Based upon this suggestion I decided to ask my mother about it the next time I saw her. I soon discovered asking this question was far more difficult than I anticipated. She was unsure of the correct translation so she asked her brothers and sisters for assistance. After they collectively agreed on the terminology, correct spelling, and English translation, she communicated it to me.

Coincidentally, at the same time I was asked to work with my community to develop a consultation policy for lands and resources. Upon conducting sharing circles with the community as part of that project, I realized that what the people wanted was to share in the resources of our treaty area. However, they also wanted to educate their youth, provide training for jobs, and help them learn traditional knowledge from the Elders. They viewed lands and resources as not only a way to physically sustain our community, but a way to assist young people to learn about our past. In creating a community vision for the sharing of natural resources I realized that land is not only the key to health, but critical for community learning that would create continuity between the past, present, and future. That consultation vision is called *Kinoo'amaadawaad Megwaa Doodamawaad: They are Learning With Each Other While They are Doing.*

Two years later we are working on capacity building and refining our consultation vision and policy. In those two years I have developed my thesis proposal originating with the work I conducted in my community. In refining the vision and policy I have been able to assist my community gather data for decision making which I am also using for my thesis, identify respectful community developed data gathering techniques, test those techniques, and assist my community on a number of occasions. I also met Lana, my co-author on a few publications and friend — we both had no idea there was another person from our community working towards their doctorate. Finally, and most importantly, I have established and nurtured relationships with people from my community that I know will last far beyond the completion of my research.

I believe the discussion I had with Brian, the assistance I requested from my mother, and the subsequent community project related to land use was a gift from the Creator. As one Mi'Kmaq Elder Peter Christmas said to me in a conversation years ago, "Knowledge is a gift from the Creator that belongs to all people. You are simply a transmitter of ideas. You (Individuals) don't own ideas, they belong to people. People make them a reality." Our challenge then, as researchers, is not to simply confirm assumptions and seek to prove our hypothesis, but to consider the spiritual nature of knowledge and its interconnections. Where does knowledge originate?

In this example, there were many people (my friend Brian, the Mi'Kmaq Elder, my mother, uncles, aunts, community members, Lana and I), circumstances (my PhD requirements, community work, policy development, community vision development for resource sharing), environmental forces (All the work revolved around the land, its sacredness to our people, and stories we share about the land for cultural continuity), and theory (from many other Indigenous and non-Indigenous academics who have come before me) that came together in an uncontrived

manner that enabled the creation of “They are Learning With Each Other While They are Doing”. The environment contained all the necessary ingredients for mutual learning to occur. My role as researcher has been to facilitate and create in a selfless manner doing my best to understand that I do not own knowledge. However, this suggestion challenges the traditional institutional requirements of the academy.

Knowledge is a gift from the Creator belonging to all peoples. This is the essence of Aboriginal worldview applied to an Indigenous research paradigm in Peace and Conflict Studies. One must trust that we are being provided the experiences and knowledge necessary to find the possibility for peace. This demonstration of faith requires the relinquishing of power over the process to research partners — those we are trying to help find peace. Ultimately, it is our relationship with the knowledge that is of critical importance. Sources will vary, however the source is not as important as the final result, the usefulness of that knowledge, and the meaning that knowledge holds for those who create it.

ACTION RESEARCH: EMPOWERMENT, EMANCIPATION, INDIGENOUS PEACE, AND PACS

The idea of co-creating knowledge is of critical importance for this work. By co-creating the process for learning and the actual results of research, the meaning that knowledge holds becomes far more salient and useful to those involved in research. It also mitigates power imbalances that exist in traditional forms of research by allowing those being researched to contribute to understanding their circumstances. This assertion is particularly important when we are working with marginalized or oppressed groups and our goal is to transform relationships through the elimination of structural violence. Thus, the reclamation of our ability to be self-determining through learning our circumstances becomes an act of emancipation.

Freire (1970) discusses the transformation of oppressed peoples through dialogical practice proposing a pedagogy for oppressed peoples that is forged with and not for the people. He argues, “This can be done only by means of the praxis: reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it.” (p. 51) In Freire’s discussion “The teacher is no longer merely the one who teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn while being taught also teaches.” (p. 80) This can be achieved through the use of educational projects, he suggests – which would be carried out with the oppressed.

Freire’s (1970) discussion has implications for PACS and the way we engage marginalized groups like Indigenous Peoples. For example, when working with Aboriginal groups, researchers and practitioners can present themselves as both teachers and students embracing the fundamental belief that research participants are intimately aware of their circumstances and our role is to facilitate that awareness. The cyclical nature of peace building (Lederach, 1997) and the dialectic practice provides opportunity to harness the positive aspects of conflict through participatory processes of research and enquiry that engage local communities. ‘Research from the margins’ or with marginalized groups, suggests Kirby and McKenna (1998) “is not research on people from the margins, but research by, for, and with them.” (p. 28)

A review of literature related to research with Aboriginal and/or Indigenous groups reveals a preference towards research that is collaborative, action orientated, and empowering in design (Robinson, 1996; Dickson & Green, 2001; Fisher & Ball, 2002; Kenny, Faries, Fiske, & Voyageur; Letiecq & Baily, 2004). Processes presented as ‘action research’ or ‘community based action research’ in the literature reflect this type of approach. Described as a process of systematic inquiry derived from “a research tradition emphasizing cyclical, dynamic, and

collaborative approaches to investigation,” (Stringer, 2008, p. 13) many authors argued action research as culturally respectful when conducting research in Aboriginal / Indigenous contexts (Bennett, 2004; Kenny, Faries, Fiske & Voyeur, 2004; Schnarch 2004, Santiago-Rivera, Morse, Hunt, & Lickers, 1998; Bethany & Baily 2004).

Zeni (1998) described action research as finding appropriate data sources while pursuing a question in a seemingly meandering route involving “more systematic documentation and data gathering; more self-reflection in writing; and, a wider audience (collaboration, presentation, publication).” (p. 10-11) Stringer (1996) summarized community based action research as a process that focuses on methods and techniques of inquiry “that take into account people’s history, culture, interactional practices, and emotional lives.” (p. 15) As such, the process can be used to systematically investigate problems, formulate accounts of situations and develop plans to address the problems. Hughes (1997) asserted that action research has two aims: action for change in a community or organization, and research to increase our knowledge and understanding. McNiff & Whitehead (2006) suggest Action research is also about improving practice by creating new ideas put forward as personal theories of practice.

In the context of research with Aboriginal groups, participatory action research (PAR) has been the chosen approach because of its explicit aim to foster empowerment (Dickson & Green, 2001) and “promote active involvement in every stage of the research process by those who are conventionally the focus of research; PAR thereby replaces the traditional hierarchical approach to research with a commitment to mutual inquiry and local ownership.” (Chataway, 1997, p. 747) If emancipation is the objective of peace building, then the emancipatory peace project must include participation from local war-affected populations (Thiessen, 2011) or populations attempting to find peace from the forces of totalization. Thus, the research process

becomes experiential in nature allowing people to “learn from experience through direct encounters with life that involves total immersion, with all its attendant sensations and feelings.” (Marsick & Sauquet, 2000, p. 388) This concept is especially important to consider when one is doing research with their home community, as in my case where emancipation for the community can mean emancipation for oneself.

For the field of PACS where researchers may work directly with Indigenous communities, approaches that require organizational involvement in all aspects of the research process including planning, action, observation, and reflection — In essence taking a holistic approach to research design, seems consistent with the worldviews and decision-making processes of Aboriginal communities. Involving communities directly in research provides opportunity for increasing knowledge and empowering research partners which creates opportunity for change. This is especially significant in the context of research with marginalized groups (like Aboriginal peoples in Canada) who can particularly benefit from organizational and/or institutional change. Similarly, the community / organization based nature of action research provides opportunity to have community members not only participate as full partners in the research process, but to “own” research results and therefore, be self determining. The process enables research partners to learn about research by being a full participant in the research process which provides opportunity for partners from distinct cultural groups to begin a process of cross-cultural understanding.⁹

Some authors have attempted to present action research processes based specifically on Aboriginal culture and an Aboriginal worldview. One example is CREE - Capacity building,

⁹ This paragraph has been summarized from a number of authors including Bennett, 2004; Fisher & Ball, 2002; Kenny, Faries, Fiske & Voyeur, 2004; Kirby & Mckenna, 1998; Letiecq & Baily, 2004; Seymour-Rolls & Hughes, 1998.

Respect, Equity and Empowerment which has been successful in building community based research partnerships in both Aboriginal (Lemelin & Lickers, unpublished article, 2005; Santiago-Rivera, Morse, Hunt, & Lickers, 1998; Lickers, Doyle, Haas, Winslow, Barrasso, Lemelin, Diogo, & Rujderova, 1995), and non-Aboriginal contexts (Fick, unpublished article, no date). The process has been summarized as follows:

Capacity-building

Capacity building requires an understanding of the impacts of differing historical perspectives and socio-cultural beliefs by accommodating distinct perspectives. This requires partners to develop new skills (i.e. openness and tolerance) before conducting field research (Lemelin and Lickers, 2005). The act of involving partnering organizations and Aboriginal groups in the design and delivery of research projects enable them to build their own capacity for analyzing complex issues and create better awareness of research processes in general.

Respect

Activated when partners are willing to incorporate Aboriginal experiences, organizational protocols, and accommodate individual interests. This may include the community and/or organization determining research questions and methods of enquiry. Many hours can be spent talking with community members before conceptualizing a research project, write Santiago-Rivera, Morse, and Hunt (1998), “We respected the community members for their knowledge and guidance, and the community gained some understanding of our interest and commitment to the research” (p. 166)

Equity

Equity refers to equal responsibility and sharing in the benefits as well as the work. Equity encompasses more than money, write Lemelin & Lickers (2005), “assets include employment, royalties, knowledge systems, and sweat equity” (p. 10). Equity can also refer to the design of the research protocol reflecting the needs and concerns of all groups and not limiting them to what some investigator thinks is a fundable project (Carpenter 1995, as cited in Santiago-Rivera, Morse, and Hunt, 1998, p. 166-167) or just completing degree requirements.

Empowerment

Lord and Hutchison (1993) define empowerment as the ability to develop new directions by creating awareness to both capacity and alternatives. This seems consistent with the definition used by Santiago-Rivera, Morse, and Hunt (1998) who emphasized “knowledge as power in which both the individual and the community as a whole benefit” (p. 167). The primary consideration for research projects is that knowledge empowers communities and organizations to make their own decisions.

Given the collaborative nature of action research and the desire to create positive action founded on the concept of empowerment, principles that actively apply self-determination to research like that described above and others like Schnarch’s (2004) discussion on ‘ownership, control, access, and participation’ (OCAP) can act as a model for mutual learning in PACS research. Originally conceptualized as an ‘action research’ project, this research is an example of how an Anishinabeg researcher may collaborate with their community on the development of research partnerships that attempt to eliminate power in-balance. As we will see, this approach requires the researcher to put trust in their research partners and allow those being studied to have shared ownership over the process and gain some products from the research.

Self-determination, empowerment, and emancipation are often viewed as synonymous in Aboriginal contexts. “Indigenous culture and identity in Canada are always linked to issues of self-determination and land rights” suggest Bennett & Blundell (1995) (as cited in Adelson, 2000, p. 14). Educational projects framed as action research, can provide the process necessary for creating spaces of mutual learning required to transform from a culture of violence to a culture of peace. This type of research can validate Aboriginal claims of legitimacy (Adelson, 2000) within the academy and the Canadian nation state.

**A RESEARCH CEREMONY:
*MEGWAA DOODAMAWAAD (WHILE THEY ARE DOING)***

This research project attempts to demonstrate how research and the research process, when viewed through the Indigenous worldview, can be used as a peace building process. This fundamental belief is based on the assertion that conflict is a social dynamic and a peace culture is formed through the interaction of people in society. Thus, peace building is about social relationships and every society would have a culture of conflict and a culture of peace. It is our individual and group views of conflict, shaped by experience that determines their degree of destructiveness, intractability, and/or usefulness as a political tool. Similarly, it is our individual and group definitions of peace that determine the processes in which we choose to manage conflict or interpret social acts of aggression or kindness. Peace building in indigenous contexts is an act of ‘doing’ — doing within an incredibly complex web of social relationships with the animate and inanimate. Critical in this suggestion is embracing an Aboriginal worldview with relational accountability (Wilson, 2008) as the primary lens with which we assess our approaches.

Peace, like research, is a process, not an end state. Therefore, identifying appropriate data gathering and analysis techniques must be the first consideration in designing appropriate PACS

research projects. ‘Participatory Action Research’ provides the necessary framework for the involvement of research participants in every step of the research project. This approach is similar to designing and developing peace processes. Existing literature and approaches can provide guidance, however, suggested techniques should originate with research partners. As we will see below, often times, it is the ‘accidental’ methods that facilitate the greatest educational opportunities. As the lead researcher, it has been my challenge to question, why am I being given this knowledge or experience? What am I intended to learn?

Kenny, Faries, Fiske & Voyageur (2004) explain: “Research methods are not created in a vacuum. They come out of a historical context, represent a philosophy or worldview and are created in a social context. Beneath each culture of inquiry, there is an entire worldview and belief about the nature of knowledge and truth.”(p. 17) Wilson (2008) suggests, a strategy of inquiry builds upon methodology to fill in how you arrive at the research destination, and methods are the particular tools or techniques that you use to actually gather data. Reiterating the five principles summarized at the end of Chapter one with consideration for an Indigenous Worldview – defined above as holism, my strategy of inquiry and data gathering techniques must account for: First, the establishment and nurturing of relationships before, during, and after my research activities; Second, consideration for the physical, mental, emotional, spiritual in relation to family, Community, nation, mother earth including the environment – land, water, air and spirit; Third, not developing a rigid research process based on my individual desires. To ensure the on-going emphasis on relationships, the community should develop, learn, grow, and benefit from research activities; Fourth, in following a constructivist research paradigm, account for multiple realities and perspectives, take individual experiences and develop group or community knowledge; and fifth, employing culturally congruent processes for peace building that foster

empowerment, commit to mutual inquiry, local ownership, and the promotion of active involvement of research subjects/partners in every stage of the research process.

I will now present the data gathering, and analysis techniques I used for my research. I will accomplish this by framing the explanation of my research as a ceremony. By co-producing the knowledge acquisition process through iterative interaction like that described by Shearer, Peters, and Davidson-Hunt (2009) above, researchers can create shared understandings on methodology with research partners. This approach of successive development with involvement of local peoples uses relationships or relational accountability as a foundational principal because it assumes both researcher and research ‘subjects’ equally contribute to the development of knowledge.

A Fasting Ceremony as a Metaphor for Research

Ceremony is arguably the purest form of Indigenous methodology (Wilson, 2008) and that Indigenous research is ‘research by and for Indigenous peoples, using techniques and methods drawn from the traditions and knowledge of those peoples’. However, these statements require a number of considerations that speak to the complexity of translating theoretical concepts to pragmatic application. This would include, what is the meaning of research? How do we determine what we will research? Do Indigenous groups have techniques and methods for conducting research? How do we identify and determine those techniques and methods?

I experienced a number of ceremonies over the duration of my studies including more than one fasting ceremony, pipe ceremonies, naming ceremonies, sweat lodge ceremonies, and circle ceremonies. All these processes have common elements that strengthen communities by connecting participants to the natural world (land), connect family and community members, include strong emphasis on spirituality, include symbols/tools that act as memory cues for stories

and lessons, and provide learning. In this respect, they are tools for healing and are traditional peace building processes used by some Aboriginal communities.

The ability to conduct and teach others specific ceremonies is something that is given as a gift from one ceremonial keeper to another, and that gift is received and passed forward with the greatest respect. I have been taught by a number of Elders from various Aboriginal cultures in Canada that it is not customary, nor is it appropriate to discuss the details of traditional ceremonies or to write about them so it is difficult to share the specifics of what occurs. This concept was first explained to me by an Elder from the Ottawa area years ago¹⁰. She said, “Think of it as the greatest gift you’ve ever been given, a gift with an incredible amount of history, power, and responsibility. Those types of gifts are precious and if you were to give it away, you have to ask yourself, who can you trust to take care of it? Who can you trust to give it the proper respect? In this way, our people ensured the integrity of the ceremony and that the knowledge would not be passed to someone who had not earned it.” (Personal comment to author)

As described above, my research journey began with being invited to a fasting ceremony. A fasting ceremony can best be described as a process of healing through personal reflection and reconnection to the natural and spiritual worlds. Participants experience the ceremony in isolation from all human contact with the exception of one-on-one guidance from an Elder or ceremonial guide. The process is extremely difficult as it requires the denial of food and water for a set number of days and nights. Individuals participate in fasting ceremonies for a number of reasons including healing, personal guidance, seeking the answer to specific questions, to mark significant occasions like the passing of the seasons, to receive spirit names, or to mark the beginning and/or end of a personal journey.

¹⁰ Normally I would name the Elder who provided me the teaching out of respect for sharing their knowledge with me. In this particular case however, I cannot remember her name.

With respect for this teaching and the maintenance of relational accountability to the Elder who gifted me with participation in the ceremony, I cannot discuss the details of what occurred. However, I will frame this discussion using general terms and the major steps of the fasting ceremony as a metaphor for research. The ceremony included the following six phases with each having its own purpose, activities, and objectives: 1) Choosing the site; 2) Preparing for the fast; 3) The sweat lodge ceremony ‘entering the spirit world’; 4) Entering the fasting site; 5) The sweat lodge ceremony ‘returning from the spirit world’; and 6) Gift giving and sharing of the meal. I will now present each phase individually identifying the relationship between formal research and my Indigenous ceremonial learning using experiences from my research.

Choosing the Site

Traditional ceremonial site selection for a fasting ceremony is as much about trusting your feelings, searching for physical signs, or following a dream as it is about the pragmatic aspects of safety, accessibility, and timing. Similarly, in designing research in Indigenous contexts for PACS, researchers must consider safety (for ones self and research participants), accessibility (through academic advisors or personal relationships) and timing (How much time do I have to complete my research? Is it appropriate for me to interject myself into the system to complete my research at this time?).

Returning to traditional homelands (where possible and appropriate) allows the location and subject of Indigenous research to naturally evolve through interaction with the community. In this way, research is community centered and driven by experiences, friendships or spiritual signs/guidance. The pragmatic tools of Eurocentric research (John Creswell, 2009; Ted Palys, 2003) are important. However, for Indigenous people, researching in traditional homelands allows increased connection to local community and landscapes defining the personal research

ceremony that facilitates resiliency through acculturation — this type of research ceremony builds relationships.

Denzin and Lincoln (2008) suggest that Indigenous research begins with “the concerns of Indigenous Peoples, is assessed directly in terms of the benefits it creates for them, and makes me directly accountable to Indigenous persons.” (p. 2) In relation to this statement, I believe my research project is an example of Indigenous research because it very clearly began with the concerns of my community. Not only am I a member, but the invitation from my Chief originated with their concerns and marked the formal beginning of my research journey. If I had not spent advanced time in the community before choosing my research focus, the opportunity to build trust and make the personal connections necessary for mutual learning would not have occurred.

I felt lost when I began my research and it was only upon participating in traditional ceremony, reconnecting with my friends, family, and community that I was able to create an environment where I could meet and learn from others. My personal relationships and being accountable to those relationships by having community needs determine my research focus, allowed me to create emotional space where I could investigate sensitive issues in a safe environment. The reconnection to my traditional lands through ceremony provided the strength and resiliency necessary to complete my journey while giving me physical space to learn and grow.

Selecting the location and subject of graduate research can be a difficult time for students. Often research for students becomes an extension of work being conducted by academic advisors. In fact, many of us choose lead advisors based on their interests, not ours. However, my experience demonstrates that there are other places to identify the goals and

objectives of research. If we spend time in communities before conceptualizing our projects, we can gain a greater understanding of community needs and determine our approaches based on their requirements. Ceremonial learning requires recognition of the unbalance some of us feel internally and the forces that move us towards graduate research. Why do we choose to do graduate research? What questions are we trying to answer?

My research ceremony has been a journey of personal discovery and healing. As we will see in future chapters, conclusions can require difficult reflection on family violence from our pasts because personal pain is the pain of family, community, and nation. In this regard, healing of a nation is a direct result of personal healing and after going through the process of completing my studies, I cannot deny the connection between all my life experiences to this point and the direction of my research. It is the culmination of my life experiences that have made me the person I am today.

The reality for me is that preparation for this research started years ago with my first powwow experience. The emotions I felt that day hearing a traditional drum and viewing the connection between land, ceremony, and the symbols of my culture for the first time were profound and lasting. My preparation included teachings from many Elders from various Aboriginal cultures in Canada over many years. Those experiences shaped my understanding of the deep meaning land holds for Aboriginal cultures and brought me back to my home to conduct my formal graduate studies.

It is important to note that just because I am from the community, it does not mean I can assume people will accept me and/or support my research project. Although in Anishinabeg contexts family connections assist in introducing oneself to community members, you must still build trust to be given acceptance. In my context, I learned through my Masters Degree research

(which I did in my community) that people remembered me as an irresponsible teenager. Consequently, I needed to demonstrate that I had grown and matured over the years I was absent from home before being given access to research partners.

When I started this research, a similar situation occurred. I was still required to build relationships in the new context under different circumstances. Luckily, the invitation from my Chief facilitated this process and allowed me to build relationships before formally beginning my research. However, as noted above, one cannot assume that just because you are from the community, the community will support your research. It requires an investment of time and personal commitment. The negative history of research as a ‘dirty word’ in many Indigenous communities proved accurate in my circumstances. Thus, despite being from the community, returning as a researcher reintroduced me in a different context and I needed to adapt my approach to suit the needs of my community first.

Preparing for the fast

An Elder or guide leads the preparation by teaching and emotionally preparing participants. The Elder instructs participants on the gathering of tools and medicines, explains what they can expect, and questions what they hope to learn during the ceremony. Formal research similarly provides guides (academic advisors) who share their experience, advise us on proper techniques and tools, and point us towards the right literature/data sources. Formal advisors are complemented with colleagues who provide on-going support, friends whom we meet at conferences and courses, and partners we collaborate with in research and writing.

There were a number of individuals from my community who provided advice on the development of my research including one lead Elder, my family, and a number of individuals who contributed to the creation of the consultation policy and vision documents. Although it

could be argued that the official start of my research project didn't begin until after thesis proposal and defense, I believe this 'pre-research' had such an important impact on my approach and results that I must present it in this discussion on methodology. In fact, I now consider this 'pre-research' a critical component of an Indigenous paradigm because it is during this time that relationships are initially formed and specific localized research/peace processes can be discovered with partners.

Conducting a 'pre-research' phase to the formal research process allows the researcher to negotiate their way into the community and/or system. An example of how this benefitted me was being able to access community archival sources. At one point during my community consultation work, a community member who was working on digitizing hard copy files began bringing me archival records that the community had gathered over the years. She had heard what I was doing and when she came across records she thought I might be interested in, she brought them to me. This information proved invaluable in getting a sense of the types of land based conflicts the people had been involved with.

The following chart provides a summary of the workshops — which I planned and facilitated on behalf of my community, designed to develop the community consultation vision and policy documents. This data is taken directly from workshop planning materials, presentations, and notes which the community has given me permission to use as a data source:

Table 1: SUMMARY OF COMMUNITY WORKSOPS: PROCESS DEVELOPMENT

<i>Work shop</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i># of Participants</i>	<i>Participant Group</i>	<i>Objective</i>	<i>Process. How did the process change?</i>
1	15/08/09	6	Women Elder's Drum Group	Understand consultation process; Identify issues with current consultation process; Initiate development of preliminary vision for resource sharing;	Begin with smudging ceremony and prayer; Introduction of project and facilitator. Presentation on 'what is consultation?' Sharing stories on past consultation experiences. What happened? Why do you think it happened? How could they have approached you more respectfully? What could have been done differently?
2	16/08/09	3	Youth (High School age)	Same objectives as above	Youth were provided case study examples gathered during the first session and asked how things could have been done differently. What is the best way to involve youth?
3	22/08/09	11	All Elders	Same objectives as above.	Same process as workshop 1. Conversation transformed into talking about the land and Elders interaction with the land, wildlife, and the spirit. Discussed effects of Indian Status on individuals and families.
4	23/08/09	5	Other Community Members	Same objectives as above.	Same process as workshop 1. Decide to set up consultation lands and resources office. Proposed a process for gathering stories from Elders and community members about the land so community has information on traditions.

Based on the experience of these initial four workshops and the information provided by those who participated, the community decided to continue holding sharing circles to gather additional information on the traditions of the people related to land use. This decision was made because determining traditions on the land at the time of contact with Europeans is the basis for determining Aboriginal rights under Canadian law¹¹. Thus, stories about traditional land use are essential for determining the extent of Aboriginal rights. Since beginning my research ceremony,

¹¹ It is not my intent to provide a long discussion on Aboriginal rights under Canadian law. For the purpose of this discussion readers must understand that in Canada, much of the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the Canadian Nation state is determined by legal precedence that is constantly evolving. Under the *R v. Sparrow* decision, the Supreme Court of Canada determined "the extent to which Aboriginal and treaty rights can be regulated" (Imai, Logan, & Stein, 1993, p. 21). This typically means that the degree of consultation required for the determination and extent of Aboriginal rights is based on the traditional activities specific Aboriginal groups conducted at the time of, and before, contact with European settlers. Thus, the degree of consultation required is typically determined by historical research focussed on pre-contact with Europeans.

I have discovered that the physical environment surrounding my community contains many symbols that trigger the memories of our people. Book knowledge is important, however, the stories of my community members on the land, or experiencing cultural ceremonial practices like the sharing circle, provide a richer understanding of our circumstances.

Literature suggests a number of data gathering techniques appropriate for use in Aboriginal contexts. They include participant observation, field notes, memos, journaling, narrative analysis (Bird, Wiles, Okalik, Kilabuk, & Egeland, 2009), sharing circles (Lavallee, 2009; Wilson, 2008), narrative approaches (Lincoln & Gonzales, 2008), microethnography (Loppie, 2007), and narrative phenomenological techniques such as culturally appropriate story telling (Struthers & Peden-Mcalpine, 2005). Story telling was chosen as the primary method (Struthers & Peden-Mcalpine, 2005; Lincoln & Gonzales, 2008) through the use of sharing circles – described as similar to focus groups (Lavallee, 2009; Wilson, 2008) which will be explained in detail below, and individual video recorded interviews with community Elders. These approaches were chosen because community members were comfortable with them and preferred them.

Nabigon et al (1999) provide typical ground rules for sharing circles that include: recognition that the spirit of our ancestors and the creator are present in the circle and guide the process; energy is created in the circle by the spirit of the people involved; the circle is nonjudgmental, helpful, and supportive; respect is important and this means listening to others; Sometimes people speak, seated in the circle (clockwise or counter clockwise) and hold an object like a talking stick or eagle feather; circles begin with a smudging ceremony to rid the circle and people of negativity; and, items may be placed in the centre of the circle, depending on the purpose (as cited in Lavallee, 2009, p. 29). However, (as we will see below) as circles were

conducted, the process became customized to be specific to the desires and needs of this particular group.

Secondary data sources included informal discussions with various community members and participant observation using field notes: “Field notes contain written documentation of various aspects of qualitative research: observations, conversations, maps, plans, reflections, memos, preliminary analysis, etc.” (Kirby & Mckenna, 1989, p. 32) Historical information was also gathered through previous research the community had conducted from the Canadian Archives and other archival sources, including previous interviews conducted with community Elders. Data was transcribed, reviewed numerous times, coded, and analyzed using “narrative analysis.” (Bird, Wiles, Okalik, Kilabuk, & Egeland, 2009)

My challenge as a researcher has been to consistently question why I’ve been given specific knowledge or experience. For example, the story of my first pow wow experience, leading to my return home and the development of my research project demonstrates how the reintroduction of tradition to members of my community (including me) in the form of stories, dreams, and ceremonies provides a culturally specific process for identifying research partners, subjects, and processes that Leanne Simpson (2011) described as Anishinaabe ways of learning. The seemingly unstructured patterns of knowledge acquisition I was engaged with transformed into a formal process for learning, research, and peace building.

Transcripts and video from the first sharing circle provide a summary of the starting point for our community sharing circles/data gathering processes. This included: an opening prayer and smudging Ceremony, traditional song by Women’s Drum Group, explanation of project goal, explanation of sharing circle format / rules (talking stick), lead Elder or facilitator would share first story, sharing circle round 1, sharing of a meal, sharing circle round 2, and closing

prayer. Although these steps were generally followed, as we will see below, with each successive sharing circle community members made suggestions that customized the process to their unique circumstances.

The sweat lodge ceremony ‘Entering the spirit world’

Preparing for the sweat lodge is a form of participatory learning that requires teachings as the lodge is constructed. Every element used is a symbolic representation of ancient teachings that act as memory devices for the transmission of knowledge across generations. All are accompanied by ancient lessons in the form of narratives. The ceremony begins with honouring those that have come before and asking that they watch over us during the difficult journey of denying our bodies of food and water for four days.

Despite the perception that formal research is a solitary endeavour, many people participate in the journey with us including family, friends, communities, authors, and academics coming before us. We recognize their contribution to learning by acknowledging their work. In this way we build on the past, respectfully connecting the past, present, and future. Research is a relational process.

Reconnecting with the natural world through the use of narratives about the land and Indigenous interaction with the environment allows the transmission of cultural practices and norms between generations. This type of data gathering facilitates cultural continuity by creating knowledge exchange between community members. By using ceremony as a metaphor for research we not only create a path for personal healing, but introduce a process for community healing.

Stories (excluding the stories of “*Ni*”) presented throughout this work were gathered from four sources. They were: my personal experiences and reflections; the experiences and

reflections of my primary research partner *Minogaabo*; video and accompanying transcripts from seven community sharing circles conducted between August 2010 and March 2011; and, video interviews conducted with fourteen individual community Elders between the dates of October 2010 and September 2012. The focus of sharing circles and interviews was on gathering historical and contemporary stories about the land, living off the land, and understanding the relationships Aboriginal People have with the land. Due to the focus of this research on process, data has been selected and positioned through this work to exemplify various components of the methodology.

In order to facilitate the transmission of traditional knowledge, the resource management and capacity building office provided on-going support for note taking and journaling. Members of the community (one Elder and one youth) were used as assistants to conduct interviews, complete transcripts, and organize documentation so they could learn about research and conducting research projects. This included Terry Bouchard, Alyssa Ray, Byron Wawia Jr., and Arlene Wawia. Follow up interviews were conducted on an “as needed” basis for clarification, to clarify specific stories that required more detail, and assist with translation and spelling of Ojibway words and/or phrases.

Each sharing circle session began with a presentation on the research including some examples of traditional land use studies and the types of benefits the community can gain through gathering this data. This was followed by an explanation of my specific research topic. Since the community initiated a project on natural resource management and consultation in the summer of 2009 that created awareness around stories related to the land and the bands history, this project was explained to participants as a continuation of that work. Stories shared during

those sessions and the process used to gather those stories is the dynamic this work further investigates.

The following chart is a summary of how the process evolved using seven individual interviews and seven sharing circle processes as an example. The numbers that are circled are the individual interviews:

Table 2: OUR COMMUNITY STORY EXAMPLE 1:
SUMMARY OF CIRCLE PROCESSES, INDIVIDUAL ELDER INTERVIEWS,
AND PROCESS EVOLUTION

<i>Sharing Circle/ Interview</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i># of Part.</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>How was subject Chosen?</i>	<i>How did the process change? Evolve?</i>
1	30/08/10	12	Where did we come from? Where are we going? Who are we?	Subject suggested by an Elder at previous circle related to consultation policy development	Talking stick was gifted to the group and added.
①	23/08/10	1			
2	07/10/10	9	Bring a picture or object significant to you and share the meaning with everyone.	Subject was suggested by me after learning about photo elicitation. Was discussed with lead Elder before presenting to group	Using memory cues/devices as a way to gather historical stories about the land.
②	21/10/10	1			
③	22/10/10	6			This was scheduled to be individual interviews but the family decided they wanted to do it together. Food was shared during the interview.
3	08/11/10	11	Gather traditional place names on a map.	Subject was brain stormed with Elder lead based on his desire to return to traditional names for describing our territory and my experience through previous work at Parks Canada	
④	08/11/10	1			
4	15/12/10	9			
⑤	10/02/11	2			Husband and wife interviewed together
⑥	10/02/11	1	Introduction of family, living locations, legends		Decided to leave messages for children, grand children, and family in the future
5	28/02/11	13			
6	27/03/11	19			Held in Thunder Bay to involve off reserve community members.
7	30/03/11	27			Held at high school to involve youth.
⑦	07/02/12	1			

Entering the fasting site

Once entering the fasting site, participants receive messages in the form of dreams, signs from the natural world (animals, flora), or personal reflection. The ceremony happens over a number of days with each day bringing new challenges, personal doubts, and learning. As each day passes, participants are asked to reflect on personal aspects of their lives (good and bad), a vision, and questions that require guidance. Participants are encouraged to walk around and connect to their environment searching for messages and signs. We learn to relinquish control and trust the process. We reflect and acknowledge work that supports our hypothesis, critically analyze work that opposes it, and most importantly, listen to signs which reaffirm our research paths or lead us in a different direction.

I relinquished control by trusting the ceremony. This takes an incredible amount of trust in the Creator to provide the knowledge we need to improve our lives. Rather than designing research to confirm hypothesis or verify predicted outcomes, I question the value or meaning of experiences, signs and symbols. I accomplish this by asking myself, why was I given this experience? What is it that I am meant to learn from this action, sign, or symbol? How do I interpret its meaning? An example of this dynamic would be the way I shared the concept of ‘learning with each other while we are doing’. Putting the needs of my community first, I put aside competition over discovery of the term for the betterment of my family, friends, and community. This started me down a path of mutual learning which I believe has created greater creativity in my research.

As I moved into the formal process of designing my research, I allowed my community partners to determine the components of my approach based on how they wanted to proceed. For example, individual interviews would best be described as unstructured and the planned

questions intended to gather data were: share with us some of your family histories and stories about the land. Some examples include - Where did (do) you hunt? Where did (do) you fish? Where did (do) you pick berries or conduct any other land based activity? However, over the duration of the project I provided the opportunity for the process to evolve according to community wishes and encouraged the lead interviewer (a community Elder) to conduct interviews based on what he felt was appropriate.

Below is a chart summarizing five of the interviews conducted to exemplify the kinds of questions the Elder Minnogabo felt were important and how he prompted participants. The interviews typically began with an introduction of the participant explaining their family history and then continued to a variety of other topics. Interviews typically took from one to two hours.

Table 3: EXAMPLE INTERVIEW SUMMARY – QUESTIONS ASKED

<i>Interview</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Questions</i>
1	21/10/10	<p>We're doing this interview to hear about any kind of stories that you know of, any kind of legends of the area, any kind of history that you know of, any kind of stories that some elderly people told you, or your Mishomis told you or your grandma told you or your mom told you or your grandpa told you or your friends told you. We'd like to hear from you about them okay and anything that you experienced for our history okay. Start off by we-shkit and bring yourself ahead.</p> <p>Can you talk a little but about your travels in the area, within the territory, hunting, fishing and all that kind of stuff, camping out?</p> <p>Did you ever ah, did you ever go harvesting blueberries, Indian medicine, all that kind of stuff long time ago?</p> <p>Any stories you might recall from when you were young?</p> <p>Is there anything that you experienced when you were a small kid like stories or hunting trip, canoe trip, trapping trip or anything like that stuff?</p> <p>What about stories, that your mom or your granny, papa, ever tell you any stories? Like legends and stuff like that.</p>
2	02/10/11	<p>How hard was life so we will let our future generations know what it was like to survive, just an ordinary day not even hard, just an ordinary day.</p> <p>Can you talk a little bit about that stuff when you were a young girl, around the reserve or mission when you moved down to the reserve here can you talk a little bit about that year, that time?</p> <p>Is there a big difference in the reserve today?</p> <p>Would you like to leave a message for your children or grand children in the future?</p>

- You can start by telling me your name, where you're from, when you were born.
I can come back and see you again if you remember something else
Prompted details on locations of families.
Asked specifically about relation to Geronimo
Is there any stories your grandpa told you or your dad told you around the area or legends, stories?
Is there places where you would get medicines, Indian medicines and stuff like that? Where you get Nishinabe medicines in the bush? Do you know here those places are around here?
- 3 23/08/10 Do you know where there are any rock paintings around here?
Do you remember any good places to hunt like Weshkit?
Is it different today?
Along time ago, did you guys used to trade stuff with Indians from other places?
You ever used to hunt long way, far away from here? Different places where you used to work?
Is there any Indian names of places around here that you know?
Anything else you would like to share?
I'll come see you again as soon as you call me. When you remember I'll come and see you.
This was a family (group) interview requested by the family.
All participants were asked to introduce themselves and give a brief history.
Did you ever hear any stories about the area, about any, like did your grandpa or some Elder ever tell you any stories about around...like you know what I mean?
Did your grandpas or grandmas or your fathers and them, did they ever travel far away to hunt too, like you know to go harvest, to hunt or fish or to pick blueberries or medicine?
Did you guys ever remember any Anishinabek living down by the landing too, I mean by the mudflats?
- 5 22/10/10 Any stories you guys can remember, maybe, or we can take a break, we can take a five minute break. You can talk a little bit and see if you can job your memories on some stories.
That's why its important if you just remember that little tiny, two words. Even one word. We'll mark it down, I got it highlighted and then somebody else makes that connection then we go and edit we edit this to put down in the archive, we build that story from those connections.
When we finish here today. If something jogs your mind, you remember something, just mark it down. And I'm going to come back again and well, you know what I mean?
Did you ever hear anything about wars they used to have here a long time ago? Did your grandparents ever tell you about the wars they used to have, the invaders, used to come up?
Introduction of community member
Provided background and family connections
Is there a big change from when you were a young fella going to school or just going to St. Edward's school at the time or area, is there a big change in the community as it is now?
How was the, how was, how did the people connect with one another? Did they help one another when one was in need of help or hungry?
- 6 08/11/10 Did you guys ahh, did you guys set nets and I'd like to hear you talk about where you guys hunt and what you guys did, how you did and how you fish and did you fish as people who fish for them, for their own or did you fish to help people that was in dire need.
Do you see a significant change in the way you were brought up then after today going the next generation and how they are going to be brought up. Do you see, foresee any significant change in that?
When you did your hunting, where did you guys do your hunting. Did you guys travel far sometimes to go hunting?

Reflecting on the experience, it seemed that as time passed, the process evolved in a way that demonstrated the cyclical nature of learning. During the two to three years of gathering interview and sharing circle data I would return to the community for follow up and discussion on how the process was proceeding. During those conversations we would discuss how things were going, how he perceived the richness of the data, which stories he found really exciting or

interesting, who he interviewed and the kinds of questions he asked, how participants were feeling being involved in the process, and I would review completed transcripts and watch interview video.

For the first year, we were also conducting community sharing circles when I returned to the community. This similarly created a pattern of sharing circle — to individual interview (or family interview) — to reflection on process and results between the lead Elder, assistant(s), and I. I believe the cyclical nature of this pattern contributed to the creativity of the process and mutual learning. Those discussions allowed the co-creation of knowledge where we all learned from each other while we were doing.

At the same time, I was also taking course work and participating in other learning events at the University of Manitoba as part of my graduate studies. Thus, as I was being introduced to new approaches to research, peace building, or conflict theory, I would bring that knowledge back to the community and share it with my research partners. I did not assume that the processes or knowledge I was being taught at school would apply and to address this, we would critically discuss the knowledge and its applicability in our specific situation. In this way I hoped to create equality in value between the book knowledge I was learning with the experiential learning and lived experience of my research partners.

As time passed, issues within the community consistently evolved and had an impact on the types of questions that were asked during interviews and the kinds of stories shared during circle processes. Individual interviews began with general questions about life on the land. However, as time passed, questions became more focussed on specific issues/experiences that the lead interviewer learned before or during the entire process. For example, at one point, a district manager from the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources came to the community with a

project manager to obtain feedback from community members related to a caribou reintegration strategy. While that was occurring, he began asking questions about caribou during the interviews.

The sharing circle processes similarly evolved to a process of mutual learning. Lavallee (2009) provides the following description of sharing circles that fits well with the circular nature of action research, the importance of circle processes in Aboriginal society, and the concept of peace building or healing inherent in this project:

Sharing circles use a healing method in which all participants (including the facilitator) are viewed as equal and information, spirituality, and emotionality are shared, a method that is familiar and comforting for some Aboriginal participants in Canada who have knowledge and practice. Healing circles and learning or sharing circles are used as part of ceremony and as a way of healing, and in these contemporary times are increasingly used by Indigenous researchers. In a research setting, although both the focus group and the sharing circle are concerned with gaining knowledge through discussion, the principles behind a sharing circle are quite different. Circles are acts of sharing all aspects of the individual – heart, mind, body, spirit, and permission is given to the facilitator to report on the discussions. (Lavallee, 2009, p.29)

Kenny, Faries, Fiske, & Voyageur (2004) similarly described this approach as a process comfortable for Aboriginal society similar to focus groups. Loppie (2007) suggested that in Indigenous paradigms, knowledge is shared through stories intended to teach. These types of approaches employ the natural methods of oral tradition, narratives, and stories depicting the quintessence of time during the research process writes Struthers & McAlpine (2005) providing a seamless link between Indigenous Peoples and their culture. Below are three examples of the cyclical nature of learning taken from a family sharing circle. The first demonstrates the way in which all participants, including the lead interviewer/Elder contribute to clarifying and validating family history and relationships. The second describes how the dialogue moved from clarifying family relationships to sharing one of the critical social/economic aspects of their cultural

practice — blue berry picking. And, the third example demonstrates the flow of dialogue from discussing family living locations, to sharing experiences related to the river, to moving into the construction of dams on the river and the effects that had on their daily life patterns:

1. Example of mutual learning dialogue:

Simone: Did you ever hear about that, I don't know who it was that hid all their money in a can and he went and buried it on the, beside a tree, then he forgot what tree. (laughing)

Mona: Wasn't that Pierre Deschamps? (everyone answered)

Blanche: Delaronde.

Mona: Buried his money, he couldn't remember where he buried it. (laughing) And it's supposed to be still there.

Terry: Where bouts?

Mona: In Parmachene, we don't know where.

Terry: I'm going to be looking under every tree in Parmachene now.

Mona: Get a Geiger counter. (laughing)

Clifford: Probably along the bend that caved in there...Somewhere on that side of the river. (This is the west side of the river)

Terry: On the east side?

Clifford: Well that's where the Delaronde's used to live, across that way.

Terry: Oh yah, yah.

Mona: Because our great grandfather Pierre Deschamps married Delaronde.

Terry: Oh Yah?

Mona: Yah. That was my grandfather's mother eh?

Clifford: Your great, great grandmother.

Mona: Yah our great, great grandmother.

Simone: And then Nick John, my uncle, my great uncle, he married a Delaronde too.

Mona: He married a Delaronde, I didn't even know Nick John was married.

Clifford: Yah, yah, I heard, I didn't know. I heard stories.

Blanche: Didn't he have a daughter?

Clifford: I don't know.

Blanche: He had a daughter

Terry: This Nick John guy? (Mona and Blanche both answer yah). What was he to Willy John?

Blanche: They're brothers.

Mona: Well he was my grandmother's brother just like her brother was Paul John. They're all from the Jingosobii Family, like their all there in that picture. We're all Jingosobii's.

Simone: But Willy John and Paul John were brothers and they had all the sisters there.

Terry: Did your grandpas or your grandmas or your fathers and them, did they ever travel far away to hunt too, like you know to go harvest, to hunt or to fish or to pick blueberries or medicine?

2. The Blue berry Patch

Mona: Oh yah, we always did that, we moved in the summer time.

Terry: Oh yah? Can you talk about that a little bit?

Clifford: I mentioned that before in my story about the mission.

Terry: Oh yah, we can do it again,

Clifford: We used to even take our cow to blueberry place because that was our milk and butter...up the old tower road.

Mona: It was just like a town. I remember Mrs Harvey was there.

Clifford: We had a tent there and played poker all night

Mona: Yea, it was just like a little town. Pauline, I remember Pauline, Pauline Harvey there.

Simone: But my grandfather used to buy berries. Buy blueberries for ah, I guess.

Mona: And Pop used to take...fill up his car with the blueberries and drive them to Thunder Bay.

Simone: There's a lot of people that come from Gull Bay and Armstrong and everything to go, Fifty-Six, my grandfather was there. And it used to be like a little town too.

Mona: The same with down in Gravel, people from the other way used to come, Pic Mobert.

Terry: Why did they, if I may ask, why did they pick Fifty-Six for the area. That must have been a huge fire that went through there then eh? Or was it just easy access?

Mona: That's where the berries were. We never went to Fifty-Six, us.

Simone: I remember roads...My grandfather used to take the horses and take us where ever, drop us off, pick berries here, not scared of bears or anything. We picked.

Terry: You had no choice.

Mona: We used to get Zechner's truck to drop us off. We'd all get into the back of the truck and he'd take us, drop us off.

Terry: That's because you were going to sell him the berries, that's why.

Mona: Yea, then he'd pick us up again.

Blanche: But he used to bring groceries to the people. (Mona: Yah)

Terry: Then he'd sell you groceries on top of that.

Simone: Probably that's what he was doing to grandfather to because my grandfather had a store. Like a big tent, he had a store in it and he was selling everything.

Mona: Selling it for Zechner.

Simone: Yah

3. Locations Dialogue Evolution

Blanche: Ah, who was it that used to live there. Delaronde eh? Joe Delaronde. That was like a little town. Marie McDonald they all lived down there.

Terry: That was probably, before Nipigon was here, that was probably an Indian village before eh?

Blanche: Yah they were mostly Native.

Terry: Probably all around there that's...

Clifford: Remember Peterson's that used to live on that little island, Pancake Island?

Mona: I just remember Bertha Peterson.

Simone: What else was there, see Ruby knew everybody that lived down there.

Blanche: Ruby and them lived there.

Mona: Yah, they lived there too. I asked her to come but she was really busy, so she couldn't come this afternoon.

Terry: Yah, I can ah, I want to go see her anyways so I'll probably do her in the evening.

Clifford: ...used to freeze right over, the river eh, just about to the bridge...used to walk across from the dock here to go skiing.

Simone: Oh yah.

Clifford: Yah

Terry: Not only you guys were smart but you were crazy too. (everyone laughing) I wouldn't walk on that thing boy.

Clifford: Everybody was.

Terry: Really? Wow.

Clifford: Yea, walk across there, across the ice.

Terry: Oh my goodness.

Clifford: Same as Dave carrying deer across the mouth of the Parmachene River. Michelle Friday was living ... just like carrying logs ... shot five deer that day, dog sleigh from Nipigon. Yea, Davey Deschamps dog team. One dog his name was Rover, I can remember. You see those dogs howling all night, then I'd fall asleep I'd get a nightmare. Here I dreamt about that dog tied up. He didn't have no hide just skinned, barking away. That's what I dreamt.

Mona: Yah we can't forget Abe and Dave, too bad they're not still alive they remember a lot, they were from my mom's first marriage. (Terry: oh yah?).
Yah.

Clifford: There wasn't three channels here at the mouth there was just the one.

Terry: There was only one before?

Clifford: Oh yah just a dam, all the erosion.

Terry: Oh the dam made those three channels then.

Clifford: Silt up and down. Because I remember going in there, I don't remember going different channel. There was a kid going out there, used to set net right across from five mile park there. Paddle from Parmachene and up that way. We don't remember any other channel. I don't know, maybe I was too young to.

The sweat lodge ceremony 'Returning from the spirit world'

Returning from the spirit world we give thanks for the love, support, and on-going relationships of our family, friends, and community. In a group, we all acknowledge the incredible accomplishment of completing a fast. I know that in the days, weeks, and years to come I will reflect on my experience and the lessons I was given during the ceremony will only become clear after many hours of critical reflection. Similarly, in formal research, projects can occur over great lengths of time with some patterns only becoming visible after many hours of reading, reflection, discussion and experience. In Indigenous contexts, we give thanks by ensuring we conduct research relevant to our community and recognizing the contribution of others.

During this portion of the traditional ceremony, participants are asked to share some of their experiences with one another. In formal research we are also asked to share and reflect on

our experiences as we progress through the research process. An example of this would be a paper I co-authored with a community member for a book on Indigenous research. We tried to write it in a way that respects all involved by using personal narrative and collaborating on the project. In this way, we assisted one another in developing our thinking on our experiences and deciphering the meaning of what occurred. While we were writing, we returned to our community when we had questions and took the advice of editors believing they offer it with the best of intentions — to assist in creating a better product. We hope that by contributing to the formal publishing of our work we will contribute to the improvement of the lives of our people while helping others heal. I believe, as similarly described by (Wilson, 2008), this should be the ultimate goal of formal research in PACS, to raise awareness to a higher level of consciousness facilitating healing among participants. Thus, data analysis provides a connection between research participants and the researcher.

Shagoury, Hubbard, and Miller Power (1993) suggest that data analysis is a way of “seeing and then seeing again. It is the process of bringing order, structure, and meaning to the data, to understand what is under the surface.”(p. 65) This research project used sharing circles and individual interviews as the means to gather data and ‘Restorying’ is the method used for analysis.

Restorying is described by Ollerenshaw & Cresswell (2009) as a tool for narrative data analysis. “The process of restorying”, they suggest, “includes reading the transcript, analyzing the story to understand the lived experiences and then retelling the story.” (p. 330) The researcher emphasizes the importance of learning from participants. In this view of narrative research the stories are the data and they are gathered through interviews or informal conversations. In the restorying of the participants story and the telling of the themes, the

narrative researcher includes a rich detail about the setting or context of the participant's experiences. A story in narrative research is a first-person oral telling of events related to the personal or social experiences of an individual. Data analysis may be both descriptions of the story and themes that emerge from it. The researcher writes into the reconstituted story a chronology of events describing the individual's past, present, and future experiences lodged within specific settings or contexts and actively collaborates with research participants in the inquiry as it unfolds.

Mankowski & Rappaport (2000) describe a narrative approach to community psychology as “studying community life in terms of the stories people tell when they gather together.” (p. 481) The authors argue that stories can be organized in two ways: Temporally – where meaning is attributed to the sequencing of events; and, thematically – where the stories are about something the teller cares about. They hypothesize that stories exist at the “individual, community, and cultural levels of analysis” (p. 482) and “reside collectively in the interactions and minds of community members.” (p. 484) Finally, they add, “local community narratives are vital psychological resources, particularly where dominant cultural narratives fail to adequately represent the lived experience of individuals.” (p. 479)

This research project focussed on telling a community story related to the land, and the ‘problem-solution’ narrative analysis structure described by Ollerenshaw & Cresswell (2009) was used as the basis to analyze data. The authors suggest the following five steps: 1) audiotape the interviews and transcribe them; 2) read and reread through the transcript to get a sense of the data; 3) colour code the transcripts for the elements of plot structure; 4) graphically organize the color-coded transcripts into events or attempts; and 5) sequence the events.

Mankowski & Rappaport (2000) suggest identifying themes by the emotional significance of the material or its centrality to meaning or identity rather than by frequency of representative keywords or phrases. Using these author's suggestions, I attempted to combine their approaches with principles of organizational cultural analysis described above so data would then be analyzed thematically in terms of stories people tell when gathered together and subsequently problem-solution analyzed to identify the cultural relics/cues of the community related to land and community member's interaction with the earth. This data was then organized using themes identified while analyzing data. The results are presented and explained in chapter 4 below.

Gift giving and sharing of the meal

Gift giving and sharing of the meal requires community participation. All those present are given gifts for their support before, during, and after the ceremony. A sharing circle is held so participants can share with community members what they learned during the fast. For me, giving back, meant returning to my home, fasting for my community, maintaining ties with those who helped along the way, and ensuring my completed products are helpful beyond just fulfilling degree requirements.

Using my research as a catalyst, there have been a number of initiatives and products developed for the community. I would consider them part of my reciprocal obligation to give back to the community as these initiatives and products will all provide long term benefits to the community. It is not my intent to provide full details of these additional projects as my thesis is really focussed on the **process** of learning / research in PACS. However, I think it is important that readers understand the possible benefits of community based research outside of the specific obligations for degree requirements within the academy. These projects all involved community

members and my knowledge base related to the specific objectives of my research project grew as a result of collaborating on them. This includes:

- ***A formal consultation policy and natural resource vision for sharing of resources:***

This policy and vision document served as the starting point for many of the creative ideas within my thesis. I consciously employed the concept of ‘educational projects’ discussed by Friere (1970) by facilitating community involvement in the project and allowing them to lead the design and implementation approach. As we worked through the process, my role was to guide and offer advice/assistance where required. Since formal consultation process is based on legal precedence related to land access and management, I realized that land (*Aki-Earth*) is the ‘centre of gravity’ in Indigenous contexts (discussed in detail below). By using the formal consultation requirement as a starting point, the legal process becomes a point of resistance and identity negotiation.

- ***A communications strategy:*** Communicating with community members locally and abroad is a requirement under the legal consultation framework. Thus, determining the best way to engage community members around the world is critical for developing projects, and the degree to which communication is required under formal consultation processes is determined by the degree of impact on Aboriginal and/or treaty rights. Land use and access is a communal right under Canadian law. Therefore, the community must be involved in decisions related to land. The complexity of doing this effectively in contemporary Canadian contexts cannot be understated as despite the belief that Aboriginal peoples in Canada are a homogeneous group. In fact, our population is incredibly diverse. By developing approaches to effective communication with all

community members, it is possible to build connection and belonging that builds resiliency.

- ***A new website for the community:*** The redevelopment of the community website came out of the consultation / communication requirement and the need to more effectively engage all community members. This project consisted of a rebranding of the community logo / catch phrase, experimenting with modern technology — examples include an i-phone application and twitter feed to assess their effectiveness in reaching out to community members using real time applications.
- ***A cultural learning portal linked to website and mobile devices:*** This portion of the website provides video of community Elders — sharing stories from our past, our community songs, providing vision for youth, and honouring Elders who have passed to the spirit world. It also includes a language learning portal with phrases written in Ojibway and accompanying audio recording for correct pronunciation.

The community has also been holding a fasting and formal naming ceremony annually. Each year more people participate in both ceremonies and I hope this will continue in the future. All these experiences and products form part of this research project as they all contributed to my learning.

CONCLUSIONS: CEREMONY, RESEARCH, REDISCOVERY, AND PACS RESEARCH

As an Aboriginal academic I struggle with the symptoms of power based relationships feeling the effects of cognitive imperialism and structural violence. Many Indigenous academics similarly struggle with questions of power dynamics in research, ontological violence, and cognitive imperialism asserting their desire to conduct research in non-traditional paradigms (Tuhai-Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008; Kenny, Faries, Fiske, & Voyageur, 2004; Loppie, 2007;

Struthers & Peden-McAlpine, 2005) and decolonizing methodologies by critically analyzing current strategies of inquiry (Bird, Wiles, Okalik, Kilabuk, & Egeland, 2009; Lavallee, 2009; Lincoln & Gonzalez, 2008; Strega, 2005). Some have proposed specific Indigenous research paradigms (Wilson, 2008; Hart, 2009), theories to guide research (Atleo, 2004) and others have proposed critical Indigenous philosophy that demonstrate the differences between the ways Aboriginal people understand the world and the de facto way we typically understand the world in the western academy through the Western European perspective (Turner, 2006). As Foucault notes (As cited in Brown and Strega, 2005), “it is always possible that one might speak the truth in the space of wild exteriority, but one is ‘in the true’ only by obeying the rules of a discursive ‘policing’ which one has to reactivate in each of one’s discourses.” (p. 228)

Often our research must be constructed in certain ways so that we can obtain “approval” for it from various authorities, notably academic institutions, funding bodies, and government and agency officials who control access to funds, documents, and research participants. While feminists, critical race theorists, and Indigenous scholars have managed to open space in the academy, particularly in the social sciences, our historical and cultural awareness of the role of research in the lives of the marginalized makes us aware that these institutions are so deeply implicated in maintaining and rationalizing inequities. For researchers committed to social justice, these can be confounding issues. (Brown & Strega, 2005, p. 228)

My research started out as a process learned from books through Eurocentric eyes, conducted according to the rules of the academy of which I’m becoming assimilated. While I find the violence embedded in the structures of the academy unchanged, I believe we can be accountable for our own promotion of internal peace while conducting PACS research which in turn, will have a ripple effect on the violent structures that support formal research. Wilson (2008) asserts, “If research doesn’t change you as a person, then you haven’t done it right.” (p. 135) In Indigenous contexts, this change should also occur at a community level because the

personal always has an effect on the family and community. Conducting a research ceremony is a relational process conducive to a dynamic context of mutual knowledge exchange allowing the emergence of learning that embodies the physical, the metaphysical and their shared space, unearthing a natural ethos along the way. (Ray, 2012, p. 96)

As discussed above, and reflected in the opening narrative of this chapter, this project originated with the desires of my community. That invitation home in May of 2010 initiated a series of events that facilitated my understanding of peace, conflict, and their relationship to land in Indigenous contexts. I did not plan this. In fact, I was planning on finding another community to partner with in my research. However, by designing and developing a formal consultation process with community members, I employed a process for decision making in land management that also acts as a process for peace building and reconciliation because it facilitated contemporary community connection to traditional land life ways through narrative.

In the context of my research, I learned that research and peace processes are synonymous when viewed through an Aboriginal worldview because of the importance of land to Indigenous identity formation and the role land plays in learning Indigenous culture. The legal requirement for consultation under Canadian law acted as a catalyst for the development of a learning process based on the need and desires of my community. Thus, the administrative requirement for proving Aboriginal and/or treaty rights under law became a point of political contestation and resistance.

I was brought home to conduct my doctoral research. Natural signs and symbols identified in community narratives gathered through the use of sharing circles, individual Elder interviews, and experiential learning became my learning tools. I was open to allowing my community members to guide the development of my research and not present myself as a self-

proclaimed expert telling community members what to do. Consultation, healing, and peace are about process. Thus, determining the process of research and engagement has been my focus. By ‘learning with each other while we are doing’ we eliminate the stereo-typical power imbalances in research and the so called expert from the process. My experience demonstrates the fact that Indigenous peoples always had, and continue to have, processes for building peace. These processes exist in the sphere of Indigenous society where land and cultural production intersect and there is no better example of this dynamic than in traditional ceremony.

The metaphor of a fasting ceremony was used as a framework for the presentation of my research process. I did this for two reasons. First, I participated in this ceremony while conducting my research and I consider it an integral part of my learning. Formal traditional ceremony allowed me to reflect on my personal experiences and expand my understanding of my circumstances while reconnecting to traditional land. Assuming research is a ceremony in Indigenous contexts, and applying this concept in PACS, my first step was to identify an appropriate process for building peace. There are many ceremonies that Anishinabeg people use. Researching in an Indigenous paradigm provided the opportunity to harness the energy of those processes.

Second, I wanted to demonstrate how practically and metaphorically Anishinabeg traditional culture ‘lived peace’. Ceremony is a critical component of a healthy Anishinabeg lifestyle and I would suggest a critical component of an Indigenous research paradigm. The lessons contained within narratives often take the form of metaphor. When I starting my research, I did not fully grasp the extent to which peace processes are still an important part of contemporary Anishinabeg life. Although the people may not describe it as ‘peace building’, we must remember that in this context, ceremony is research and the process of building peaceful

relationships begins within. Thus, identifying the metaphorical lessons within the narrative can be the focus of analysis (which I attempt to do in the next chapter) by identifying and defining *Aki Gakinoomaagewin* – Teachings (learning) from the Earth (land).

Ni and His First Ceremony

‘Ni’ was invited to his first pow wow when he was in his early twenties. As he sat and absorbed the sights, sounds, colors, and symbols of the ceremony, his heart felt heavy. The drumming resonated with his spirit producing images of his grandmother sitting in her chair, softly singing. Ojibway words flowed from her mouth in the rhythm of chanting. Looking up from his perch, knee high colored socks and familiar long flowing skirt dancing in the sunlight, he felt undeniable love. The tears suddenly started flowing from his eyes, blurring the images of the dancers, leaving him saddened and lonely.

Years later, upon describing his first pow wow experience to a Mi’kmaq Elder named Donna, she would explain, “You felt sad because the drum represents the heart beat of mother earth and you feel the earth and her people are sick.” She then handed him a drum and continued, “When you feel that sadness, play this drum and you will feel better. It is a healing drum and I’ve been carrying it for you.”

Ni and the Blueberry Patch

‘Ni’ and his family departed home on a sunny Sunday afternoon in August. This month was one that Ni enjoyed immensely as it was the month of their seasonal journey to the blueberry patch. The blueberry patch was a time for family and fun when the community would seasonally migrate to traditional camp sites to pick blueberries for the local grocery store. Not only was it a time for them to gather food for the winter — when his mother would make his favourite blueberry jam — it was a time they could make money to buy essential supplies for winter survival: things that the land could not directly provide.

On this particular day they were driving to a new area where it was rumoured to have an unusually large amount of blueberries this season. As they drove up the Armstrong road towards Gull Bay, his excitement grew to the point where he could barely contain himself. Unfortunately, as the minutes turned to hours and the sun began its daily journey towards the west, the promise of sweet berries filling his stomach turned to groans of hunger.

“Why don’t we try this road?” said his mother, “Mary said this is where the blueberries are.”

As they turned down the narrow dirt road and found the area his aunt had suggested, he imagined himself sitting in the hot afternoon sun tasting the fruits of his labour. However, as they got out of the car and began to search for their bounty, his excitement turned to disappointment when they discovered there were no blueberries. Realizing they had little choice, they loaded up their car to begin their long journey back home.

Making their way along highway 527, *Ni* imagined the road they were riding was the tracks of the roller coaster he would ride with his sister at the annual Lake head exhibition. The gravel mirrored the movements of the seemingly never ending black top until, suddenly, the familiar path was broken by an Elderly gentleman on the side of the road.

As they drove up beside the gentleman, *Ni* saw the deep lines that framed the corner of his eyes — the kind of lines that developed from squinting in the sun too long from years of working the land. Although his skin looked weather worn, his eyes were set with kindness and he greeted us with a spectacular grin.

“Why don’t we stop and ask him if he knows where there are some blueberries?” *Ni* suggested.

“Sure, why not?” replied his mother.

Since he looked Native, my mom spoke to him in Ojibway and although *Ni* couldn't speak Ojibway very well, he could understand a little. She asked, "Excuse me, do you know where we could find some blueberries?"

"Sure" the stranger said. "Just continue down this road about a half a mile past the bridge. The first road on your left leads to a little lake. There are plenty of berries down there."

Driving off, *Ni*'s dad said, "Good thing we came across this guy. We would have had to go back home empty handed."

"No kidding" said his mom. "I wonder where he is from, maybe we should see if he needs a ride somewhere?"

Ni's dad pulled the car over and looking in his rear view mirror, was shocked to see that the friendly man had disappeared. "Where did he go?" asked his dad.

"I'm not sure" replied his mother. "Did he walk off the road on a trail?"

As they backed the car up to the spot where they spoke with the elderly gentleman, an uneasy feeling grew in the bottom of *Ni*'s stomach. There were no tracks, no sign that they had stopped or that they had seen or spoke to the man.

"Wow, that was weird" said his mom, "I wonder who he was?"

Following the directions the man had given them, *Ni* and his parents were able to find more berries than they had ever seen. On their way back home, they all wondered who the mysterious man was and where he had disappeared.

Chapter 4

Chapter 4: Building a Peace Paradigm by Building Peace Culture through Narrative

“History is also about power. In fact, history is mostly about power; it is the story of the powerful and how they became powerful and then how they use their power to keep them in positions in which they can continue to dominate others.”

(Linda Smith, 1999, p. 34)

THE NARRATIVE OF *OPAAGANASINIING* (PLACE WHERE THE PIPESTONE COMES FROM)

Opaaganasiniing is an Ojibway term meaning ‘place where the Pipestone comes from’. It is the traditional name of the area where my community has lived for millennia. It is said in our community that Pipestone was the original name of our band — so some people believe we are the Pipestone People or Pipestone Band (Thoms, 1995, p. 40). The term originates from the Red Rock found in the area along the cliffs of the Nipigon River used for carving the bowls or the front half of a pipe. During my research one community Elder described the use of copper and clay for making pipes by local peoples:

Copper and Pipestone

Charlie: Well along the shore of Lake Superior they used to melt the copper (*Miskwaabik*), you know like a bowl on the rock, they melt their copper. They make arrow heads, whatever...all along on the far end, the south end.

Indians used to go up and down the river here.

Now, there’s a stop, right by the beach, where the blue clay there.

You could find it yet, along the shore. Not on this side, where I used to ... cabin...with a couple of tents there.

And they used to make pipes, smoking pipes. In fact, that and pipestone...but I can’t say it in Indian.

Terry: Opaaganasiniing, That’s pipestone

Charlie: Yea, clay. There is a word for it though...*Waabigan* (Clay)

One of us would carry it up the hill, check our cabin. That ain’t like clay, so I dump it in there....You know nice.

There’s nobody ever does that here, I like to see people start that...or anything...would be anything.

Like on a gravestone you could put the name down, gravestone here.

A valuable thing nobody ever use that...So it could dry out. You could write on it, when it's soft. A lot of people they don't know that.

Although our community has no direct oral history of the significance of pipestone, among the Sioux there is a story of a great flood which destroyed all people except a beautiful woman. The blood of the victims is congealed into the red stone (Catlinite). The red bowl represents the blood of the people; the stone is part of their flesh. (Melody, 1980, p. 11) Pipe bowls made from Catlinite were highly prized because of their relationship to the original Sacred Pipe and the precious red stone representing Earth and the People's life blood. (Kaiser, 1984, p. 8)

Similar to the pipe and many other symbolic tools of the Native people of North America and other Indigenous Nations around the world, the pipe is sacred. No ritual deed or sacred act took place without the sacred pipe (Kaiser, 1984) and non native people "failed to comprehend pipe smoking as an act relating the smoker spiritually to all living things and their Creator." (p. 1)

Another tool with great cultural significance would be the drum called Dewe'igan in Ojibway translated as "the tool that makes the heart sound." (Cormier & Ray, 2013) The drum is a tool used to connect to the Creator, Mother Earth and all our relations. It is believed that peace and contentment can be achieved through synchronicity with the drum (Goudreau et al, 2008). Historical records of the area where my research was conducted provide a glimpse of the importance the drum played in the lives of the Anishinabeg. Duncan Cameron wrote of the Indigenous people near Red Rock in 1804 that a drum or two must always follow the people of this area "for it would be as difficult for an Indian to do without his drum as it would be to go without a gun." (p. 255)

As my research evolved, evidence suggested that the significance of the drum remains with the peoples of the Red Rock area. For example, during one of the family interviews where participants reflected on their lives as children they recalled family members drumming in the evenings:

Simone: And the singing, his drumming.

Mona: Oh yea, her grandfather used to drum and that Martin too...father.

Terry: What was his name?

Simone: Joe Martin and my grandfather used to drum.

Mona: Paul John used to drum.

Kaiser (1984) asserts that historical documentation and mythic narrative exist in different dimensions but both provide useful expressions of truth. Historical authentication enables us to understand when and why the pipe and other sacred tools (like the drum) became central to cultural development; mythic narrative allows us to understand the meaning of a People's whole experience — how they perceive themselves, past and present; “When the Lakota's received the Sacred Pipe, they experienced a transforming event, one which bound them forever to the plains and all living things around them.” (p. 6)

When any sacred tool or object becomes associated with a transforming event in Anishinabeg culture, it binds them to their natural environment and all living things within their traditional territory associated with the event. If that sacred event is severed from memory with the loss of access to traditional lands or the objects that act as memory cues to the transforming event, the event becomes traumatic in the sense that it is violently erased from history. However, the reintroduction of symbols through ceremony, narrative, or other means, symbolic meaning associated with significant historical events can be reclaimed.

INTRODUCTION: LAND, SYMBOLS, NARRATIVE, AND PEACE

The narrative of how the Ojibway came to have the peace pipe is a story for peace. It describes the gift of a symbol or object accompanied by a process. *Waynaboozhoo* or ‘original man’ was placed on the Earth by the Creator and given instructions to walk the Earth and name all the animals, plants, hills, and valleys of the Creator’s garden. It is through *Waynaboozhoo* that the Creator (or God) provides teachings to the people of the Earth.

The story of how the Ojibway came to have the pipe began with a time of great conflict on the Earth. “Conflict became so prevalent that almost all of the people’s time was consumed with preparations for war and in the making of war. Even the ceremonies became oriented to conflict so that a tribe or band might gain spiritual guidance or favour that they could use to gain more territory.” (Benton-Benai, 1988, p. 79) It was during this time of great conflict that the pipe was given to the people as told by Eddie Benton-Benai (1988) in *The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway*:

At this time, the spirit of Waynaboozhoo emerged among the people. He bore the O-pwa’-gun (pipe) wrapped in Sage that was given to him by his father many years before. Waynaboozhoo showed the people how to smoke tobacco in the Pipe and in so doing seal peace, brotherhood and sisterhood among the bands, tribes and nations. Waynaboozhoo told the people that the smoke that came from the Pipe would carry their thoughts and prayers to the Creator just as their tobacco offerings in the fire would do.

Waynaboozhoo told the people how to make the Pipe out of the sacred O-pwa’-gun-ah-sin’ (pipestone) in the Earth and how to carve the pipestem from O-pwa’-gun-a-tig’ (sumac).

With the coming of the Pipe, honor returned to be a guiding principle of life for many people. The sacredness of a person’s word became, once again, foremost in day-to-day transactions. The conflict and war subsided.

The story of *Opaaganasiniing* is of critical importance for this work. As the original name of the area where my research was conducted, the narrative places community members at the essential juncture of land and culture where, for this community, lie's their 'peace paradox' and original story of peace. Unknown too many of the people living there (including myself as a community member), the narrative emphasizes our community's role in peace making nested within the larger health of our nation. In this context, the nexus of history and culture provides a path to rediscovering a cultural symbol of peace by reconnecting community members to the natural environment (land) through symbol and narrative.

For societies that traditionally and/or continue to live close to the land, the symbolic references found in narratives are particularly salient for cultural continuity and identity formation. They act as the guide posts for not only ceremonial practices necessary for the retention and movement of distinct cultures through time (Christie, 2009; Oakes, Riewe, Bruggencate, & Cogswell, 2009; Carlson, 2010), but also cultural preservation by acting as memory cues. For example, in *Siksika* or Blackfoot culture, medicine bundles ensure the survival and well-being of the community, bands, extended families, and individuals by being a physical and abstract manifestation of traditional Blackfoot belief and social systems (Crowshoe & Manneschmidt, 2002, p. 19). Similarly, birch bark scrolls in Anishinabek culture are used to document and pass ceremonial practices, histories, and legends (Benton-Benai, 1988; Dewdney, 1975, Rice, 2005).

These two brief examples and those discussed in chapter 2 (Ariss and Cutfeet, 2012; Kuokkanen, 2011; Miller and Davidson-Hunt, 2010; Barsh and Marlor, 2003), suggest the importance of ceremony, symbols, and the natural environment in the transference of knowledge related to Aboriginal culture (Waldram, 1997), the assertion that if cultural symbols are lost, so is

culture, and conversely, the use of symbols in healing processes. The existence of the Creator and the spiritual forces involved in healing are integral parts of symbolic healing suggests Waldram (1997), “One should not waste time debating whether, from a scientific view, such things exist. Within the Aboriginal worldview, they do, and this is all that matters.” (p. 78)

This type of peace narrative that connects land (the natural environment), symbol, narrative, and culture within Indigenous cultures of Canada can be found among many nations in Canada. Some examples include *Akak'stiman: A Blackfoot Framework for Decision-Making and Mediation Processes* (Crowshoe & Manneschmidt, 2002), *Eagle Down is our Law: Witsuwit'en Law, Feasts, and Land Claims* (Mills, 1994), *Tsawalk: A Nuu-chah-Nulth Worldview* (Atleo, 2004), *Being Alive Well: Health and the Politics of Cree Well-being* (Adelson, 2007), *Keeping the Land: Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug, Reconciliation and Canadian Law* (Ariss & Cutfeet, 2012), *Aboriginal Identity and Historical Consciousness in the Cauldron of Colonialism: The Power of Place The Power of Time* (Carlson, 2010), and *Kaandossiwin: How we Come to Know* (Absolon, 2011). These works, and others, assert differences in the way Aboriginal peoples view the world presented in this research as 'worldview' or 'holism'. These works also suggest an alternative definition of peace — a peace nested within the paradigm of holism which provides the critical interface between practicing our culture and living on the land. Land based traditional life ways provide learning opportunities in the form of *Aki Gakinoomaagewin* – translated as 'Teachings (learnings) from the Earth (land)', which is a concept co-developed by my research partners and I.

The teachings of the *Midewiwin* suggest a paradigm consisting of the seeing path, ways of relating, coming to knowing, and ways of doing. These teachings and others presented above all share wholeness, balance, harmony, growth, and healing as critical components of the

indigenous worldview oriented towards the action of learning traditional culture so we may live peacefully. Since “cultural groups interpret and explain natural phenomena, relationships and all the things in their existence in ways that are unique to their own cultural understandings,” (Rice, 2005, p. 1) embracing the Aboriginal world view is the singular most important consideration when working with Aboriginal people. This is critical if one is to develop ethical and effective peace research methodologies in Anishinabeg contexts. Understanding Aboriginal people requires becoming immersed in a particular Aboriginal worldview and being wholly integrated into ceremonies, language, culture, and ways of life (Rice, 2005).

Peace research necessitates consideration for worldview in the conceptualization, design, and delivery of methodologies in Aboriginal contexts otherwise we risk perpetrating structural violence through cognitive imperialism or ontological violence on the very peoples we attempt to assist. These approaches must consider localized land use and access as fundamental in setting objectives for achieving peace because of the importance of land to Aboriginal culture. As discussed above, similar to Fisher’s (2001) assertion that the way in which conflict is defined, perceived, responded to, and managed is culturally embedded or that there is a “culture of conflict” (p. 18) in each society, there is also a culture of peace. Thus, peace is defined, perceived, responded to, and managed within a society. Peace has a cultural context based on the norms of specific societies embedded in narratives that use the environment (land) as symbolic references for the transference of culture related to conflict and peace.

In the context of some Aboriginal groups in Canada, localized definitions of peace includes an intimate balance between the physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual components that constitute the individual, community, and nation. This connection founded on our worldview, constitutes a culture of *Opaaganasiniing* (Place where the Pipestone comes from)

living peace. Just as Galtung (1990) attempted to define “Cultural violence” as “those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence — exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science (logic, mathematics) — that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence,” (p. 291) these same aspects of culture can be used to define and legitimize *Opaaganasiniing* living peace. Critical in this assertion is embracing frameworks and processes that create systems for mutual learning where groups, through systemic interaction, have become interdependent. The challenge we face is translating theoretical discussion to practical application and developing frameworks of understanding based on non-western worldviews specific to the culture we are attempting to assist.

The culture of *Opaaganasiniing* embraces change and complexity — inherent in this statement is learning. Manifesting as *Kinoo’amaadawaad Megwaa Doodamawaad* – They Are Learning With Each Other While They Are Doing, the eternal truths represented by tradition through application of an Aboriginal worldview in peace research must be our focus. “Native American Spirituality is not a relic to be preserved in a cultural museum for the curiosity of future generations,” suggests Wa’na’nee’che & Freke (1996) “To stay alive it must be vibrant and able to grow organically to meet the new challenges of the modern world.” (p. 102) Thus, in keeping with the fundamental beliefs of Indigenous cultures, approaches to peace building must include respect for modern as well as traditional approaches and include the available multiplicity of perspectives on conflict including the personal.

This chapter will discuss the role of narrative in an Anishinabeg search for peace using data gathered during my research project. Chapter 3 provided the narrative of my research journey focussing on the process we developed through the use of ‘learning with each other while we are doing’. This chapter provides an explanation of the importance of considering

narrative from both the colonizer and the colonized in the design of research methodologies in Indigenous contexts. The focus will be on identifying stories that reflect the critical cultural cues or cultural relics of Anishinabeg culture from all the narratives shared in this work.

I will first discuss the role of narratives in the ebb and flow of cultures over time and how narratives can be politicized to subjugate Indigenous peoples. Conversely, I suggest that narratives told by the voices of Indigenous peoples facilitated by using land as the instigator and focus of discussion, can act as the source of information required for ‘learning with each other’ that allows the rediscovery of Aboriginal culture leading to an increase in resiliency and a discovery/rediscovery of Indigenous peace.

I will then present examples of stories / community narratives gathered during my research. The source of these narratives will be the historical record of European settler populations in relation to land ownership / access / exploitation in the area of the *Opaaganasiniing* people. This written historical record will be supplemented by stories gathered from the perspective of community members. The stories provide a glimpse into the life of the people I choose to work with and assist in the identification of remnants of our culture based on the written record of Canadian governments and the oral tradition of Aboriginal peoples. The stories themselves are important because they tell the story of the people in relation to their traditional homelands. However, considered in relation to the process of gathering the stories, narratives take on a new meaning; they become the tool for cultural transmission.

The chapter will conclude by summarizing the discussion and identifying the cultural land learning of my community. The Aboriginal worldview will then be employed to translate them into theoretical elements for use in the analysis and management of conflict. These

elements will form the components of the framework employed in the living peace methodology presented in chapter 5 ‘defining the complex Indigenous conflict system’.

PACS RESEARCH: BUILDING A PEACE PARADIGM BY BUILDING PEACE CULTURE THROUGH NARRATIVE

Smith (1999) suggests that research can become a process of colonization when Indigenous perspectives are not permitted, and Wilson (2008) asserted that Eurocentric research helped in the colonization and oppression of Aboriginal people. So, how do we conduct peace building activities, assumed for this discussion as research, in Aboriginal contexts? Does the current design of PACS research contribute to the larger conflict with Indigenous peoples through the neo-liberal peace project? Clearly, depending on the objectives of the peace building process, as in the case of the neo-liberal peace project, and the cultural worldview of the parties involved, activities can vary significantly.

In my struggle with these questions, I have come to understand that constructing, deconstructing, and sharing stories is the basis upon which Aboriginal culture is shared and learned. Narratives about the land are particularly important given the natural environments role in the transference of Indigenous culture and the violent colonial history of many Indigenous peoples in which homelands were severed from communities. The ability to reclaim and tell our personal narratives becomes an act of decolonizing our minds, and the ability to tell our community stories (the good and bad) allows the acknowledgement of violence while rediscovering our culture of peace. This connection between people, land, nature, symbols, cultural identity, and healing is similarly articulated in the words of Alanis Obomsawin (As cited in LaRocque, 2010) identifying Aboriginal pain as part of the land:

The basic purpose is for our people to have a voice. To be heard is the important thing, no matter what it is we are talking about...and that we have a lot to offer society. But we also have to look at the bad stuff, and what has

happened to us, and why...We cannot do this without going through the past...because we are carrying a pain that is 400 years old. We don't carry just our everyday pain. We're carrying the pain of our fathers, our mothers, our grandfathers, our grandmothers...its' part of the land. (LaRocque, 2010, p. 32)

I will now discuss the use of narratives as a tool for colonization and decolonization. I suggest that by retelling stories with their own voices, Indigenous peoples may reclaim their peace culture through the use of ceremony, ritual, or other traditional methods for peace building, mutual learning, and acculturation. For Indigenous peoples, research is a ceremonial process that can provide opportunity for healing because “the right to speak about history, to give testimony of the events, allows one to re-think history and question what was silenced in the past.” (Tursunova, 2008, p. 67) Thus, the acquisition of knowledge through PACS research with Indigenous peoples can be seen as a gift from the Creator and an essential component of any peace/healing journey.

This suggestion became clearer to me as I progressed through my research journey, and continue to learn more about my community and nation. The people know how to heal themselves. Their peace lies within the historical remnants of their culture that bond family, community, and nation because it is the deep beliefs of their worldview that holds the critical juncture where culture, history, and peace intersect. It is the ceremonial process of sharing within a safe place that provides the venue for the exchange and acquisition of knowledge and experience. This occurs through the use of culturally specific (suggested by the community) process for sharing, and in the actual stories of traditional land life ways being shared.

The relationship between community members and process that strengthens the bonds between people is the gift from the Creator. For example, consider the following excerpt from a family sharing circle that describes the role of grandparents, the importance they played in the family unit, and how integral they were to the day to day lives of their grand children and family:

The Roles of Grandparents and Respecting the Family Unit

Simone: My grandfather all he had was trapping and the thing I really remember is him with his packsack and his gun and his snowshoes going to...I don't even know where his trap line was but he was gone for the day and then he'd come home late at night and we'd see what he brought home...beaver or whatever.

We'd watch him skin and stretch and it was something really...we thought that's what we had to do or he had to do.

Then when he'd go fishing, we'd go with him on the boat or the canoe or in the wintertime we'd take the horse and go to Parmachene.

He always had a helper, Mike DePerry...I can't see what Mike and my grandfather were doing... maybe they could have been hunting.

But I remember my granny used to always make sure that we had things to eat. She was a good cook. She was a good seamstress. She always made our blankets.

Mona: You see how everybody talks about their grandparents. How much the grandparents used to be involved with the family.

Terry: Yes.

Mona: They were...like they were a part of our lives, they lived with us.

Terry: That's what I say.

You must of heard me many times at meetings telling these people, respect your elders because if you don't respect your elders you don't have no history to reflect upon. You know what I mean?

This is part of why we're doing this stuff here so we'll have history from our Elders in our own time to reflect upon, and our children can reflect upon that.

And that's why I say Elders is a very important thing to our communities and the next is the children, if we don't respect those children and start doing stuff for those kids, we don't have no future to look forward to, because they're going to be our leaders and if they're going to be stuck in drugs and alcohol and not going to school and stuff like that we're going to lose most of that stuff.

Simone: I thank my grandparents for raising us because we could have easily been taken away and put into school.

I remember going with them to Parmachene, we lived on the Landing road and going to Parmachene on the boat or on the horse in the wintertime.

I remember my grandfather going trapping and I always think that even today...like too bad in those days there were no skidoos or anything but he'd take his packsack and you'd see his axe sticking out and his rifle and he'd walk with his snowshoes.

Lots of times the MNR would bring him home...Department of Lands and Forest...that was Garth Evans.

We'd watch him at home skinning the beaver, stretching the beaver.

It was nice to watch because that was our livelihood then.

And of course my mom was working...cleaning houses and everything in Nipigon...so we stayed with my grandparents.

The salience of this dialogue to PACS research and Indigenous peace building is that it demonstrates the organization of community and the specific role of family members in relation to traditional life on the land. Similarly, it demonstrates the importance of family in an Indigenous worldview being one layer of the organization of traditional culture presented in chapter 5.

Culture and Narrative

In his seminal work, *Culture and Imperialism*, Said (1993) identifies literary rhetorical figures represented in popular literature that reflect the European desire to rule distant lands and peoples. He suggests that “stories are at the heart of what explorers and novelists say about strange regions of the world; they also become the method colonized people use to assert their own identity and existence of their own history.” (p. xii) In discussing these narratives he asserts that culture has two meanings: First, it means all practices like the art of description, communication, and representation, that have relative autonomy from the economic, social, and political realms and includes the “popular stock of lore about distant parts of the world and specialized knowledge available in such learned disciplines as ethnography, historiography, philology, sociology, and literary history.” (p. xii) Second, culture includes a refining and elevating element. Culture is often aggressively associated with the nation or the state; “this differentiates “us” from “them,” almost always with some degree of xenophobia.” (p. xiii) Culture in this sense is both a source of identity, security, and a concept employed for nation building.

Culture and Imperialism provides clues to the various definitions of culture and forces us to consider where our perspective originates, who creates dominant narratives, and how we have come to believe what we do. Similar to history, many authors in the field of peace studies consider the importance of culture in the analysis (Barnett, 2004; Behrendt, 2004; Avruch, 2008; Lederach, 1995) and intervention (Fisher, 2005; Kahane, 2004; LeBaron, 2004; Brown, 1983; Schein, 1990) of conflicts. But from what perspective does the language of culture originate? Are there ethical considerations in working with people from other cultures? Is there a culture of violence, peace, or trauma? Where is local culture placed in relation to regional, national, and international culture?

In the case of colonized Indigenous Peoples, the cultural constructs of narratives, theories, language, science, organization, politics, and by extension, current approaches to peace building in the PACS field, all come from largely Eurocentric / western values that “may act to inhibit its useful application across cultural and political barriers.” (Tidwell, 2001, p. 17) Henderson (2008) asserts that, justified violence has been the author and consequence of the meta-narratives of ‘civilization’ and ‘progress’ that inform Eurocentric colonization and modernity. In the international arena violence controls the physical contexts of genocide and legal authority, while imagination controls the intellectual justification of violence in the context of ontological violence and cognitive and cultural imperialism. Clearly, reassessing traditional views of culture, decoupling the notion of culture from mega-concepts like civilization demand a more nuanced theory of culture more attentive to history and ethnography to social change and the power of locality (Avruch, 2009); In essence, focussing on the roots of local identity within multi-level / multi-track approaches like those discussed by Waltz¹² (1959), Lederach (2003;

¹² “Waltz spoke of three “images of war, but it is now common to speak in terms of “levels” of analysis” (Levy, 2007, p. 34)

1995), Chigas (2007), Byrne & Nadan (2011), and Diamond & McDonald (1996) explained in detail in chapter 5.

Davidson-Hunt (2003) suggests, the way a person views linkages between society, environment, and resources is often based upon the cultural perceptions, values, and political interests of the person's society. Thus, "The cultural landscape of one society is not always visible to members of another society due to differing perceptions, values and political interests." (p. 22) Defined as "the physical expression of the complex and dynamic set of relationships, processes and linkages between societies and environments," (p.21) the various perspectives on cultural landscape or land provide a point of focus for analysis at, what Brown (1983) called organizational interfaces: "The definition of interface depends on the shared goals and interdependencies that press parties to continue to interact; the parties may be interdependent on one or several dimensions." (p. 22)

This dynamic is very clearly reflected in the stories gathered for this research and presented throughout this work. Narratives about the land reflect the worldview of the people, and the act of sharing stories about the land became a point of resistance through the reclamation of history. The land reflects the history and culture of the people as reflected in the story 'Natural Lookout' told by Elder Charlie.

Natural Lookout

Charlie: Indian lookout across here. You heard of that eh, Indian lookout?

When grandma was small, the war...come down here They want people to go hide. They want to go hide till they come by it.

Always lookout for Indians, all of them there were in the

Now they made up a story. These Indians here, there's a bird, you could hardly see him but you could hear him.

Now you can't see that bird not very often....I don't know what's his name. When it's translate that gi-wa-jii-maa-man-bii-daas-imash-kau-wan - longboat coming on the beach. Translate that song. That's how it's translated. gi-wa-jii-maa-man, there's a Longboat coming on the beach.

Narratives can be used to create or destroy culture. This can be achieved through the re-telling or re-interpretation of narratives associated with key historical events. In Indigenous/Aboriginal contexts, land and the cultural meanings associated with land provide a nexus for discussion on history, culture, and narrative in the field of PACS because of their deep rooted cultural attachment to land (McAvoy, McDonald, & Carlson, 2003) and the timeless reference point landscapes provide to cultures. This reference point permits succeeding generations of individuals to renew the ancestral past and transform it by adjusting to present day circumstances through learning about the land (Christie, 2009). Land provides a nexus for the critical analysis of culture in Indigenous contexts. Within the meanings associated with land there is a clear convergence of differing worldviews and interdependence where the colonizer and colonized must directly interact. This interaction has often resulted in misunderstanding and conflict. Thus, it is this critical cultural interface that must be analyzed for understanding conflict etiology in Indigenous Conflicts.

Schein (1999) suggested that organizational culture is any definable group with a shared history and there can be many subcultures. The analysis of culture in organizations focuses on the meanings people assign to their respective work experience (Martin, 1992) through symbolism and the decoding of what symbols mean to a specific group of people. Learning how those meanings are created, communicated, contested, and sometimes changed by individuals and groups is the basis for cultural analysis (Ancona, Kochan, Van Maanen, Scully, & Westney; 1999). Culture, in this context, is a pattern of basic assumptions, invented, discovered, or developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore is taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems

(Schein, 1999, p. 79-80). In the context of ethnic conflict, cultural analysis and Indigenous peoples, I would argue that these assumptions can be found in narratives associated with cultural ceremonies dependent on traditional land use, acquisition, and continued access.

Chapter 3 highlighted two examples of this dynamic including the sharing circle process developed for data gathering and traditional fasting ceremony framework used as a metaphor for conducting research in Indigenous contexts. This chapter will further demonstrate this dynamic by presenting and then decoding some of the narratives gathered during the project focussing on the meanings the *Opaaganasiniing* people assign to their traditional land.

Source, Perspective, and Narrative

The introduction of “*Ni*” and the community stories associated with his experiences are used as a literary tool to describe my people and my nation while protecting the identities of those who shared their narratives with me. The stories reflect a glimpse of the reality of many Aboriginal communities in Canada and are a culmination of the narratives gathered for this research — my approach to re-storying. They suggest that although we are extremely diverse, we do share similar experiences and fundamental commonalities amongst us including a common history of violence (Smith, 2005; Churchill, 1997; Anderson, 2008) and the meaning we ascribe to land — spirit and use of resources (LaRocque, 2010; Carlson, 2010). Absolon (2011) described this as earth centered philosophical worldview, an expressed strong tie to the land, and reverence for spirit ancestors.

Sometimes, these similarities reflect a different perspective from other peoples of the world, and because the western world is largely dominated by Eurocentrism (Henderson, 2008) from the diffusion of European cultures during colonial times (Blaut, 1993), these differences have caused an incredible amount of misunderstanding that undermines Indigenous peace in

contemporary times. Henderson (2008) asserts that the European colonists created new orders, hierarchies, and governments by military or political force, believing in the superiority of Europeans over the colonized....and the modern or 'progressive' over the traditional 'savage' having profound consequences for human psychology leaving a legacy of trauma, fear, and dread.

Canadian and international history is filled with stories of adventure, settlement, and conquest. LaRocque (2010), in her examination of Canadian archives, histories, literatures, school texts, and contemporary popular cultural reproductions suggests that, "the Indian as an invention serving colonial purposes is perhaps one of the most distorted and dehumanized figures in White North American history, literature, and popular culture." (p. 4) Her discussion provides an important consideration on the origins of history for those of us involved in analyzing the causes of contemporary conflicts: Whose history is it? What data sources do we use to determine history? And, what effect does the written historical record (and thus popular narratives) have on the way we view cultures?

These questions become especially salient when we consider the importance some authors have placed on history when analyzing conflicts (Fisher, 2000; Coleman, 2000; Tidwell, 1998), the affect past conflicts have on the prediction of current armed conflict (Gleditsch, 2007), and the risk of further war resulting from previous civil wars (Collier, 2007). LaRocque (2010) asserts that narratives were required in the service of subjugating Native peoples. Dominant narratives have been used to create, transmit, and destroy culture serving to justify invading Aboriginal lands, exploiting resources, and destroying Indigenous ways of being. Demonizing has served to erase any sense of responsibility for the destruction of Aboriginal peoples, places, and cultures. She concludes, "Native peoples are perhaps the most debased and

misrepresented peoples anywhere, if not in archival and scholarly sources, certainly in popular culture.” (p. 65)

The negative impact of dominant narratives on some resident populations is difficult to ignore. For those of us conceptualizing research and developing methodologies, it is critical that we scrutinize the data sources we use for historical analysis. Folger (2001) suggested that “we can know no fact without interpretation, hold no claim of reality independent of belief and that there are many ways of viewing a phenomenon, many angles that offer promise to the viewer. There is no best perspective, only a field of choices from which to select.” (p. 37) Defining this dynamic as perspectivism, the author discusses the critical role perspective plays, and thus culture in the analysis of conflict. We must consider that the expectations for behavior or the norms that guide how people relate to one another depends largely on *cultural relativism*, the recognition that one culture cannot be arbitrarily judged by the standards of another (Hiller, 1991; Robertson, 1988). There is no perspective void of individual culture, it is inherent through the eyes of the viewer, captured, interpreted, and passed through narrative.

Take for example this exchange between research participants with respect to the traditional role of women within Anishinabeg society and the interpretation of the story from the interviewer’s perspective:

Women’s Stories

Ethel: My grandma was a mid-wife and we couldn’t see what’s going on, we had to stay out in the other room, I gave my brother, my mom and dad big cups of coffee.

Oh the moon, the moon has, the lunar moon, not the moon that comes up every day but they call it the lunar moon, it comes every day.

That’s the one that when the creator made the men and women, I guess he was a leech or something, he got the women, he made the women so beautiful that he is gonna give them their own moon guardian spirit.

So he said “Ok, I’ll give you the moon that is your guardian spirit and that moon will regulate you on the monthlies, it’ll tell you when the babies

going to be born, ten lunar months and it's also going to guide the tides of the water and when the babies born, the baby will be born with a clean gush of water, clear water.

The Interpretation of the Relationship between Women and the Earth

Terry: I mean the woman is, like to me the woman is the most important in all life, cuz if it wasn't for the woman, for the mother earth...It wasn't for them we would never be here today and its women who are responsible for life.

We can never get higher then woman, no men can ever be higher than a woman. Cuz the woman is the mother of all things and that's why.

What I get out of your spirit story, that doesn't belong to a man that story, belongs to a woman and it's a fascinating story, I love that.

The interpretation reflects the worldview of the people, in this case, an Indigenous worldview.

Culture, Source, Narrative, and Perspective: The Symbols for Learning Indigenous Peace

In the context of this discussion, history and narratives, and the use of master narratives like the civilized / savage dichotomy all relate to the spread of culture or the use of culture as a tool for conquest. The trauma inflicted on Indigenous peoples resulting from the spread of European thought and the refining and elevating elements of European culture discussed by Said (1993) has as much to do with gaining access to lands and resources for exploitation as it does with nation building — the theft and exploitation of lands resulting in a violent severance of the life line between Aboriginal people and the land that not only provides sustenance for physical survival but the sacred relationship that forms the basis of their spirituality, identity, and culture.

In PACS history and culture are ubiquitous. Both terms are embraced as a foundation of conflict theory and can be critical tools in the analysis of conflict. Accompanying the narrative is the associated idea that history and culture is something out there — external to the objectivity of social science and PACS; a relic of being positioned within the academy and science. However,

this assertion is accompanied by the suggestion that people create and shape organizations, and it is individuals who move organizations towards common aims. Robertson (1988) suggested that society's constant state of change and the imposition of one cultural preference over another is the basis of conflict theory:

Society and culture are in a state of constant change, much of it caused by tension and competition among different groups. In any society, they argue, various groups will create cultural arrangements that serve their own interests, and the strongest groups may be able to impose their own cultural preferences on the society as a whole. Cultural change occurs as different groups, each with its own values and norms gain or lose power. (Robertson, 1988, p. 70)

Considering this statement, can we as students of PACS, be truly objective when we study the consistent ebb and flow of history and culture through a distinctly European lens if we exist as a unique cultural entity with our own cultural relics based on European thought positioned within the colonial structure of the academia?

By embracing processes that are collaborative in nature based on localized definitions of peace, like those presented in chapter 3, we have the opportunity to influence the direction of cultural change within our discipline towards the elimination of structural violence within PACS. Furthermore, if we consider the fundamental beliefs of an Anishinabeg worldview discussed in chapter 2, then we must first build peace within the academy before we can build peace outside and between individuals or groups. This argument requires consideration for the processes that harbour the culture of violence within our discipline (exemplified in this project as research) and identifying the tools of cultural transmission within the groups we are working with. As we have seen above and will see further below, for Anishinabeg peoples who primarily work from an oral tradition, these tools lie within ceremonial processes that include the sharing of stories, and the sharing of these stories (the sense of connectedness the act of sharing stories creates) is what

builds resiliency. These stories use symbolic learning for the transference of knowledge and can be found in traditional life ways that are rediscovered through learning about the land.

**OUR COMMUNITY STORY: THE SYMBOLS OF
PEACE IN THE CULTURE OF OPAAGANASINIING
(PIPESTONE) PEOPLE**

*“I could teach you a lot of things if you wanted....if we ever walked.”
Elder Charlie*

The quote by Elder Charlie that opens this section reflects a critical lesson from my research. My research partners understand the practical manifestations of *Aki Gakinoomaagewin* – Teachings (learning) from the Earth (land) and how people can learn from the Earth. In the context of the quote, he was telling the interviewer that if they walked together in the bush, he could teach people by using the natural environment as a memory cue. The land would facilitate memories of traditional land life ways that are essential for survival. The memories, observations, and teachings are passed through narratives shared in traditional ceremony where they are cumulated, contested, and negotiated.

Narratives in Aboriginal contexts allow the separation from fact and fiction. The “Cree clearly differentiates *achimoowin* (“fact”) from *atowkehwin* (“fiction”)” suggests Larocque. (2010, p. 29) As discussed above, mythic narrative in Aboriginal contexts also contains symbolic meanings for the building of culture. Thus, both historically factual and fictional stories have cultural meaning. Similarly, I would suggest, there exists another layer of stories that demonstrate the connection between the spirit world and reality that form a critical component of the Anishinabeg worldview which have been presented throughout this work in the form of dreams and premonition stories.

In this section I will present through a practical and metaphorical walk on our traditional lands, the story of land acquisition, contestation and resistance. This will be accomplished

through the use of the historical record complimented by individual, family, and community narratives that exemplify traditional cultural land life and how they conflict with colonial objectives of land acquisition. Considering the discussion on the application and use of an Indigenous worldview in chapter two, the research ceremony presented in chapter three, and the narratives presented throughout this work, this analysis will identify some of the material and non-material artifacts that hold the critical sign posts that lead towards this Indigenous communities culture of peace. Evidence suggests that this path lies in critical points of resistance where the tools of the state directly conflict with community and family over land disputes where the nexus of history and culture intersect. This conflict occurs because of the importance land plays to both the colonizer and the colonized.

Land Disputes and Contested Realities

The Red Rock Indian Band (also known as Lake Helen First Nation) is located at the cross roads of highway 11 and 17 east of the Nipigon River bridge in Northwestern Ontario, Canada. The traditional territory of the Ojibway First Nation includes the entire Lake Superior/Lake Nipigon watershed and they are recognized signatories to the 1850 Robinson Superior Treaty. The community actively uses two parcels of land designated as Indian Reserves by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (AANDC), reserve 53 located at Parmachene north from the Nipigon river bridge approximately 30 km up the Nipigon River, and reserve 53A located at Lake Helen where the majority of on-reserve community members are presently situated. The total area covered by the two reserves is approximately 950 acres (3.8 km square).

In modern times, the people who make up the population of the *Opaaganasiniing* community are known locally to live within the reserve called Lake Helen. However, data

gathered for this research as of April 17, 2013 suggests the population registered as ‘Red Rock Indian Band’ was 1728 members located across Canada, North America, and the world. Ten Canadian provinces presently have band members residing within them including Ontario, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Quebec, Yukon, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba, and the North West Territories. Red Rock band members also live in other parts of the world including Norway, New Zealand, and Australia.

A total of 316 people live on Lake Helen Indian Reserve located 120 kilometres east from the city of Thunder Bay and 2 kilometres northeast of the town of Nipigon on the shores of Lake Helen along highway 11. The total reserve population is 316 with 252 being Red Rock Band members, 22 being from other bands, and 42 being non-status. 15% of the total band registered population live on reserve. There are 108 houses on Lake Helen Reserve. 1476 or roughly 85% of band members live off reserve.

The disbursement of the Red Rock Indian Band community population around the world is a particularly complex issue and one that can be attributed to the shrinking global village that includes increasingly mobile patterns of migration. Coupled with a trend towards urbanization and the local collapse of traditional economic drivers like the closing of both the local Red Rock pulp and Nipigon plywood mills, our population like many others has been forced to relocate. However, unlike other populations, specific administrative processes at the band level require formal engagement of ALL band members. As our population continues to grow and relocate, this issue will increase in complexity and make some decisions extremely difficult if not impossible. For example, there is an initiative to develop a constitution or self-government agreement with Canada. In order for the people to formally adopt this document, it must be voted on by 100% of the population eighteen and over. Given the disbursement of the community

population, this will be incredibly difficult if not impossible to accomplish suggesting the paradox of complexity has a very practical impact on contemporary governance.

In historical times, the people of *Opaaganasiniing* are said to have lived along the banks of the southern portion of Lake Nipigon, down the Nipigon River, to the North Shore of Lake Superior. Archaeological evidence suggests a prehistoric exchange system that brought native copper from the Lake Superior basin to Southern Ontario that continued to function throughout the proto-historic period (Fox, Hancock, & Pavlish, 1995) indicating not only a flourishing culture, but one in which trading and exchange between North American Native groups was a regular occurrence. This system of trade also included catlinite beads, pendants and pipes. Some argue (Popham & Emerson, 1954 as cited in Fox, Hancock, & Pavlish, 1995) that Native copper was arriving in Southern Ontario from the Lake Superior basin sporadically for millennia (p. 269). This evidence suggests people travelled vast distances, seldom stayed in one location for very long, and that before Europeans arrived on the continent, there was a thriving and sophisticated system of trade in place.

Excerpts from the journal of Mr. Duncan Cameron titled, 'The Nipigon Country 1804', provide a glimpse of the life ways of the people who lived in the area before the turn of the century. The first European contact with Lake Nipigon, according to Cameron, occurred in 1767 by a Monsieur Clause. He describes the language spoken in the area as a mixture of Ojibway and Cree with the people being fully nomadic roving "from place to place for a good hunting ground." (p. 242) The people "seldom remain above five days at the same place hunting all they can find in the vicinity, and then move on in search of new game." (p. 28) Elizabeth Arthur, a historian who researched extensively on the de Larondes of Lake Nipigon, suggested that "the

habits of Indians from the interior posts travelling to Lake Superior each summer was a deeply ingrained one.” (Arthur, p. 39)

According to Cameron, the population of the Nipigon Department was no higher than 820 people and they were divided into the following totems, “from which they take their family names: the Moose, Reindeer, Bear, Pelican, Loon, Kingfisher, Eagle, Sturgeon, Pike, Sucker, Barbue tribes , and a few of the Rattlesnake tribe.” (p. 246) These symbols identified family lineage and were used to provide directions as people travelled across the land. “By these means, when they wish to meet, they are never at a loss to find each other...”they leave these marks fastened to poles and pointed in the direction they are going; if in summer, they will leave a bunch of green leaves, which will, from their withered state, give a pretty good idea of the time they passed.” (p. 246)

Similarly, the man’s medicine bag was used as a symbol when travelling. The women would follow the men’s tracks “till they come to the place where he left his medicine bag”, this is how the women would know where to build camp. “An Indian never loses his way in the woods, and will always find the place where he left his medicine bag, even if he had never been in the country before.” (p. 248)

Cameron also describes some of the ceremonies of the Nipigon people including the naming ceremony, what he calls ‘medicine’ or conjuring feasts, burial ceremony, and manhood fasting or fasting ceremonies. The people had no religion, but believe in a supreme being he suggests, “The Creator of all things...They suppose that each element is ruled by particular Gods, and to them and to the Evil Spirit they offer all their sacrifices.” (p. 259) They also believe in a future life where they will join their departed friends “an extensive plain or meadow in which they will find abundance of everything they can desire.” (p. 259)

The story of the Robinson Superior Treaty (of which it is suggested this community is a part) is an interesting study in the confusion and misunderstandings resulting from historical treaty negotiations over land ownership, access, and use. Beginning with the Royal Proclamation of 1763 that first identified Indigenous ownership to lands, right up to contemporary times, it is clear that accessing natural resources for exploitation has been, and continues to be, the primary objective of colonial governments.

In 1791 the boundaries of Upper Canada were defined. The height of land that demarcated the Arctic Watershed identified the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) lands also known as Rupert's land. "This is significant for it meant that virtually the entire province fell within the Indian Territory as defined by the Royal Proclamation October 7, 1763." (Surtees, 1986) Thus, the process for securing lands by the settlers was achieved through land purchase. This decision formally recognized the Indigenous peoples as owners of the land.

The impetus to seek land surrender in the northwest portion of Canada West was provided by the mining industry (Surtees, 1986). In May, 1846 thirty-four mining permits had been issued to explore for minerals on the north shore of Lake Superior. These prospecting, surveying, and technical parties were seen as trespassers by the native people of the area. In one response, on April 7, 1846 a land surveyor was threatened by Chief Shinguakouse of Garden River and the Chief wrote letters to complain to the central government. Referring to his own service to the British during the war of 1812, he noted that promises had been made for them to live 'unmolested forever', but the promises were being broken by the men moving into the area.

These minor points of resistance culminated in the 'Mica Bay Incident' in which a group travelled in November 1849 along the shore of Lake Superior to Mica Bay where they attacked the mining installations of the Quebec Mining Company resulting in the government becoming

“sufficiently alarmed to send a force of 100 rifles to suppress the ‘Indian uprising’ .” (Surtees, 1986, p. 6) In September of 1849, the central government under Governor General Lord Elgin sent Anderson and Vidal to locate the native bands living in the area, inform them of the government’s intent to negotiate treaties, and concurrently assess the strength of the Indian claim to the land. This report paved the way for Commissioner William Benjamin Robinson to negotiate the Robinson Superior Treaty of 1850 for surrender of the lands on the North Shore of Lake Superior.

In their report, Anderson and Vidal encouraged the government to negotiate the surrender of lands as quickly as possible and advised that the terms of the negotiation not only include a strip of land along the north shore of Lake Superior that included the mining tracts, but to “cede the whole, with the exception of small reservations for the use of the respective bands” (p. 11). With respect to reserves, the bands requested locations which were traditional fishing and rendezvous spots. For the people of *Opaaganasiniing*, there were two reserve locations identified according to A.L. Russell’s survey of Indian Reservations at Nipigon, 1887, one at McIntyre Bay on the south side of Lake Nipigon, and one on the west bank of the Nipigon river near the inlet to Lake Helen. These locations had established communities with homes, schools, farming, and church missions.

A third reserve, along the east side of Lake Helen — where the present reserve exists, was not identified as a reserve until the 1950’s although people had lived on the location for decades, and most likely, much longer. In fact, the historical record provides clear evidence that as early as 1915 the members of the *Opaaganasiniing* band who resided on the location petitioned the federal government to create a reserve on the location. The letters between the federal, provincial, and municipal levels of government along with the Indigenous peoples, missionaries,

and others (police constable Cameron) suggest that the players involved in settling the dispute seemed to understand the inequity in the treatment of the Indigenous peoples in securing land base that was promised to them with the negotiation of the treaty. However, it was the fighting between the various layers of government that delayed the process for almost 40 years.

Elders involved in my research project remember the reserve from when they were children and the families that resided in the location.

Life on Lake Helen

George: As far back as I can remember there were always houses along the highway, from where the reserve is now and went down right to the church. There were houses on every hill there. There are houses now where nobody even knows there's a hill there.

It's all grown in, but some of my cousins and my aunt's they all lived alongside the hills.

Bouchard's and Cote's and Hardy's...this was before this reserve was built. Wawia's...I can still remember Joe Sault be dressed up in his, he was the chief at that time and all his feathers, head feathers.

What I remember before there was a reserve built here and the ten houses, there was a family called Cameron's and an elder lady named Mrs. Ward.

They had a confectionary on reserve, it was right up here on the corner and there were two houses besides that.

Dan Morriseau was my uncle and he was married to Barbara and she was a Cameron.

Plus they had the Cameron's which was a big huge house, which is all gone now, plus there was 2 other, 3 other houses, plus Potan's made that house.

That's pretty well it that was on this reserve before it was built here in this area.

The historical record suggests that the McIntyre Bay reserve was surveyed in 1887 “consisting of some twenty miles of line cutting and traversing,” (Arthur, 1973, p. 195) and the second, the season before in 1886. Although it is suggested that the individual communities belong to the same band, it seems that each had a Chief with the Chief of the McIntyre Bay band being described as “the intelligent Chief of the Band” and the Chief of the second reserve on the Nipigon River being named as Chief Pierre Deschamps.

Report from the Indian Department for 1886 confirms the survey of the Nipigon River reserve in 1885 for the Red Rock band and Indian settlement on Lake Nepigon. Indian Agent Donnelly calculated in January 1885 that it would cost \$500 to survey “640 acres on Lake Helen where the church and school house are now.” (Shanahan, 2008, p. 11) In February 1885, Chief Surveyor Samuel Bray wrote a memorandum to the deputy minister approving the cost of the survey for 640 acres. Donnelly sent the plans and field notes of the survey to Vankoughnet on December 10, 1885 and in a post script to the letter noted the total number of acres surveyed for the Red Rock Band, Nipigon River, or Lake Helen band was 480 acres. For some reason, the final survey was 160 acres less than initially approved.

A subsequent report from the Indian agent in September 1886 similarly describes life on both the Nepigon River / Lake Helen reserve (which is the Parmacheen reserve) and mission settlement on Lake Nepigon “where a portion of the Red Rock and Nepigon bands have settled.” (Arthur, 1973, p. 21) To prepare information for a new Indian Agent, a list of reserves in the agency was drawn up in February 1898. This list identified both Red Rock and McIntyre Bay or English Church Mission Reserves surveyed but not confirmed with the Red Rock Reserve being 468 acres and the McIntyre Bay Reserve being 585 acres. (Shanahan, 2008, p. 19)

While the people who lived at the mission on Lake Helen were petitioning to have their location designated as an Indian Reserve, the people who lived at Parmachene were similarly seeking clarification on the status of their reserve lands up the Nipigon River. In a series of letters between the Chief of the band and department of Indian Affairs officials between the years 1905 to 1914, it is clear that the designation of their lands as official Indian Reserves was of great concern to the people. This can be directly attributed to the surveying and subsequent

construction of the Canadian National Railway that went directly through the Red Rock Reserve at Parmachene.

In December of 1913 an agreement was reached between bureaucrats of Indian Affairs and the Ministry of Lands and Forests for Ontario in which Ontario agreed to confirm the Reserve at Parmachene but that the application for a reserve at McIntyre Bay would be cancelled “but the Indians will be allowed to occupy their present holdings.” (Shanahan, 2008, p. 36) An order in council was prepared and approved in July 1914 confirming the reserve at Red Rock but the reserve at McIntyre Bay would not be recognized as a reserve.

It is unclear from my story gathering which families lived at the McIntyre Bay reserve and where they moved. I assume they remained members of our community, but I would need to conduct additional research to discover this information. Conversely, many of the people who lived in Parmachene reserve participated in the story gathering and they remember their lives on the land fondly.

Parmachene

Ethel: We experienced a lot of things. It was a very good life but at the time I thought it was a painful life because we were in the bush we didn't see what's going on. Not in town and so I thought this is terrible.

But then now when I look back I think we had an excellent life. We lived there I don't know how many years.

Mona: But I do remember our house, our walls were covered with carton boxes, I remember that.

But we were all happy and we didn't have a Santa Clause at Christmas time but we celebrated with a big feast at midnight after the midnight mass.

We had a Christmas tree and my grandfather used to have us make the decorations and my grandmother made a star out of pink and blue satin, that's the Christmas that I remember.

Blanche: We were mostly at Parmachene, that's where we grew up.

My mother was very talented making stuff like snowshoes, and for us she used to make rabbit skin fur coats and hats for Mal and I.

So that was one of the things that she was good at or making moccasins and gloves, I mean mitts.

And my dad of course did the hunting and the work to bring money.

When we lived in Parmachene we lived on the land like fish and meat and bird, anything we could get.

The boys were real good hunters with slingshots...Wilfred and Clifford, so we didn't have to worry about ever running out of partridge.

Lillian: Okay, now we're living in Parmachene...I was only, I don't know how old I can barely remember.

We lived next door to Paul John's family and we lived by the tracks and down below there was Lake Helen I imagine.

And my grandfather fished by setting the net and I used to go with them in the canoe (I'm terrified of water today). And my grandma made this net...and we used to go put the net in the water and put the canoe back and the next day we'd go and...I guess it was the next day, all this fish into the boat.

And then my grandfather had this big packsack, I guess that's where he put the fish. We used to climb up the hill and that was what we did all summer.

I was real happy there you know, because I didn't even want to come back. You know...away from when we had our house at the Landing after. Yea, it was a really, really nice.

Mona: That's how we were too, we were so happy at Parmachene.

As suggested in the historical record, daily life on Parmachene reserve was organized and well developed according to European standards. For example, there was a police service, organized social gatherings like the 'box social', and farming. I found it interesting that the stories people shared were typically happy memories and although they lived off the land, had outdoor toilets, and no running water, which might seem a difficult life by contemporary standards, they remember those times as being happy.

Policing

Lillian: Well my grandfather was a native constable at Parmachene.

He had his drawer that was locked.

Of course I wanted to know what was in there.

He would not open it. So finally he said okay. So he opened it.

He had a key, I don't know where and there was all these things, handcuffs and you know that stick there. What ever...that stick is (Cliffor: billy club) yea, yea. All kinds of stuff in there I don't know what it was.

Mona: Mishoomis had that too

Lillian: Yah, he had a badge and a hat and everything.

I never saw him do anything...he just had those things there. He was something like Dan Morisseau became after.

Yah, that's what he was, a constable.

In fact, there was a picture of him on the wall with that shirt with the badge and everything. I don't know what he did.

You know maybe he did something way back.

He kept those things in the drawer and he wouldn't let anybody see them. Okay, that's going back now 1933/34 or whatever...35 is when I saw those things...so, 35/36.

The Box Social

Lillian: Parmachene had really a nice people...everybody would help. Something wrong they'd come and help you.

Then there was a dance...I guess I should tell about the dance.

There was a dance at the Lexie's - that's Norma Fawcett's grandparents. Everybody's...it's supposed to be a box social and I was just a kid and I wanted to go I guess because mom had to make an extra box.

You know this box where you decorate with red crepe paper or something...she put two sandwiches in there.

So she took me along and then we went to the box social. There's lots of people there, there's going to be a square dance and the one that played was my grandfather, I think it was Willy John, one of them. Did Willy John play violin?

It had to be one of them. There were two fiddlers there...And somebody was playing the guitar. I can't remember who it was.

Anyway, there was a dance and I was watching it and then the box social at the end of the dance started and Percy Angus was going to call off the auction boxes.

I didn't notice any money being...I guess it was just because you had to sit with this person who bought the box.

And my box...what's his name bought my box...and I told my mom, I'm not sitting with him. (everyone laughing)

And then, apparently he said...It's okay, I'll just sit over there. (laughing)
So my mom gave him a sandwich out of my box. (still laughing) Yea, yea. (laughing)

But I tell you it was everybody you knew...there's no alcohol and everybody would walk home after, it wasn't late or something. It was really nice.

And I don't know, I remember Lucy, Lucy and Jenny, they were in there and Lolo was there...he had to be there because Lolo is about the same age as me.

Potato Farming

Lillian: And he built a house.

I don't know who helped him build it, but at the side of the house there was this kind of a hill and there was a trap door there, that was a root house and it was just made out of boards. I remember that.

So he used to open it and he used to put his potatoes in there...he had a big field of potatoes in front of the house.

So we had lots of potatoes, no veggies, just potatoes.

I guess he used to put them in gunny sacks and put them in there for the winter and it was nice and cool in there, they didn't freeze but enough to keep the potatoes.

Making our Own Fun

Clifford: We made our own toys when we were kids. Sleighs.

We learned to ski before we could skate.

We used to go down that river bank, slide down that hill to the river...the Parmachene River.

Nobody ever said, watch you're going to fall in that water, we wouldn't even hear about it.

Life in our House

Lillian: And I guess he hunted because we weren't short of groceries.

We had this huge cook stove that my grandma would cook in the kitchen. And in the living room...we call it a living room but it was full of beds...it was just one big room, two big double beds in there and a big stove...almost like a...what do you call those stoves, barrel stove.

And he had two dogs...I'm talking about my grandfather mostly now...He had two dogs that he went to the bush to get the wood, chop the wood and get logs for our heat.

Interestingly, before the treaty was even negotiated, the historical record identifies confusion around the number of Native people living in the area, where they were located, and which Chief spoke for the people. For example, Anderson and Vidal wrote that the Fort William Band represented by Chief Peau De Chat, wished the Nipigon and Pic Bands be brought to his reserve "but their Chiefs (whom he did not see) would probably desire a reserve at their respective haunts." (p. 12) In fact, the historical record suggests that an official agent of the

Indian Department didn't visit the Lake Nipigon Indians until 1883 "more than thirty years after the Robinson Superior Treaty was signed." (Shanahan, 2008, p. 9)

Before the signing of the treaty in 1850, the imperial government acknowledged in the 'Report of the Special Commissioners to investigate Indian Affairs in Canada 1856', the difficulty caused by the changes in government at the provincial level recognizing that correspondence had been mislaid and thus the historical record to that point was incomplete. The report further recognizes that the provincial legislature "would never be insensible to the claims which the former occupants of the Canadian territory have upon the consideration of the great and flourishing European community by which it is now inhabited." (p. 11) In fact, it has been argued that Ontario authorities used issues related to reserve land designations as bargaining counters in a general confrontation with Canada and for some reason, "the Indian Department had ceded to Ontario the right to decide where, and if, Indian Reserves were to be established" (Shanahan, 2008, p. 20) in 1898.

The municipalities of Nipigon and Red Rock were created around the Indigenous people who were already living in the area. In fact, when Nipigon was created the municipal boundary encircled the Indigenous peoples living on the shores of Lake Helen and an attempt was made to force the people to become residents of the municipality and pay taxes. This resulted in a major dispute in which a local member of the police force had to mediate between the parties.

The invention of the township and 'Indian Reserve' came to the area with European settlers in the late 1800's. In reality, the people travelled great distances by lake and river, and because of their general location along one of the greatest tributaries in the world, they came in contact with people from all over. As shared in this work, some people believe they were placed at the mouth of the Nipigon River by the Creator to protect the river from invaders. The strategic

location provided them an advantage to see out into Lake Superior to identify invading parties from the south.

It is a misnomer based on the European invention of land ownership, governance structures, and community organization to suggest that Indigenous people lived within a ‘community’. Although families travelled together and settled in locations for hunting, fishing, or gathering food and medicines, they travelled vast distances. It is bordering on the absurd to suggest that indigenous peoples didn’t travel hundreds or thousands of miles for trade and exploration before European contact. The reality is that they had the technology (by canoe) and the means (by water way) to travel vast distances and they always did.

In fact, some people argue in community meetings that we should not be confined to the Robinson Superior Treaty area which is to the height of land going north from Lake Superior. The people know through oral history that they typically travelled outside of the boundaries of the Robinson Superior Treaty area and they maintain they should still be allowed to hunt freely where ever they wish. Archival evidence and oral history presented in this work suggests that the people of *Opaaganasiniing* have always maintained their independence and right to govern themselves. Historically, they have always resisted the imposition of European settlers on their homelands. Band archival records indicate that in 1945 efforts were made to assert a ‘North American Indian Nation Government’ and members of the Red Rock Band actively participated in this initiative. For example, band member Frederick Netamigesic born Jan. 31, 1893 was a card carrying member certified July 29, 1948.

Similarly, there exists’ a number of historical examples where the people attempted to use the processes of the various layers of government to seek fairness in the way they were being treated. This includes, the settlement of reserve lands promised at the time of treaty negotiation,

the sale of reserve lands to the ‘Northern Ontario Pipe Line Crown Corporation’ which became Transcanada Pipelines, the sale of reserve lands for the building of the Railway & right of way, the creation of the township of Nipigon, and a number of smaller legal battles between the Ontario government and the local people related to traditional hunting.

What seems obvious from these historical land disputes is that the relationship between the various layers of government has had a profound impact on the *Opaaganasiniing* Peoples ability to seek restitution in any of their disputes concerning traditional lands. This fighting between the various layers of government over land issues takes focus away from the social systems like child welfare, education, housing, infrastructure, and other social needs that require desperate attention.

Interestingly, I suggest that the dominant narrative of European conquest of Indigenous peoples in North America remains the story of settlement within the psyche of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in Canada. What seems clear is that native peoples have always resisted the imposition of European society on their traditional life ways. They did this by first learning the ways of the colonizer and then attempting to use those processes to seek fairness. When that didn’t work, they would do it through other means that included seeking help from allies, or protest. These historical patterns demonstrate a very clear pattern of resistance — response — change that has been in existence since contact and stories about the land reflect this pattern.

**CONCLUSIONS: *Aki Gakinoomaagewin* – Teachings
(learning) from the Earth (land)**

In PACS we are taught the importance of conducting historical and cultural analysis when analyzing conflicts seeking to “ascertain the particular cultural dimensions of the conflict and to

assess their relevance to its expression and potential resolution.” (Fisher, 2005, p. 18) However, “The assumptions you privilege and the premises you prefer form your perspective, form the lens from which you will view conflict.” (Folger, Poole, & Stutman, 2001, p. 39) Thus, despite the recognition that considering culture in the analysis and management of conflict is critical, as a field, we must also turn that lens inward and consider the material and non-material artifacts that accompany our place within society, the academy, and the historical roots of that privilege. How does this placement affect our ability to facilitate peace? Is it possible to achieve peace when the ontological violence of westernization (Walker, 2004, p. 527) permeates the methods we use to understand, discuss, analyze, and facilitate peace building?

This chapter first presented portions of the narratives gathered during my research that demonstrate the connection between Anishinabeg culture, symbols, and the natural world. The stories provide readers with examples of how Indigenous culture contains cues related to peace and peaceful living — the drum and pipe being a critical component of the peace culture within the people of *Opaaganasiniing*. Similarly, a ceremony like the pow wow that seems like a cultural activity geared towards celebration, or activities like blueberry picking that seem focussed on gathering food for survival, are both activities of cultural transmission and learning. They are traditional land based activities that clearly demonstrate the connection between land (earth) learning and the ability of community members to transfer community cultural knowledge to their children.

I then discussed the importance narrative plays in the transmission of culture and how narrative has been used, and continues to be used, as a tool in the subjugation of Indigenous peoples. Cultural landscapes are not always visible to members of other societies because of the differing perceptions, values, and political interests. However, by viewing cultural landscapes as

an interface between the colonizer and colonized, and thinking about land management as a cultural interface between Anishinabeg peoples and the Canadian nation state, it is possible to surface the land based cultural cues that provide a venue for rediscovery of peace culture. Those cues or symbols of Indigenous peace culture can be found in narratives about the land becoming *Aki Gakinoomaagewin* – Teachings (learning) from the Earth (land).

An interesting thing happens when you speak about the land within the sacred space of a sharing circle; the conversation seems to gravitate towards the holistic connection between land and the people. For example, the story ‘Ni and the Blueberry Patch’ presented above was shared during a circle. The story moved the other participants and it generated a number of responses. It seemed to act as a catalyst or memory cue for other members of the circle. Lexie spoke about wolves and said he spends a lot of time in the bush because he is a trapper, “All animals are scared of human beings. The only thing that ever scared him was a cougar and the only animal you don’t want to cross is a mama bear with her cubs,” he suggested.

My aunt, Wanda, then told everyone that my grandmother killed a bear with a stick by hitting it on the bridge of the nose, “There was a picture of her in the paper sitting on the back of the bear with a stick in her hand.” Shirley then shared a story about a bear coming into camp where two or three families were together — the bear stood on its hind legs and starting swinging. Her mother spoke to the bear in her native language and the bear just walked away. Lexi responded by saying, “If you ever meet a bear in the bush, you better know how to speak native.”

“Living in the bush is totally different,” said Norma, “Food was different.” You see she is a bush Indian and her mother taught the children all they needed to learn. She continued, “Now they send them to school and they don’t learn anything at school. Living in the bush is totally different then living in the community. Drinking (alcohol) was not done in the bush but in

the community. Drinking was a big part of people losing track of who they were. If you didn't have those teachings, things were really lost.”

The exchange concluded with all participants confirming that my grandmother had killed a bear with a stick and the importance of bears and traditional bush living to our community; all culturally significant symbols to the peace culture of my community. This connection between community members and the natural environment reflects a modern manifestation of the holistic worldview. The sharing circles and individual interviews gathered for this project not only reflected the holistic worldview within the stories themselves, but also in the processes community members selected for the gathering of information. In this way, *Aki Gakinoomaagewin* – Teachings (learning) from the Earth (land) became the interface for designing and conducting research in a holistic manner that limits the effects of cognitive imperialism and ontological violence on Indigenous research.

In the context of imperialism, the evidence of violence remaining from the imposition of European civilization on Indigenous communities is palpable. History and the ultra theory of European diffusionism suggests the ‘civilized’ will dominate the world stage to the detriment of Indigenous Peoples. This domination has been determined by the legal acquisition of land for exploitation and economic gain exemplified above through treaties and laws related to lands based on the premise of Aboriginal otherness – an otherness that originated in the halls of the early academy clearly articulated by Said (1993):

What are striking in these discourses are the rhetorical figures one keeps encountering in their descriptions of “the mysterious east,” as well as the stereotypes about “the African [or Indian or Irish or Jamaican or Chinese] mind,” the notions about bringing civilization to primitive or barbaric peoples, the disturbingly familiar ideas about flogging or death or extended punishment being required when “they” misbehave or become rebellious, because “they” mainly understood force or violence best; “they” were not like “us”, and for that reason deserved to be ruled (p. xi).

Within the larger context of world politics and the traditional boundaries of nation states, we must remember that land has been the strategic objective of all wars and conflicts. Whether it was for resource extraction to secure energy needs or increase wealth, increasing land base due to resource scarcity or over population, and/or violently removing ethnic populations from specific geographies, land is always the indicator of conquest. The ‘paradox of complexity’ in the present world order necessitates consideration for multiple layers in human organization (societies) and the infinite number of perspectives when viewing the phenomena of conflict and the search for peace on the world stage. There has never been a time where cultural groups can so easily move around the world. Even nations that have been historically protected by their geographic placement (the United States comes to mind) are feeling the effects of this paradox exemplified by terrorism and cyber attacks. The ease at which people can travel (physically and virtually) and communicate over vast distances increases the ebb and flow of cultures around the world exponentially.

Anishinabeg research in PACS demands land use and access as a primary consideration in the development of peace research methodologies because land is the foundation upon which Aboriginal identity and worldview are formulated. Land is the nexus upon which culture is transmitted through time. Narratives, ceremonies, language, ways of life — in essence Aboriginal

culture, originate with the land and the symbolic meanings ascribed to the natural environment. Without access to traditional lands, Aboriginal cultures will disappear and Indigenous peace will be unachievable.

Perhaps the best example occurred during a sharing circle where a story was told about misplacing ceremonial objects and the process used to find those gifts. It reflects the contemporary manifestation of the importance of prayer and the connection between community members and their belief in the spiritual dimension of the holistic worldview:

The Misplaced Drum

Terry: I misplaced my drum and all my stuff, my personal stuff in there for a long time.

At least for almost five days, I searched high and low, I phoned everybody and just at the last day I started to panic because I was talking to Ruby, I was starting to panic, I didn't know what to do.

Just like losing a little kid in the bush, he's lost and you know he's out there someplace but you can't find him, and that's the sort of feeling I was experiencing.

And I didn't know what to do, I was totally lost and I couldn't sleep.

For four days, we looked high and low in my house, everyplace where I put them, where I normally put them we looked there, I searched that place maybe a dozen times.

My wife Betty searched that area in the closet where I hang it.

She searched there around seven, eight times because she always finds my stuff where I forget I put it.

And I was starting to panic, I even phoned Ruby at night and then I went and phoned Marilyn Netemegsic and said I don't know what to do Marilyn, did anybody turn in my drum?

So finally about ten to eleven I phoned Marilyn, I woke her up.

I don't know what to do I says, I lost my drum and it's almost like losing my little dog that I love so much or my little girl, my granddaughter in the bush because I know she's out there, I just...I don't know where it is.

She says did you ever think about leaving tobacco out?

Oh...I didn't even think about that. She says because it might ask the creator to bring you back and it might remind you where you put it.

So I went out right away, I went out my door there like you know what I mean and I got my little rocks piled up there so I started putting my offerings all the time, and I went and put some tobacco out there.

I was just in my underwear and my T shirt and no shoes on and it was cold and I was trying to pray and I was standing, praying that it would remind me where.

So I went back inside and I says, oh no and I was thinking really crazy stuff.

Well how do I go back and get my drum and all that stuff that was given to me, my eagle feather, my fan, my talking stick which I was so proud to get.

And I didn't know how am I going to get all that stuff again, it took me all those years to get what I got today and all of a sudden I don't have it. Oh my God.

But anyway I went to sleep, I finally went to sleep I went to bed about maybe ten to twelve, just about after two o'clock.

I jumped right out of bed, turned the light on in my bedroom, I went to the closet and there was a little kids hood in there. I remember putting my bag under that hoodie and when I was pushing off to...like...to look and see if the bag's there, I couldn't find. It was hiding in the hoodie and I felt real good after that.

And that's the power of tobacco and praying and praying sincerely to the great Creator that it reminded me, right in my sleep because I just jumped up and I turned the light on and I went over there and there it was.

It was right there, it was in that hoodie and I couldn't see it, you know where the hanger is, where you hang that rope because it was behind the collar. So every time we looked, we'd push that off the road, there was nothing there, we'd push it back this way and Betty was doing it and I was doing it and we couldn't find it.

But then I went out and prayed and put tobacco down. The power of prayer it just astonished me, like you know what I mean.

I popped right out of bed right from a dead sleep and I just jumped, I sat up and I turned on the light and I went to the closet, there it was.

And I found it and I'm telling you relief.

So I took it and I hung it by the door and Betty goes, where'd you find that? In the closet...I looked there. I said, "So did I." But it was gone, by me, Betty.

I started thinking after that if it was a coincidence that I had to leave tobacco out there, but it was a reminder, telling me that we must pray

every day, not just when we need something, not when we get ourselves in trouble or we can't figure out to do something.

I figure the power of prayer, we need that every day. We need that to survive because it's a part of us.

It's like when the creator gave the birds, he gave the birds an extra thing besides human beings, we can think and we can decide what's wrong, what's right and wrong and we can defend ourselves.

But the power of the creator gave the birds the ability to fly. And with that the birds give their thanks back to the creator by the same time every morning to remind them what he gave them.

And that's what reminded me the power of prayer and that tobacco how important it is to pray and it will come back to you whenever, you know what I mean.

The reality of Aboriginal communities is that despite colonial objectives of assimilation into dominant European settler society, a culture of peace remains dormant in the lives of many Aboriginal groups and we must consider that the maintenance of tradition unchanging in perpetuity should not be the primary focus. It is the meanings the people ascribe to narrative that should be the focus and the processes employed to identify and gather those stories should be the first step in designing peace building approaches in Indigenous contexts.

A friend Jerry once told me that the peace pipe has two halves, female and male. The pipe is only useful as a tool for peace when the two halves are combined; Peace can only be achieved when the two halves work together. Rice (2005) suggests that harmony and balance occur by holding two opposing forces in tension, including male/female, day/night, sun/moon, and *Orenta/Otkon* — the Rotinonshonni's force opposing healing energies / selfish or malevolent energies respectfully. (p. 23) Thus, the symbolic meaning of the narrative associated with the peace pipe and the opposing forces created by the two halves working together contain important considerations for those of us concerned with peace building in Indigenous contexts and the academic discipline of peace and conflict studies. Primarily, it takes both parties to a conflict

working together to develop processes that facilitate peace building, and the process used for making the pipe is as important as the actual finished product.

The laws and processes of the colonial government exist as totalizing forces that become institutionalized and harbour ontological violence. The nature of natural systems suggests that at some point, systems take on a life of their own and become self-perpetuating. Once self-perpetuating, it becomes very difficult to change the patterns or even recognize them. Focussing on the identification of the ‘centre of gravity’ explained further below, allows the recognition of those patterns so they can be used as points of resistance.

The evidence in this work reflects the importance of land to both Indigenous peoples and the Canadian government. By focussing research methods on the meaning and use of land through narrative analysis, it is possible to surface the material and non-material artifacts of Indigenous culture. These artifacts are very clearly reflected in the narratives presented in this work and the processes favoured by the community for gathering them.

Ni and the Storm

Ni walked out of the recruiter's office. His shoulders sagged, his feet dragged. "Why doesn't anything ever work out for me?" he desperately thought to himself.

He reached for the anger that sustained him. He didn't know where it came from, but found comfort there. Wrapped in the arms of violence, he felt in control. It was easy to forget when you were physically fighting for your life, to hurt someone the way you hurt. Unfortunately, this time it didn't last. The anger faded to the immense burden of darkness known as desperation, depression...sadness. It overwhelmed him.

The tears began to form in his eyes but he held them back. Teenage boys don't cry; At least, not where people could see them, especially in front of peers at high school. He slumped on to the bench.

"What's the matter?" His friend asked. "Nothing" he replied, "I just feel like killing myself." He spoke the words so matter-of-factly, he almost couldn't believe he said it.

"Really," his friend continued, "will you leave me all your stuff?"

Suddenly, rage built up inside him. Then, as abruptly as it arrived, it dissipated when his friend smiled and began to laugh.

"You're such a jackass," he said.

As quickly as the thoughts of self destruction and anger came, they recoiled to the rooms of his mind where the dark dreams haunted him at night.

"So, what are we doing this weekend? Do you want to go to the party at Steve's house?"

Crouched in the grass, peering through the mist, the darkness waited for the next moment of weakness. As surely as that winter would turn to spring, *Ni* braced himself for the coming storm.

***Ni* and the Healing Spirit**

As *Ni* grew from a child, to youth, to adult, he travelled from one side of his country to the other. On his travels he encountered many people who shared stories about their culture and experiences. *Ni* loved those stories. He marvelled at the differences between communities and the generosity of his people. He always had a place to stay, a hot meal, and sense of family. He recalled his grandmother telling him, “Your clan is your family. It doesn’t matter where you travel, you will always have family that will help you if you need it.”

“You were right *Nookomis*,” he thought to himself.

On one of those journeys *Ni* met a man called Joe. Joe and *Ni* ended up sitting across from each other during lunch at a healing lodge in Southern Ontario. As they gobbled up their stew of rabbit and dumplings (*Ni*’s favourite meal), Joe introduced himself to *Ni* by asking him where he was from. They quickly started a conversation on Joe’s work as a community healer.

Joe shared his story about a community he was asked to help in the North West Territories.

“There are no trees there” he said, “and long days of darkness in the winter.” It was on one of those days that Joe sat with members of the community in a healing workshop.

He said, “I always start my workshops with a traditional song and drumming. On this night I asked the participants if they had any traditional songs they would like to share with the group. To my surprise,” he explained, “nobody knew any songs.” They told him that their songs were lost when the Jesuits first came to their village because they were forbidden to practice their culture by the church who believed it was pagan worship.

As *Ni* sat and listened, he wondered if this was why his community didn’t have any drumming or singing anymore.

Joe continued, “I told them no worries, I will share one of my songs with you.”

The next day when the workshop participants came back to the old school where they were meeting, a young woman with a worried look on her face approached Joe and asked to speak with him. She said that when she went to sleep that night her grandmother came and visited her in her dream. She was happy to see her grandmother, but her granny was angry with her. “Why didn’t you drum and sing your song when Joe asked you?”

She replied, “I don’t know any songs.” “Yes you do”, her grandmother snapped back, “You know this song.”

And her grandmother proceeded to sing a beautiful song that the young woman began to sing with her granny.

Joe said, “The next day she shared the story and sang the song for workshop participants. All the participants were amazed. They didn’t know that she knew any traditional songs or knew how to drum. She told them, ‘until my grandmother came to visit me, I didn’t know either.’”

Ni was amazed by this story and wondered out loud, “how could something like that happen?”

Joe explained, “Traditionally, we believe our spirit as Native people is eternal. It is reborn in our young. This is how we remember the past. The young woman remembered the song because the spirit of her grandmother came and reminded her who she is.”

As they finished their meal together *Ni* reflected on Joe’s story and wondered if the same thing would happen in his community? When the evening fell, casting ghostly shadows across his room, *Ni*’s thoughts somehow returned to the darkness. “Why can’t my grandmother visit me in my dreams and give me the gift of a song like the person in Joe’s story?” he thought to himself.

Chapter 5

Chapter 5: Learning from my Research Ceremony – Conceptualizing a Complex Indigenous Conflict System (CICS)

“Through continued resistance to the hostility of the dominant intellectual culture, we will create new kinds of pipe carriers.” (Turner, 2008, p. 11)

INTRODUCTION: WORLDVIEW, RESEARCH, AND COMPLEX INDIGENOUS SYSTEMS IN CONTEMPORARY ABORIGINAL CONTEXTS

The teachings of the Midewiwin suggest a paradigm consisting of the seeing path, ways of relating, coming to knowing, and ways of doing. These teachings and others presented in chapter 2 all share wholeness, balance, harmony, growth, and healing as critical components of an indigenous worldview oriented towards the action of learning traditional culture so we may live peacefully. If one is to develop ethical and effective peace research methodologies in Anishinabeg contexts, understanding Aboriginal people requires becoming immersed in a particular Aboriginal worldview and being wholly integrated into their ceremonies, language, culture, and ways of life.

As tools of the state, the school system and research reflect the worldview from which the system originated. As a result, research in general, has marginalized alternative voices to the traditions of the academy. Peace research, as an extension of the academy, similarly marginalizes non-western views on peace. Thus, peace research requires consideration of worldview in the conceptualization, design, and delivery of methodologies in Aboriginal contexts otherwise we risk perpetrating structural violence through cognitive imperialism or ontological violence on the very peoples we attempt to assist.

In Indigenous contexts, these approaches must consider localized land use and access as fundamental in setting objectives for achieving peace because of the importance of land to

Aboriginal culture. Land is the nexus where history and culture coalesce to provide the cues to traditional culture. This research demonstrates that gathering stories about the land can facilitate peace by reconnecting Indigenous peoples to their traditional culture in which peace is assumed an integral component based on the ‘peace paradox’ that seems to exist in Aboriginal communities.

Similar to Fisher’s (2001) assertion that the way in which conflict is defined, perceived, responded to, and managed is culturally embedded or that there is a “culture of conflict” (p. 18) in each society, I suggest there is also a culture of peace. Thus, peace is defined, perceived, responded to, and managed within a society. In Indigenous contexts, peace has a cultural context based on the norms of specific societies embedded in narratives that use the environment (land) as symbolic references for the transference of culture related to conflict and peace. Given this critical role land plays in the context of Indigenous cultural preservation, land acts as an interface between researcher and research subjects in PACS.

In the context of some Aboriginal groups in Canada, localized definitions of peace includes an intimate balance between the physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual components that constitute the individual, community, and nation. These terms and others used to describe holism, as discussed above, all speak to action. They speak to peace/health/healing as a process that constitutes a culture of *Opaaganasiniing* living peace. Galtung (1990) suggests that “Cultural violence” is “those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence — exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science (logic, mathematics) — that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence.” (p. 291) This work demonstrates that these same aspects of culture can be used to define and legitimize *Opaaganasiniing* living peace.

Narrative analysis focussed on the identification of cultural cues similar to the process used in chapter 4 allows *Aki Gakinoomaagewin* – Teachings (learning) from the earth (land) to act as a catalyst in the contemporary manifestation of Indigenous worldview in practical terms. Critical in this assertion is that *Aki Gakinoomaagewin* provides the framework and process for creating systems of mutual learning through systemic interaction and interdependence. This results in the translation of theoretical discussion on PACS research to practical application based on non-western worldviews specific to the culture I am attempting to assist. In Indigenous contexts, the symbolic sphere of existence used to legitimize peace culture is reflected in traditional land life ways that exist metaphorically and practically through ceremonial tools and practices.

The culture of *Opaaganasiniing* embraces change and complexity – Inherent in this statement is learning. Manifesting as *Kinoo 'amaadawaad Megwaa Doodamawaad* – They Are Learning With Each Other While They Are Doing, the eternal truths represented by tradition through application of an Aboriginal worldview in peace research must be our focus. “Native American Spirituality is not a relic to be preserved in a cultural museum for the curiosity of future generations,” suggests Wa’na’nee’che & Freke (1996) “To stay alive it must be vibrant and able to grow organically to meet the new challenges of the modern world.” (p. 102) Thus, in keeping with the fundamental beliefs of Indigenous cultures, approaches to peace building must include respect for modern as well as traditional approaches embracing the available multiplicity of perspectives on conflict including the personal and the fundamental truths inherent in an Aboriginal worldview.

Informed by the five ‘considerations in the ethical design and delivery of PACS research methodologies’ developed in chapter 2 that were then modelled and demonstrated in Chapters 3

and 4, I will now define what I call a Complex Indigenous Conflict System (CICS). By conceptualizing a CICS through identification of individual components and the fundamental truths of an Aboriginal worldview based on *Aki Gakinoomaagewin*, I will suggest a framework for non-violent defense based on Burrowes (1996) book *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense: A Ghandhian Approach*, using Indigenous research in PACS as the strategic tool. This strategy is based on the salience of land to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples on the contemporary world stage, the critical historical and contemporary role the academy can play in Indigenous peace building, and the intimate connection between land, cultural change/evolution, and peace in Aboriginal contexts.

Similar to the narrative of *Opaaganasiniing* (the place where the pipestone comes from) at the beginning of Chapter 4, I will first present the story of *Dewe'igan* (The Drum). Like the pipe, the drum is a critical tool for the action of peace building in the culture of *Opaaganasiniing*. The eternal truths contained within the narratives associated with the tools, provide glimpses of traditional land life ways that exist metaphorically within the ceremonial practices associated with the object. Considered in relation to the lessons of the narrative presented at the beginning of Chapter 3, *Kinoo'amaadawaad Megwaa Doodamawaad – They Are Learning with Each Other While They Are Doing*, where my research approach germinated and the metaphor of the fasting ceremony as a framework for research was presented, we can conclude that my people (including myself) always had the processes and symbols for peaceful living. They exist within our ceremonial practices, symbolically preserved through sacred objects, and learned together through traditional land life ways. This assertion is clearly reflected in the narrative at the end of Chapter 4 'The Misplaced Drum'.

I will then take the concepts of an Aboriginal worldview and translate them into conceptual tools to be used when considering complexity / Anishinabeg worldview in the analysis and management of Indigenous conflict. These elements will form the components of a strategic framework to assist in understanding the relationship between complex systems on the international stage, change/conflict management, and considering both internal and external factors of conflict etiology when researching peace and conflict in Indigenous contexts. By viewing the meaning of land through this lens, it is possible to conceptualize strategies for non-violent defense using research in PACS as a strategic tool. This approach assumes that research and peace building are synonymous.

Similarly, research and peace building are fundamentally grounded in learning by virtue of two critical considerations reflected in this work that are both essential in the dynamic of learning. First, change is constant within the lives of the Anishinabeg people. In fact, this is a fundamental truth of an Aboriginal worldview. It is not the consistency of change that is of critical importance but the rate, direction, and processes of change/learning employed. Second, the internal dynamic of change always has an impact on the external, and vice versa. Thus research and peace building when viewed through an Indigenous worldview is ultimately about culturally based learning and knowledge production for the individual, family, community, and Nation. It is *Kinoo'amaadawaad Megwaa Doodamawaad* – They Are Learning with Each Other While They Are Doing.

Finally, I will discuss the importance of land in the transference and evolution of culture in Aboriginal contexts. The stories gathered and presented throughout this work reflect the culture of *Opaaganasiniing*. Similarly, the process of sharing and reflecting on those stories provides a glimpse of their historical peace culture. Narratives about land, told by the voices of

Indigenous peoples, can act as the source of information required for ‘learning with each other’. Sharing stories allows us to remember, writes Absolon (2011), “So when we remember, we actually become re-membered and reconnected with our history, family members, identities, language, culture, and ancestors, and our open wounds can begin to heal. Remembering fosters our recovery of our truth and roots.” (p. 77) Stories about life on the land creates pathways to natural symbols that act as memory cues leading to increased resiliency and a discovery/rediscovery of Indigenous peace. Thus, it is the process of creating, gathering, sharing, and developing stories about the land that leads to Indigenous peace.

THE DRUM – DEWE’IGAN¹³

In Ojibwe the drum is called dewe’igan, which translates to “the tool that makes the heart sound.” (Oginii Kwe, personal communication 2004 as cited in Goudreau, 2006) Drumming is a celebration, a spiritual expression that can be shared with others who take part by listening, dancing, or drumming along. It awakens our spirits and is a tool used to connect to the Creator, Mother Earth and all our relations. Through the drum, synchronicity, peace and contentment can be achieved. (Goudreau, Weber-Pillwax, Cote-Meek, Madill & Wilson, 2008, p. 78) As first stated above, Duncan Cameron, an active participant and prominent figure of the fur trade in the Nipigon area wrote in 1804, a drum or two must always follow the Indigenous people of our traditional area, “for it would be as difficult for an Indian to do without his drum as it would be to go without a gun.” (p. 255)

¹³ This section was originally co-authored with my friend and colleague Lana Ray and submitted for publication in a book project. I am including it here because of the importance of the passage to my research, but also to demonstrate the ways of mutual learning for Indigenous scholars. Lana’s participation within my research ceremony allowed me the ability to think through some of the problems I was trying to address. Despite the belief that research is ‘objective’ and ‘solitary’, I do not believe this to be true. The reality is that we encounter many people as we conduct research and those relationships form part of our research journey. I would prefer to acknowledge her contribution and embrace the relational dynamic of social conflict, learning, and research. She is also a member of my community, a trusted friend, a person I participated in ceremony with, and colleague so in this respect, it can be argued she is also part of my research partners/community and therefore, contributed to the development of my thesis.

Historically many non-Aboriginal peoples and missionaries forbade the use of the drum because they thought it could start wars and contained evil spirits (Vennum, 1982). Similarly, today there is a resistance to heart knowledge (Gehl, 2012). A lack of understanding and appreciation of the sophistication of Indigenous knowledge has resulted in its overwhelming absence within the confines of the academy. As Tobasonakwut Kinew once told me, white men never understood that our laws are contained within our drums and songs. When we sing and play the drum, we are enacting the laws of our people, the laws given to us by the creator. This is why it is so important for us to practice ceremony, play our drums, sing, and celebrate.

What I have come to understand through my research journey is that the more I know about my culture's sacred items and ceremonies the more I know about myself and "how to obtain and maintain balance amongst the four elements of our being." (Goudreau et. al 2008, p. 79) Elder Norm Mulligan, who was my guide during the fasting ceremony used as a metaphorical framework for organizing research in chapter three, taught me that the sweat lodge is a symbolic representation of Mother Earth's womb and the sweat lodge ceremony provides safety, comfort, and nourishment to participants like it did before we were born. When we play the drum in the sweat lodge it connects us to the spirit of the land, our past relatives and friends who returned to the spirit world.

Mother Earth has a profound meaning to Anishnaabe people. The land, our mother, is more than a resource. It is our identity and culture (Adelson, 2007; Oakes, Riewe, Bruggencate, and Cogswell, 2009; Mills, 1994) and provides continuity between the past and present (Christie, 2009; Carlson, 2010) while giving food and nourishment — both physically and spiritually. The drum is a symbolic representation of the heart beat of mother earth. In the context of this research, the land is data source, teacher, and spiritual guide. I discovered that returning to the

land (my mother), my community, traditional teachings, and the drum, has been my way of managing research in a respectful process “built on real-life manifestations of respectful relationships, not simply talking about them.” (Ross, 2006, p. 156)

In recent years, there has been a resurgence of traditional ceremonies among my community. However, some Elders are concerned that people do not use the sacred objects and ceremonies properly.

Proper Drumming

Charlie: Okay, now you come to the Powwow.

I've been to a lot of them, and there is seven songs in the Powwow, everyone means something...war, love, peace...seven songs.

I remember...I remember what to do. It's how you play them.

I see a guy, that's been to powwow here, from Thunder Bay, he didn't know nothing. He didn't know what the hell he was playing, didn't know what he was saying, even now.

You can't tell me they were playing one song...certain way you gotta play it. If you don't...no good to you. You might as well do it by yourself.

But I've been to the Powwow down in Rocky Bay. I don't know when it was, about 1980 — I don't know, 84 or 85 I was down there.

I was sitting with an old woman here, from Long Lac...I think she was from.

I was sitting with her and he played that one song right, and we got up and we danced. Nobody see what we were doing.

And we were dancing because it was being played right, the way it should be played, drumming.

No, we danced that one song, the rest, they didn't know what they were playing.

Consequently, it seems that although ceremonial objects like the drum still exist, the processes have changed from their original structure, to one that has evolved with time.

A STRATEGIC APPROACH TO INDIGENOUS PEACE INTERVENTION: *AKI GAKINOOMAAGEWIN* TEACHINGS (LEARNING) FROM THE EARTH (LAND)

Building on the work of Carl von Clausewitz, in the book “*The Strategy of non-Violent Defense : A Ghandian Approach*”, Burrowes (1996) suggests that strategic theory has three

functions: “It is a framework for explaining the nature and causes of conflict in the international system and for identifying the causes of conflict in a particular situation; It is part of a framework for identifying the appropriate aims for dealing with a particular conflict and for guiding the formulation of a strategy to achieve those aims; And, within the context of this strategy, it is a framework for providing tactical guidance.” (p 12) The author continues to summarize the main elements of strategic theory as described by Clausewitz “the relationship between politics and war, the principle of polarity and the element of friction, the principle of superiority of defense over the offense, and the concept of the centre of gravity.” (p. 14) Burrowes employs strategy to develop a framework for nonviolent defense based on the Gandian concept of Satyagraha.

Critical in devising strategy is identifying the enemies ‘centre of gravity’ — their sources of power, “and, if possible, to trace them back to a single element. By analyzing the dominant characteristics of both belligerents it is possible to detect the centre of gravity; the hub of all power and movement on which everything depends” (p. 16). “Just as it is necessary to identify and attack the opponent’s centre of gravity” writes Burrowes, “it is also necessary for the defense to concentrate resources in support of its own.” (p. 16)

The defense, by choosing its centre of gravity, also chooses where, what, and how (that is, with what weapons) it should be attacked. Properly used this is an immense advantage. The centre of gravity must be correctly identified by the opponent in order for there to be a direct attack upon it, and it will determine which weapons can be used and which ones are useless. (Burrowes, 1996, p 17)

In the historical and contemporary conflict between Aboriginal peoples, settlers, and the Canadian Nation state, I would assert that land is the centre of gravity. By considering land as the centre of gravity using research on land as the strategic tool, it is possible to attack the opponent, concentrate resources in defense, and choose where, what, and how it should be

attacked. This approach is based first on the conceptualization of an Indigenous worldview in relation to the organization of the present world system.

The reality of the contemporary world system for some Anishinabeg is based on the western worldview — the worldview of the colonizer. The bringing together of those two systems of knowledge creation is where the colonizer and the colonized are interdependent and therefore, where conflict is most intense. I will now discuss systemic thinking, identify critical considerations in understanding conflict and peace through an Anishinabeg worldview, and suggest the components of a framework for understanding conflict etiology in Indigenous contexts. This framework can be used, as Burrowes suggests, for explaining the nature and causes of conflict in the international system and in a particular situation; assist in the identification of the appropriate aims for dealing with a particular conflict guiding the formation of a strategy to achieve those aims; and provide tactical advice.

Systems Thinking and Understanding Indigenous Conflict in the World System

Systems and systems thinking, I would suggest, is one way of viewing the world with Aboriginal eyes. In understanding systems thinking, it is useful to think of the analogy of a web (Capra, 1996); each part influencing and connected too many others. Altering one part means altering the whole. In order to understand the health of the whole, one must understand the individual components and how they function in relation to one another. It requires the consideration of connections not just among people, but also between people and nature, and the idea that the health of the whole is maintained by attention to the physical, psychological, and physiological (Laszlo, 1996). Systems thinking has many characteristics similar to holistic thinking reflected throughout this work including emphasis on the relationship between variables, connection between the four parts that make an individual (physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual),

connection beyond the individual (to family, community, nation, country, the world), the dynamic or ever changing nature of systems, considering patterns or cycles in analysis, and most critically for this research, considering variables within their environment (land).

Systemic understanding depends as much on how the parts are connected - their collective interaction, as it does in understanding individual parts (O'Connor & Mcdermott, 1997; French and Bell, 1995). When taking a systems approach, you begin by identifying individual parts and then seek to understand the collective interaction of those parts (French & Bell, 1995). Capra (1996) suggested that systems are “an integrated whole whose essential properties arise from the relationships between its parts, the understanding of a phenomenon within the context of a larger whole.” (p. 27) According to the author, the eight characteristics of systems thinking¹⁴ includes: (1) Shifting from the parts to the whole; (2) the ability to shift attention back and forth between systemic levels; (3) the need to explain parts in the context of their environment; (4) shifting from analyzing objects to relationships; (5) scientific knowledge as a network of concepts and models with no part any more fundamental than the others; (6) the process of knowing included explicitly in describing natural phenomena; (7) the method of questioning becomes an integral part of scientific theories; and, (8) systems thinking is always process thinking.

Many authors have discussed systems and the importance of considering systems thinking in analyzing conflicts. For example, Kriesberg (1998) suggested conflicts are often distinguished in terms of their social context, family, community, regional, or national – each viewed as a social system. Dugan (1996) proposed considering conflict through “the nested paradigm of conflict foci” which considers contentious issues in relation to the immediate relationship, subsystem, and system from local to national. (as cited in Lederach, 1997) Radford

¹⁴ This is a summary of Capra’s (1996) characteristics of systemic thinking.

(1995) offered the “onion skin model” as a way to consider personal cultural identity formation in relation to the individual, role, organization, group, and society. All these models suggest systemic organization for considering conflict and the complexity inherent in complex conflict systems. Furthermore, if we consider land as the centre of gravity in Indigenous / State relations, each level must be considered and analyzed for meaning in order to determine the appropriate means to attack the opponent and to concentrate resources in its defense at the appropriate systemic level. This dynamic was very clearly reflected in the story from chapter 4 ‘land disputes and contested realities’ which I’ve attempted to demonstrated in the diagram below in Figure 1.

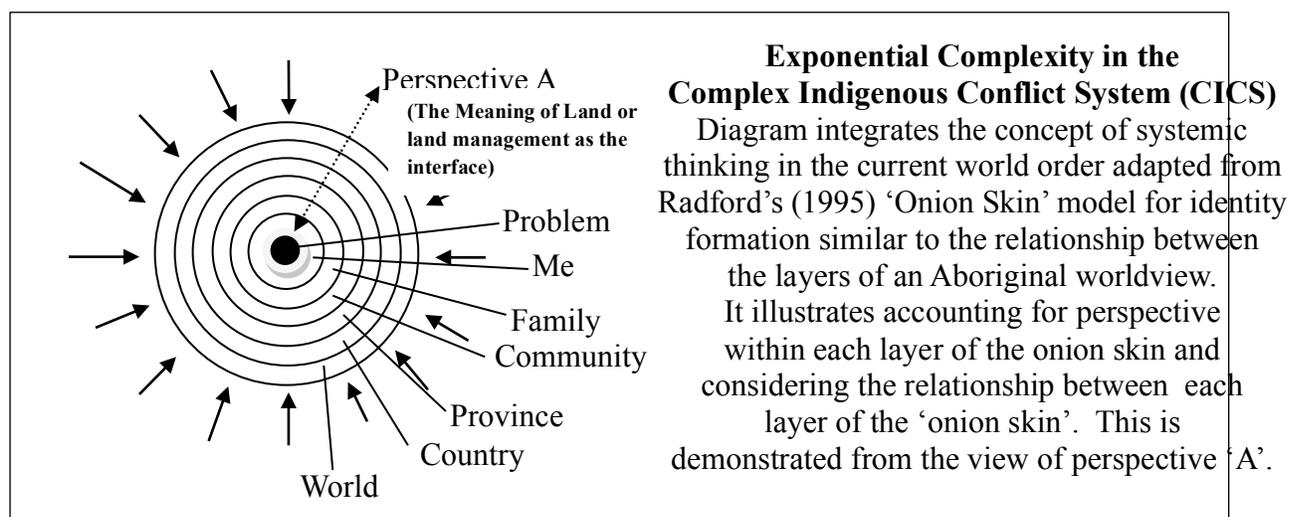


Figure 1

In analyzing conflict with local, national, and international implications, Lederach (1997) provides three levels for consideration presented in the form of a triangle. Level 1 includes top leadership; Level 2 includes middle – range leadership; and Level 3 includes grassroots leadership. Each level is accompanied by specific approaches to building peace. Lederach argues that “we need to take into consideration both the immediate, micro-issues in the conflict and the broader, more systemic concerns” (p. 55) in order to build sustainable peace. These discussions and others (Byrne & Nadan, 2011; Chigas, 2007; Diamond & McDonald, 1996) reflect an

approach to international diplomacy in PACS that are useful in understanding complex international problems requiring analysis of multiple levels and factors allowing researchers to not only consider individual levels of the global system, but the relationship between levels.

This dynamic is one of the critical realizations I had as I journeyed through my research ceremony using land as the catalyst for learning and why I assert land is the center of gravity in the conflict between Indigenous peoples and the colonizing west. The ‘paradox of complexity’ necessitates consideration for the organizational structures of the present world system because the world system in which Anishinabeg are forced to participate is dominated by the colonial structures of European society. These are the structures that harbour ontological and cognitive violence towards Indigenous peoples. Thus, these structures must be analyzed, deconstructed, and reformulated to create processes that build cultures of peace for Aboriginal peoples.

Figure 2 below takes the concept of Radford’s (1995) ‘onion skin’ model and adds dimension to it. As we move away from the issue or problem, in this case land contestation, the ‘paradox of complexity’ increases exponentially and results in an exponential increase in the complexity of analysis.

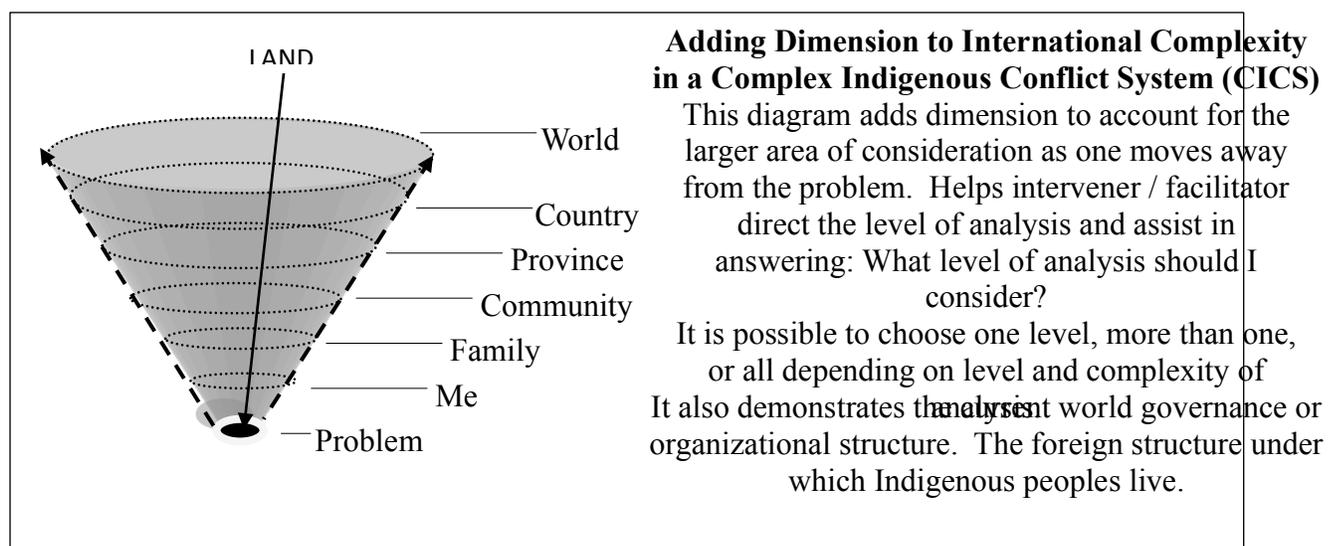


Figure 2

The challenge of considering multi-layered analysis of complex systems in conflict management is that each layer requires attention, the various parties to the conflict require involvement to identify management strategies, and there exists a temporal reality to relationships and organization within society. This necessitates a need for gathering, organizing, analyzing, and interpreting information with the individuals and groups involved. We must remember that conflict and peace building are dynamic process requiring consideration for a multiplicity of interdependent elements to constructively transform destructive relationships (Lederach, 1997).

As asserted above, an Aboriginal worldview necessitates consideration for the meaning of land due to the symbolic representation provided by the natural world and the interface land provides for the transference of Aboriginal culture triggered by stories about the land. This assertion is based on the active use of an Aboriginal worldview in the conceptualization, design, implementation, and analysis of research methodologies in PACS of which I've attempted to demonstrate throughout this work.

There are two concepts that are particularly salient in this regard which I believe are reflected through the narrative of my research journey and are essential to consider when embracing an Anishinabeg worldview in PACS. They are viewing change as constant, and the relationship between internal and external peace.

Viewing Change as Constant: Circles, Cycles, and Patterns

In the book, *The Sacred Tree: Reflections on Native American Spirituality*, (Bopp, Bopp, Brown, & Lane, 1984), the authors present twelve principles of important sacred tree teachings based on an Indigenous worldview that discusses land and patterns of change. It is important to reiterate that '*Aki Gakinoomaagewin*' suggests that 'learning from the land' in Anishinabeg is

more than simply the land we walk on. Its meaning is actually translated as Earth which to my people means ALL the Earth — land, water, air, and spirit. Thus, the concept is all encompassing in its inclusion of symbols (both man-made and natural), the connection between those symbols, and the relationship (or learning) between humans and those symbols.

Two of these teachings are of particular importance to a discussion on conflict and peace and form the fundamental beliefs inherent in a CICS. The first is about life being in constant change:

All of creation is in a state of constant change. Nothing stays the same except for the presence of cycle upon cycle of change. One season falls upon the other. Human beings are born, live their lives, die and enter the spirit world. All things change. There are two kinds of change, the coming together of things (development) and the coming apart of things (disintegration). Both of these kinds of change are necessary and are always connected to each other. (Bopp, Bopp, Brown, & Lane, 1984, p. 27)

The second is about the patterns of change:

Changes occur in cycles or patterns. They are not random or accidental. Sometimes it is difficult to see how a particular change is connected to everything else. This usually means that our standpoint (the situation from which we are viewing change) is limiting our ability to see clearly. (p. 27)

An Aboriginal worldview accepts change as constant and looks to patterns for understanding based on interconnectedness. Change and conflict are accepted as natural occurrences and understanding is what we hope to achieve through ensuring our ability to see clearly by accounting for differences in point of view. Folger, Poole, and Stutman (2001) argued that we can know no fact without interpretation, hold no claim of reality independent of belief, that there are many ways of viewing a phenomenon, and many angles that offer promise to the viewer: “there is no best perspective, only a field of choices from which to select.” (p. 73) This concept is consistent with the Aboriginal worldview that emphasizes respect for all things, including opinions and perspectives of people as well as the animate, inanimate and any other

sources of knowledge: “Respect means, to feel or show honour or esteem for someone or something; to consider the well-being of, or to treat someone or something with deference or courtesy. Showing respect is a basic law of life.” (Bopp, Bopp, Brown, & Lane, 1984, p. 76)

When viewing any social situation, there could be an infinite number of perspectives from which to choose. Based on the processes my research partners choose for gathering data that evolved during my research ceremony, I learned to consider the symbolic meaning ascribed to circle teachings. For example, when sitting in a circle all points of view are equal, everyone involved can see one another, all who feel they need to be there are welcomed, and the participants sit as equals. The circle is organized around a question to be answered, an issue to be discussed, or a problem to be solved. The participants then take turns going around the circle, each giving their thoughts or opinions on the problem. This is illustrated in Figure 3 below.

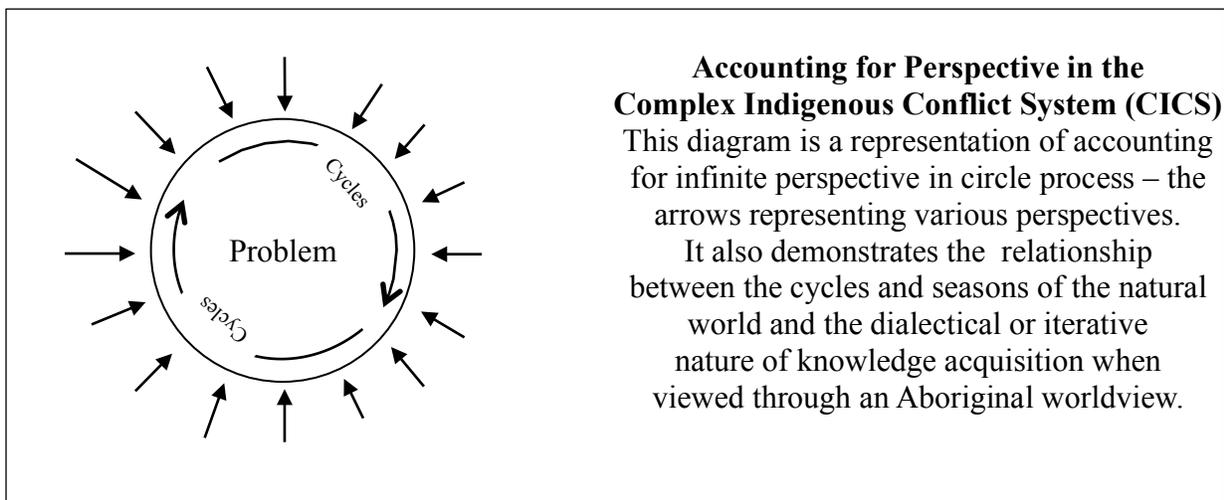


Figure 3

Rice (2005) suggested that circle teachings include worldview primarily discussed within the sacred circle and relationships within the sacred circle. “For many Aboriginal peoples”, he concludes, “a circle represents the space in which we live.” (p. 4) Similarly, ceremonies like the fasting ceremony used as a metaphor for research in chapter three follow circle patterns in their

organization. They embrace the fundamental truth that in an Anishinabeg understanding of life, everything comes full circle. (Rice, 2011) Circle processes have also been argued as a cultural congruent methodological choice for conducting Indigenous research because they provide a process to facilitate story work founded on the concept that we are all connected. (Absalon, 2011)

Circle teachings mimic the patterns of the natural world like the changing seasons, the passing of the moons, and the daily rise and setting of the sun. However, what I learned by employing the process during my research ceremony was that although the basic pattern of sitting in the circle and the typical rules for managing the process were followed, the process also evolved taking on a unique local approach. Thus demonstrating that although change is constant within an Aboriginal worldview like the pattern of a circle, if we allow change to occur based on the desires of local communities within our research frameworks, an evolution occurs in which the critical components of local cultures emerge.

In this case, learning about the land acted as a catalyst for knowledge exchange about our community and culture both materially, through the sharing of stories about our sacred objects and other cultural artifacts, and non-materially through the processes of engagement and collaboration. In fact, the iterative nature of learning and knowledge acquisition reflects a basic proposition of life, we live within a patterned circular world where despite feeling we are in control, there are aspects of our behaviour that seem incredibly difficult to change and all we can really do perhaps is attempt to redirect our lives to live in balance with the constant challenge of change.

Internal Peace vs. External Peace:

An Aboriginal worldview requires peace within before being able to have peaceful relations with others or to live peacefully. Absolon (2011) suggested that “The self is central to Indigenous research” and that “Learning about the inner self is the doorway to understanding and gaining knowledge of how to be in mind, body, spirit and heart in the outer world.” (p. 67) This idea can be applied equally between individuals or within a specific level of the international system. In attempting to account for this fundamental truth in the development of a PACS research methodology that I consider synonymous with peace building, we must consider both external and internal factors, forces and perspectives while embracing the self (as a researcher) in the CICS.

Examples of external factors / forces / perspectives would include external data, theories, previous research, and various perspectives that inform the conflict similar to the ‘Multi-Track Diplomacy’ model proposed by Diamond & McDonald (1996) discussed above and Byrne and Nadan’s (2011) ‘Social Cube Analytic Model’ for understanding the dynamics of protracted ethnoterritorial conflicts which includes six relevant encompassing dimensions, historical force, religious force, political force, psychocultural force, demographic force, and economic force. Critical in this reflection is an identification of these perspectives by the individuals or groups involved.

Internal factors / forces / perspectives are an internal interpretation of the information that informs understanding of the conflict. It should be an internal reflection and interpretation of data by the parties involved and an internal reflection and interpretation of the data by the intervener or researcher. If we assume peace is culturally constructed and that Indigenous peoples have always had traditional methods for conflict management and resolution, then their

perspectives on the development of research methodologies that are designed to understand conflict etiology in Indigenous contexts must be the first consideration.

For this research project, the internal/external dynamic of Indigenous peace manifested itself in a number of ways. First, as the lead researcher, my interpretation of data and various experiences during my research ceremony informed my conclusions. Those experiences allowed my creation of the literary character “*Ni*” and many of my experiences informed those narratives.

Second, the people who shared their stories with me often times provided an interpretation or understanding of their circumstances. Perhaps the best example of this dynamic was when Elder Charlie discussed a series of dreams in which he believed he learned about the death of loved ones. These stories very clearly demonstrate the connection between the people and the spiritual (or internal) part of their worldview.

A Crazy Dream

Charlie: I dreamt about that guy, in my house.

The bugger would come for coffee every morning at 7 o'clock.

I had a dream about him, that he was on a bed or couch, I could see him...he was on fire. There was little I could do.

When Bugs came down, I told him that, he might be dead that old man. Ah, another crazy one of your dreams. Let's go down and check.

So we went down there, sure enough, his house and trailer was flattened, black. Hydro guy was cutting off the lines on the pole.

Now you tell me I'm crazy?

I Could Almost Read His Mind

Charlie: I dreamt about Bugs too, after that.

He went to the hospital, the Nipigon hospital. I went in there on a Friday. And I was sitting, the door going in, he had his bed that way, there was a wall.

He was sitting on the bed, looking at the wall.

Okay, now he went in the hospital, I was sitting there. He had his bed sideways facing the wall, and he started talking about the old days, of trapping, all that. He told me, I don't think, I can't go out with you.

As soon as he said that, I could almost read his mind that he wasn't going to go.

He was going...I could almost read his mind. It was a long drive or something. And I got awful mad.

I get that way after my dreams. I don't feel right. Something in my mind affects me.

I don't know when they rushed him in, at Thunder Bay. He had a black spot on his lungs or whatever it was. He wanted to get operated. I told him don't, that thing's going to spread.

I went outside the next morning. I didn't know he was gone to Thunder Bay.

Corner of my house, something told me Stop!

So I stopped and I looked all around, there wasn't anybody around me. There was something.

I looked at my shed. I got a stove pipe there, that's facing east, that big hill, where your house is...right there. I looked beyond that hill, turned to look at the pipe, oh no, early in the morning. No smoke, no cloud. I kept looking and I see white smoke coming up over the hill.

Now, something told me it depends on where that smoke is going to go, up or down, north or east. I don't know...there was something in my mind tells me not what to do, what to do. I could die myself, the way I feel.

My heart....Well anyway I see that smoke going north. It went north. I know he didn't go where he wanted to go. I don't want to say it here.

A senior came there after...and told me that he died after, and I knew it before he did.

He Was Sitting by the Door

Charlie: After my son died, I went up the hill and picked up my traps and figured I'm not trapping no more.

There's a little pond down there where we used to hunt...we used to hunt there before. I had a couple of traps there.

I come back up on the hill, as soon as I got up that hill, something pushed me back. I couldn't stop, I ran all the way, across the tracks, down the hill, across the tracks. I almost got hit by a car, on the "Y" there...crossing. I couldn't stop.

I bet you one of them touched me, touched me with a car.

I ran all the way, jogging, I couldn't stop, kept pushing me in the back, something in the back kept pushing me ahead. If I try and stop I could have fell head first. And I did.

When I got to the corner of my shed, that's where I fell down.

I got up. I didn't feel nothing no more.

I opened my door, my shed door, right there, there was Chuck sitting there...Chuck was sitting...going in, I had a white chair there, stove was there, right next.

He was sitting like this, looking on the floor or the stove, I don't know. And me I should have kept my mouth shut, I told him, where have you been, just like he was gone. He disappeared, disappeared.

The Day My Sister Died

Charlie: The same thing happened to me when my sister died, Dorothy.

I went across the garage to pick up scrap metal...the garage there eh.

That's when I got to Mary Fowler's house, that's when it started again.

I jog all the way to Zum's, gas station. I fell down again there.

Giselle, her husband picked me up and another guy from Geraldton. I know him but I don't know his name. I see him.

He picked me up, stand me up. I made a circle, down again I went. I got up and I felt nothing then. I never felt nothing.

I walked into Zum's, sat down there for awhile.

Giselle and her husband, I'll drive you home you're not well, I'm okay, they drove me home anyway. I never knew until my sister died after they phoned me up.

My Last Vision

Charlie: Now my last vision, it didn't happen yet.

If I do get a third one like that either I'm going to die there or I'll live to 80 years old. That's my vision there, that's my last call. I don't know how I knew.

Well anyway, now come my vision what she gave me. I didn't know this, I had this gift from her, till I was about 65.

I was trapping with Bugs Lesperance.

I woke up, that morning I was crying, four o'clock in the morning. I seen this beautiful mountain.

He asked me why I'm crying. I said I gotta go look beyond that hill. What's there? No matter where we travel I told him, I see just a certain hill, it don't have to be the same hill but I gotta look. I don't care if it's ten miles away, I gotta go look beyond that hill.

He just laughed, he thought I was crazy.

About a month after, I woke up at my house. Same dream, but I was up on the hill. Always end up on this hill.

I could see my grandma, going like this, waving come on down, and that blue lake, dark blue. The trees I seen in my first dream they were there too. They were upside down, them trees. The road's up there and.

You won't believe what I seen, still, nobody believes me, but that's alright. All along this hill, on my right Steve Ray, and on my left was Jibwence...Ah jibber, and a guy that I knew in Nipigon, Nick Salo. He used to give me candy when I was a kid.

The only tree that I know, there were lines and lines of it, bush.....I was going to join my grand...

There's a guy in White sand in between the hill and...a guy in white. I couldn't see his face. He had something white in his hand. I don't know if it was a wand or a sword, I couldn't make it out.

He pointed it at the right of me, he run down the hill, joined his family.
He pointed on the left, another guy runs down. I could see my grandmother
waving at me, come down. I said “no way”.

Then my dream ended right there. That was it.

Thirdly, my primary research partner often interjected his interpretation of the stories, or prompted participants, thus influencing the subject matter being shared and providing an explanation of the narratives. Although this would not usually be acceptable in traditional research, because he is a member of the community, an essential part of my research approach, and an individual searching for healing, I choose to embrace his influences on the process and integrate them into my research ceremony.

Accounting for external and internal factors / forces / perspectives is illustrated in Figure 4 below:

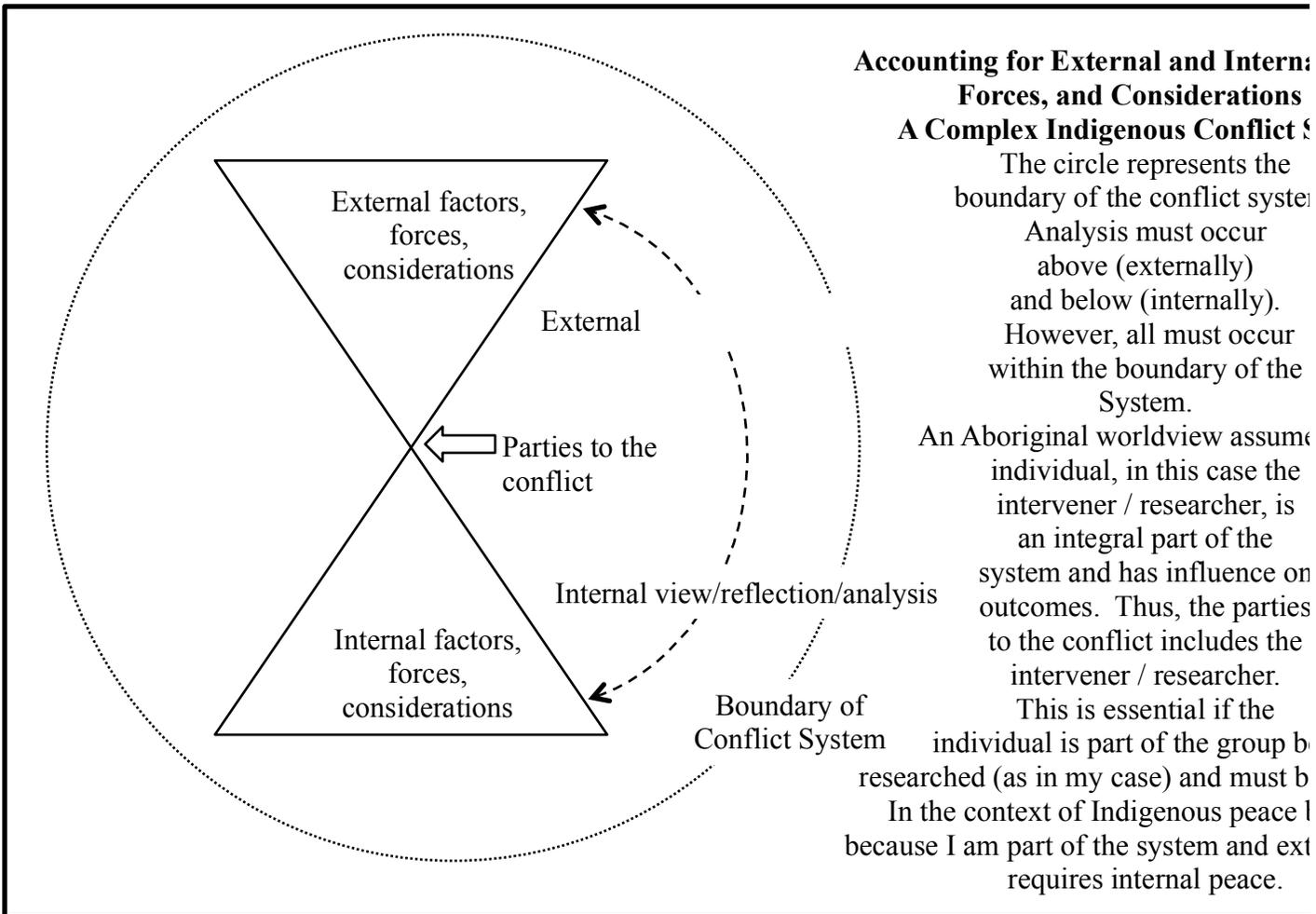


Figure 4

Fundamental Beliefs of a Complex Indigenous Conflict System and Peace

I assume that research, conceptualized with full consideration for an Aboriginal worldview, can be utilized as a peace process in Anishinabeg contexts. In order for this to occur, harmony and balance through an emphasis of relationships and relational accountability must be the corner stone upon which all other considerations are based. Wilson (2001) summarizes this concept:

An Indigenous paradigm comes from the fundamental belief that knowledge is relational. Knowledge is shared with all of creation. It is not just interpersonal relationships, not just with the research subjects I may be working with, but it is the relationship with all of creation. It is the cosmos', it is the animals, with the plants, with the earth that we share knowledge. It goes beyond this idea of individual knowledge to the concept of relational knowledge. Who cares about ontologies? It's not the realities in and of themselves' that are important; it is the relationship that I share with reality. (As cited in Wilson, 2008)

Peace is defined, perceived, responded to, and managed within a society. In Aboriginal contexts peace is not an "end state" as in the classic Kurt Lewin model of change (Burnes, 2004). It is a continuous life long journey suggests Rice (2005) emphasizing that, "In modern and historical times people sought to follow a path that offers peace within themselves and a meaning for their existence." (p. 52) This reciprocal relationship, he suggests, is developed from early childhood and is critical to one's ability to achieve *pimadaziwin*, 'life to the fullest' or 'elder hood'.

In Indigenous contexts peace is a process. Therefore, identifying a process must be our focus in the development of peace building activities when working with Aboriginal people. Similarly, research is a process. Research can be a process for achieving peace, if the research is designed with full consideration of an Indigenous worldview. Thus, the research process can be our primary focus. I came to understand this fundamental belief while conducting my research.

Taking this idea a step further, because of the salience of land to the colonizer and the colonized and considering land within the framework of the CICS, it is possible to employ peace

research as a strategy for non-violent defense in Indigenous contexts. In fact, evidence for this research suggests that land has always been the centre of gravity in Aboriginal contexts, and its contestation is the hub of all power and movement on which everything depends.

In attempting to develop a framework for identifying the peace/research process I have identified the fundamental beliefs of an Aboriginal worldview that must be considered when thinking about a CICS. This includes complexity in the world order, change as constant, circles/cycles/patterns, and the internal/external dynamic of peace. Figure 5 below is a representation of the entire Complex Indigenous Conflict System.

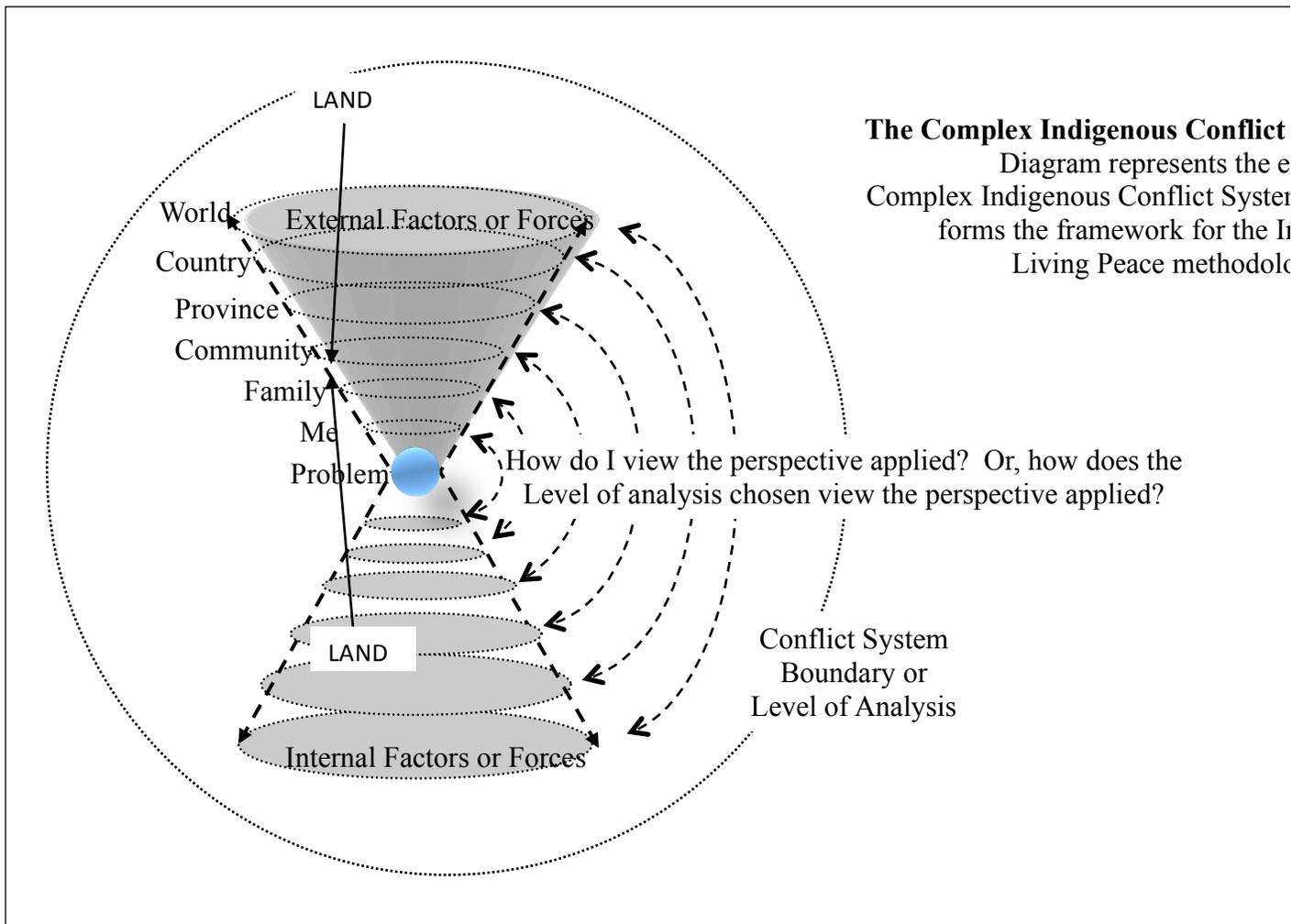


Figure 5

Opposing Forces, Tension, and Fundamental Truths

In relation to Indigenous conflict systems exemplified by the narratives presented throughout this work, the historical and contemporary impacts of imperialism and the international ‘otherness’ created by the ongoing violent acquisition of Indigenous lands for economic exploitation requires not only consideration for the present world order, but the organization of traditional societal and community structures. The legal context of the world system in relation to the way we acquire land for economic exploitation remains focussed on the removal of humans from the environment and a severance of the life line between society (especially Indigenous societies) and the natural world. The world system and the various levels of organization are the elements employed to minimize or eliminate resistance to the totalizing forces of the world economic system. Thus, the ‘paradox of complexity’ allows the imposition of one worldview over another by hiding the violence towards Indigenous peoples within multiple layers of rules, treaties, legal organization, and bureaucracy — my communities experience with treaty negotiations and reserve lands being an example.

By conceptualizing the Aboriginal worldview through combining elements of systems, systems thinking, and the fundamental beliefs of a holistic worldview, opportunities for gaining new understanding of conflict and peace surface. In order to eliminate the violence inherent in PACS research with Indigenous peoples, conducting research within the CICS requires mutual processes of learning where the traditional power dynamics of research (between researcher and research subjects) can be minimized and/or eliminated. With its foundation in empowerment and emancipation, my research suggests ‘action research’ provides those possibilities. In this way, action research through a focus on land becomes a process of non-violent defense.

Rice (2005) suggests that harmony and balance occur by holding two opposing forces in tension, including male/female, day/night, sun/moon, and *Orenta/Otkon* — the Rotinonshonni's force opposing healing energies / selfish or malevolent energies respectfully (p. 23). Thus, the symbolic meaning of the narrative associated with the peace pipe and the opposing forces created by the two halves working together contain important considerations for those of us concerned with peace building in Indigenous contexts and the academic discipline of peace and conflict studies.

In the context of this research, the opposing forces of Indigenous/Western views in the discipline of PACS and PACS research provide opportunity for learning. The tension created by the fundamental truths — change as constant and the relationship between internal/external peace of an Aboriginal worldview provides the theoretical basis for considering the systemic levels of a CICS. As discussed above, it is the way we view conflict and the choices we make in responding to it that determines its destructive nature. By viewing conflict as a positive creative process as suggested by an Aboriginal worldview, we can harbour the positive aspects the two opposing forces peace/conflict create.

An Aboriginal worldview sees peace as a process, a process of life-long learning. The iterative nature of learning requires a dialectical process for the investigation of conflict / peace with research partners such as those proposed under the rubric of 'action research' or 'participatory action research' which I attempted to employ for this project. Embracing the cyclical nature of life in investigation allows the identification of patterns to understand dynamics within the world system. Thus, the spaces between systemic levels and the organizational interfaces of societies are where we must focus to identify the patterns of change

because these interfaces are where the colonized and colonizer are interdependent and where cultural identity is negotiated.

There is no better example of this dynamic than in considering the meaning of land for the colonizer (in this context European culture), the colonized (Aboriginal/Indigenous peoples), and the legal context upon which the theft of land for resource exploitation is justified.

Conversely, land is also the centre of gravity where Indigenous peace can be found through the strategic use of research.

ABORIGINAL CULTURE, IDENTITY, SOCIAL CONFLICT, RESEARCH AND TRANSFORMATION WITHIN THE COMPLEX INDIGENOUS CONFLICT SYSTEM (CICS)

Given the importance many theorists place on the analysis of history and culture on conflict, it is critical that researchers in PACS consider that each comes with its own unique political considerations. Within the framework of the CICS, the evolution of culture and its relation to cultural and cognitive imperialism cannot be separated from the processes of settlement experienced by Indigenous populations. History is written by the conquerors so the conquerors may tell their glorious story of settlement. If we assume that the history of Canada is written by colonists, in the language of the colonists, and censored through European structures of society like the formal academy created to perpetuate norms in the broad interest of European /Canadian society, then we must also consider that the way we conduct research is similarly biased towards the culture of the colonists, being inherently violent towards Indigenous peoples and ways of being.

Processes of acculturation exist within a complex web of interrelations with a number of forces and factors that influence the formation of identity. Understanding the ebb and flow of cultures within the confines of the structures that harbour violence within the CICS allows

researchers in PACS to consider how the culture within our discipline has evolved into a culture of violence and consider how this influences our approaches towards peace building. If we assume peace is only achievable once you have peace within, then it is critical that our discipline model the peace culture we hope to facilitate between or with others.

Fisher (2000) suggests that intergroup conflict occurs when “individual members of a party or group are acting and reacting toward members of the other group in terms of their social identification with their group (which forms an important part of their social identity) rather than as individuals.” (p. 168) This definition of intergroup conflict highlights two important considerations for this work: First, conflict is a social phenomenon in that it takes interaction between individuals or groups to create conflict; Second, social groupings facilitate social identity. Thus, the multiple layers of the CICS have a profound influence on Indigenous identities, concepts of self, and the culture of the academy.

The data gathered for this research project present ‘fact’ stories that provide a glimpse of historical community life through the eyes of members — the strong sense of community that defines the people. Similarly, ‘fiction’ stories provide the guiding metaphors for discovering their peace culture, and ‘spirit’ stories define the peoples understanding of their place in relation to the metaphysical world. The process of sharing these stories transforms relationships giving community members a stronger sense of identity. As I worked through my research journey, I also felt personal transformation. As a component of the CICS, intimately connected to the issues of my community and nation, my research ceremony helped me understand the people and circumstances that have influenced my behaviour, decisions, and profoundly impact my approaches as an academic.

By viewing my research project as a ceremony, peace building, research, and learning became a process of transformation similar to those discussed by Lederach (2003) in which he makes a distinction between conflict resolution and transformation. He argues that, “conflict transformation is more than a set of specific techniques. It is a way of looking and seeing, and it provides a set of lenses through which we make sense of social conflict.” (p. 2) The author defines conflict transformation as having seven components: (1) To envision and respond: Begins with a positive orientation towards conflict and a willingness to engage in the conflict in an effort to produce constructive change and growth; (2) Ebb and Flow: Rather than looking at isolated conflict episodes, transformation seeks to understand how these particular episodes are embedded in the greater pattern of human relationships; (3) Life-giving opportunities: Views conflict as a valuable opportunity to grow and increase our understanding of ourselves and others; (4) Constructive change processes: Build constructive change out of the energy created by conflict; (5) Reduce violence and increase justice: Address both the obvious issues and content and their underlying patterns and causes. To increase justice we must ensure that people have access to political procedures and voice in the decisions that affect their lives; (6) Direct interaction and social structures: Develop capacities to engage in change processes at the interpersonal, inter-group, and social-structural levels; (7) Human relationships: The key to understanding conflict and developing creative change processes lies in seeing the less visible aspects of relationships. (Lederach, 2003, p. 3-4)

Lederach’s (2003) discussion provides a comparative framework for explaining conflict within the Indigenous/Aboriginal worldview. The model complements the concept of a holistic peace building framework suggested by Reardon (1992) and embraces complexity in multi-level / multi-perspective models of conflict analysis like those suggested by Diamond & McDonald

(1996), Chigas, (2007), and Byrne & Nandan, (2011). In essence, taking a holistic Aboriginal world view and practicing what Burton & Dukes (1990) called provention: “taking steps to remove sources of conflict, and positively promote conditions in which collaborative and valued relationships control behaviour.” (p. 161)

It is clear that provention must rely heavily on the theory and practice of conflict resolution as the means by which insights are obtained into the nature of problems. Provention is an extension of analytical conflict resolution. It is the decision making process by which theoretical and empirical findings regarding particular cases of conflict are generalized and translated into policies (Burton & Dukes, 1990. p. 162).

By viewing conflict and peace through an Aboriginal worldview and as the ‘centre of gravity’, the peace culture of my community (including myself) surfaces and we rediscover our culture of peace. It lies within the various features of our traditional home lands surfaced through processes that reflect the natural life ways of my people. For this work it included the sharing of community narratives through the use of sharing circles and other ceremonies like fasting.

Ariss & Cutfeet (2012) suggest that understanding the deep spiritual, physical, and cultural connection between the land and the people is essential to understanding everything else, and that “the land provides life and peace” (p. 162). This idea became clearer to me as I moved through my research ceremony and this is why, for Indigenous peoples, if the land is sick, the people will also be sick. Our continued ability to practice our culture is predicated on our ability to practice our traditional ways of life on the land. Disruption of those patterns causes a change in our culture that some argue is cultural genocide (Churchill, 1997; Smith, 2005). T Hogan (2009) summarizes this dynamic of the land/health/peace praxis, writing:

The ears of the corn are listening and waiting. They want peace. The stalks of the corn want clean water, sun that is full clean shining. The leaves of the corn want good earth. The earth wants peace. The birds who eat the corn do not want poison. Nothing wants to suffer. The wind does not want to carry the stories of death (p. 123).

TRAUMA, STORY, AND INDIGENOUS HEALING WITHIN THE COMPLEX INDIGENOUS CONFLICT SYSTEM (CICS)

Acknowledging the trauma within my family, community and nation in this work is a personal recognition of the pain that lives on the edge of memory. It is a process of naming the nameless so I may begin to understand the decisions I've made, the habits I've formed, and the unseen forces that drive me. My research has allowed me to explore my personal trauma in a way that provides safety to my psyche. By hearing the stories of research participants (my community members), learning theory that provides context to our behaviours, and participating in the spiritual processes of my culture, I have created a personal dialectic to negotiate (or renegotiate) my personal identity in a contemporary context — what Naomi Adelson (1990) called a negotiation (or renegotiation) of Aboriginality.

When an ethnic group is traumatized over an extended period of time, they suffer intergenerational trauma. Brave Heart (as cited in Wadden, 2008) describes intergenerational trauma in Aboriginal contexts as “Forced assimilation and cumulative loss across generations involving language, culture and spirituality.” (p. 98) Herman (1997) suggests that when traumatized people suffer damage to the basic structures of the self, they lose their trust in themselves, in other people, and in God. Their self-esteem assaulted by experiences of humiliation, guilt, and helplessness compromises their capacity for intimacy with intense and contradictory feelings of need and fear. “The ordinary response to atrocities is to banish them from consciousness” she writes, “when the truth is finally recognized, survivors can begin their

recovery. But far too often secrecy prevails, and the story of the traumatic event surfaces not as verbal narrative but as symptom.” (p. 1) Clearly, trauma can destroy identity and the story associated with that trauma can both heal and be passed through generations re-traumatizing with every telling. Here once again, the CICS proves useful in understanding the relationship between Indigenous conflict and peace.

The narratives within this work provide three critical considerations when thinking about Indigenous peoples and peace building: trauma, land/environment and narrative. The first is that physical space (natural geography and man-made structures) hold memories. Physical space can act as a memory trigger to both traumatic and pleasurable experiences. When traumatic events occur, we are forever held hostage to those memories through sights, sounds, smells, touch, and taste. *Ni*'s experiences as a child are triggered by the smell of cigarettes, sweat, and wine that his unconscious psyche remembers. Unknown to him, those memories have a profound influence on his present and future relationships. The uncomfortable feeling he exhibits at the moment he meets the new uncle of his nieces and nephews is heavily influenced by his historical memories. Those memories shape his relationships despite his best efforts to ignore or suppress the feelings.

Secondly, changing the narrative associated with historical events cued by memories on the land can build resiliency. We all have the ability to build and shape the stories of our lives. Presently, colonial powers are in control of the Indigenous story internationally, nationally, and provincially. Each level of the contemporary world order perceives and interprets the events of our lives. However, at the local level, we hold the ability to reshape stories. Take for example this story of resistance shared by Frank during my time in the community:

Frank shared his story about fishing in a brook trout sanctuary that is protected and how when he and his son were fishing there about ten years ago someone called the police. This is a spot where community members had fished for hundreds of years. He was fishing with his son when a game warden came along and told him he could not fish there. Angered, he discussed the situation with Chief and Council and they decided to organize a protest. A notice was sent out to all band members on what had occurred and a group of about thirty people including Chief and Council gathered on the shores of the spot to “see what the Ministry of Natural Resources would do”. “I don’t know if the issue got resolved, but they don’t bother anyone who goes down there anymore.” They try to ask for help and request information on who fishes there. “Well, who do they think made the trail?” They don’t fish the pool during spawning season, they just catch the odd lake trout.

This story demonstrates how community members actively resist the intrusion of the Ontario government on their daily lives and ways of living. Although many stories exist on the constant badgering of the Ministry of Natural Resources in Ontario on community, the people have the power to transform those negative narratives. This occurs through sharing stories of resistance and positive memories — reshaping the violent memories of the past because, “It is through stories that memory and history are transmitted.” (McLeod, 2007, p. 11)

Lastly, we have the ability to influence the direction of narratives. If *Ni* was sexually abused repeatedly by a female teacher in a building on the community and what would happen if you also had to work in the building? What if, other members of *Ni*’s community were repeatedly physically abused by the imported school teacher and some of them had to work in the same building. *Ni* muttered vehemently, “I can’t stand going in there. Every time I go in there it just makes me sick to my stomach”; and then recalled being beaten in the basement of the band office by a school teacher.

Herman (1997) suggests that the action of telling a story “in the safety of a protected relationship can actually produce a change in the abnormal processing of the traumatic memory;

With this transformation of memory comes relief of many of the major symptoms of post traumatic stress disorder.” (p. 183) The narratives gathered for this research project provide the basis for cultural definition of self through the sharing of stories related to traumatic events and provide the context for community continuity between the past, present, and future. Clearly, the memories of the people who participated in this research (including myself) are haunted by our historical experiences and their perspective has a profound impact on the way our stories are told and interpreted. The community and family circles provided the safety where traumatic memories could be transformed.

Similarly, colonial forces arrived in North America and began to rename everything in the likeness of their homelands. Planned or accidental, the result has been the erasing of Aboriginal language and culture from the landscape. Renaming allows the reclaiming of language and thus culture. As one community Elder, Terry said to me in a discussion we had on naming our traditional home lands, “Europeans came and renamed everything. Why can’t we name our own lakes and rivers?”

Anishinabeg Identity in the Complex Indigenous Conflict System (CICS)

Identities are complex historically bound, socially constructed, and ever moving. They are constituted in specific lived realities, bound and shared through story, myth, history, and legend. Theory makes a distinction between personal identity and social identity: *Personal identity* being an individual’s sense of self as an autonomous, unique person; *Social identity* being the facet’s of one’s self-image that derive from salient group membership (Cook-Huffman, 2009). The retelling of historical stories strengthens the sense of self in relation to family, community, and nation. I do not believe it was coincidence that at one point in my research journey participants wanted to provide their stories with family members present. Validating knowledge

among family members demonstrates the strong family ties and reinforces the sense of personal identity in relation to the family. It can also provide the protection necessary to process traumatic events.

Northrup (1989) defines identity as, “an abiding sense of the self and of the relationship of self to the world”. She further states, “Identity, defined in this way, is more than a psychological sense of self. It is extended to encompass a sense of self-in-relation-to-the-world — which may be experienced socially as well as psychologically.” (p. 55) Cook-Huffman (2009) asserts three key perspectives that shape theorizing about the relationship between self and society:

First, social identities are projects whereby individuals come to a narrative sense of self by creating an integrated whole of their past, present, and future. Identities are symbols of meanings created from social interactions. Second, identity is constructed within specific relationships and in a particular time and place, and the importance of social comparison in this process. Third, identities become salient for individuals and collectives based on time and place. These theories explore when and how particular identities become meaningful, how people manage the intersection of a number of potentially salient identities, and how individuals negotiate the borders and boundaries of identity categories. (Cook-Huffman, 2009, p. 20)

Blaut (1993) suggests that when cultural change takes place within a community, the event is called *independent invention*. When the idea or its material effect (like a tool or device) comes into the community, having originated in some other community, it is called *diffusion*. Some scholars believe that most humans are imitators, not inventors. Therefore, diffusion, in their view, is the main mechanism for change. Eurocentric Diffusionism is a “theory about the way cultural processes tend to move over the surface of the world as a whole. They tend to flow out of the European sector and toward the non-European sector; this is the natural, normal, logical, and ethical flow of culture, innovation, and human causality.” (p. 1)

Eurocentrism is the colonizers' model of the world in a very literal sense; it is not merely a bundle of beliefs. It has evolved, through time, into a finely sculpted model, a structured whole — in fact, an ultra-theory, a general framework for many smaller theories: historical, geographical, psychological, sociological, and philosophical. This ultra-theory is known as diffusionism. (Henderson, 2009, p. 60)

The most violent act ever perpetrated on us as Indigenous peoples was to convince us that somehow we were 'less than the settlers', or we were 'savage'. This is the primary concern of 'ontological violence' or 'cognitive imperialism' — to convince the colonized that our ways of living and being are somehow inferior. The internalization of this idea for Anishinabeg people is the legacy of settlement. Indigenous people know, in fact, we have always known how to heal ourselves and bring ourselves back to balance. My research ceremony clearly reflects this ability and some research exists suggesting this assertion.

For example, Simard (2009) suggests, cultural identity and cultural attachment strategies foster the natural resiliencies that exist within the Anishinaabe nation; "It is the teachings, the language, and the cultural ceremonies that have been passed down from generation to generation, from Elder to Elder, from parent to child. Seeking this knowledge and applying it to current realities is an important aspect of culturally restorative child welfare practice."(p. 45)

Cultural restorative child welfare practice is a conceptual framework based on the cultural teachings of a Nation; it is based on ceremonial practices; it is found in the circle of protection; it is defined by the specific roles and responsibilities of a member within a Nation and their subsequent contribution to the development of the child's secure cultural attachment; it is found in the ceremonial and cultural development milestones with a Nation; and it is the full integration of these concepts into Children's mental health and child welfare service delivery systems. (Simard, 2009, p. 58)

Attachment theory forms the basis of decisions made in child welfare and where to place the child. However, for Aboriginal children, attachment reaches beyond immediate family – This

is the basis of cultural restorative child welfare and reaches beyond human relations to geography and attachment to lands. The Aboriginal worldview necessitates consideration for land in all aspects of Indigenous culture. It is the land (Mother Earth) that connects us to our ceremonies, families, roles, and culture. Chamberlin (2009) argues that reconciling attachments to land with allegiances to language, and how to accommodate different allegiances and attachments, different lands and languages, within a single community is a dilemma facing all non-homogeneous societies.

THE FINAL WORD

I recall sitting in a university sponsored workshop on genocide that brought leading scholars from around North America together to discuss the residential school experience of Aboriginal peoples in Canada and if that state sponsored project could be described as a tool to commit genocide or if genocide has in fact been committed on Aboriginal peoples in Canada and the United States. While research has documented historical examples of specific acts of atrocity upon North American Indigenous peoples (Churchill, 1997; Smith, 2005) and the actual passing of an entire race of Indigenous peoples (Powley, 1915), most people react with suspicion and disbelief when challenged with the idea of European settlers committing genocide on the Aboriginal peoples of Canada and the Native people of North America. Yet, on September 14, 1829 the London Times mourned the passing of the entire Beothuck culture vanishing from earth through ‘relentless hunting’:

This tribe...presents an anomaly in the history of man...in Newfoundland...there has been a primitive nation, once claiming rank as a portion of the human race, who have lived, flourished, and become extinct in their own orbit. They have been dislodged, and disappeared from the earth in their native independence in 1829 in as primitive a condition as they were before the discovery of the New World... (Powley, 1915, p)

The disbelief in accepting an act as heinous as genocide being committed is clearly described by Samantha Powers (2002) in her book *“A Problem From Hell”: America and the Age of Genocide* in which she identifies the United States’ inability to accept acts of genocide being committed on ethnic groups around the world. This disbelief originates from a lack of definition or being able to describe the purposeful act of ethnic annihilation while grasping with the scope of the violence. Thus, intervention can become as much about naming as it does about resources and desire. In the Socratic irony of genocide, ignorance does not change the fact that as “people stood in disbelief as acts of genocide unfolded before their eyes around the world, Indigenous people in North America fought, and continue to fight, for their existence.” (Cormier, Karari, Kumar, Neustaeter, Read, & Senchi, 2011, p. 273)

Infamously, Hitler declared in August 1939 that victors write the history books. Suggesting to his military chiefs that Genghis Kahn sent thousands of women and children to their deaths yet history sees him as the “founder of the state”. He went on to say, “the aim of war is not to reach definite lines but to annihilate the enemy physically. It is by this means that we shall obtain the vital living space we need.” (As cited in Powers 2002, p. 23) The residential school experience of Aboriginal Canadians, historical examples of Genocide, and Hitler’s haunting words provide recognition that the lives of Aboriginal Canadians — the Indigenous Peoples’ of Canada, has been one of incredible suffering since first contact with European settlers.

The act of naming and learning about that reality is one of learning and discovery. How can we name or describe something if we do not even know it is occurring, or if there is no way to describe the act in our language? In the context of genocide studies, naming is as much about description by third parties as they try to build support for intervention as it is about allowing

those who have had genocide committed upon them to articulate their past so they can move forward. Naming is also about empowerment, awareness, and control. Peace as in the case of understanding violence is about education. The performative, Denzin and Lincoln (2008) suggest, “is always pedagogical, and the pedagogical is always political.” (p. xi)

Cultural groupings all speak to the importance of group social dynamics in PACS and how salient group identity may contribute to conflict. Clearly, cultural groups alone are not the determining factor in conflict creation and escalation. As in the case of ethno-political conflicts, conflicts occur when some aspect of the group’s ethnicity becomes politicized by individuals through shared religion, history, or a perceived common enemy. Whether the group is spontaneous or formally created determines the degree to which shared artefacts and underlying assumptions become the norm. These factors contribute to identity formation within cultural groups.

The political dimensions of culture and its application in the context of Indigenous conflicts necessitate a particularly careful consideration of the term culture and its use. Clearly, leaders tend to politicize culture and its various forms for political ends. With colonization came the ultimate politicization of Indigenous culture that created the systems that harbour Indigenous violence within the structures of contemporary society of which the academy is heavily implicated. What is the culture of PACS? This remains the key question as our discipline evolves because through an Anishinabeg worldview, the culture of PACS will determine the processes we use to conduct research and if our culture remains violent, then we cannot hope to facilitate peace.

THE FINAL STORIES

The final word comes from some of the stories gathered during this project. The first example contains the words of a grandmother Ethel from my community. At one point during the data gathering process, she asked if she could leave messages for her grandchildren. Unknown to the participants, these stories hold a vision for the future — One where we see the importance of the western or modern world, the emphasis on the modern school system, and a focus on tradition by not forgetting our language and traditional culture. This act reflects our ability to heal ourselves. My research provided the venue for the expression of these cultural beliefs.

The second describes a specific episode of the incredible healing journey participants can experience through the sharing circle process. The story will be presented through the eyes of “*Ni*” and clearly demonstrates the power of community and the healing that can occur when we design research approaches in PACS that embrace the peace paradox and assume Indigenous people have always had their own processes for healing and peace building — The people have always known how to heal themselves.

Nookomis Talking

Hi this is your Nookomis talking, I’m in the spirit world now and I don’t know, I’ll probably come and see you once in awhile but I’m not sure.

I am sure I’ll be there to see you when you’re into bad things.

I hope you stay away from drugs and alcohol and that you keep on your school.

One of you will be a doctor, and a nurse and a lawyer and I hope you stay in school and become that. Meegwetch.

Ok I wish...and I want you to keep up the traditions, if you can.

And learn the native language, all those are being lost now.

I speak those, I speak the Indian language perfectly and I learnt from my grandparents and the traditions also, keep them up.

Meegwetch.

Ni and Forgiveness

Ni sat in the healing circle. As the feather was passed from person to person slowly making its way to where he sat, he recalled in his mind the memories he had with the people of his community — the people now sitting in this circle.

Some of those memories were incredibly joyful like the annual pow wow weekend that created a sense of community pride that he and Jim started, and others were very difficult like the memories of the beatings his mother would inflict on him for not cleaning the dishes properly. When those beatings started, he would hide his sisters in the closet under the blankets to make sure he received the majority of the bruises and/or broken bones.

As the Eagle feather came to the greying man with the glasses who looked frail in the glow of the fire and coming darkness of this September evening, his heart began to race and he wondered what he was going to say. He always wondered what he was going to say when the feather came to him.

The man took a quick glance at *Ni* and shared a story from his younger years, a story of how he regretted some of the crazy things he did during nights of binge drinking.

Ni recalled one of those nights as the old man spoke. It was the night that the old man and a bunch of people from his community sexually assaulted him at a party. He couldn't recall how he ended up at the house, but he did remember the pain he felt, the pain inflicted on his adolescent body by the old man now sitting across from him in the healing circle.

The old man's voice cracked and tears began to form in his eyes saying, "I did some crazy things when I was younger. Things that I wish I could take back. Things I know really hurt people." As he said it, he looked directly in *Ni*'s direction.

Two weeks later, the old man passed away. He died alone. The person who found him figured he died during the night.

He had been living with his sister, but he had to move out in recent months because she couldn't manage his alcohol habits. Like usual, despite the greying man's history of violence, the community found him a place to stay and took care of him so he didn't have to live on the street...

Upon hearing the news *Ni* didn't know what to think. Should he feel sadness for the loss of a community member, or should he be relieved or even happy because this predator was finally leaving their community for good?

Now knowing what to feel, he did what he always did in recent years, he took some tobacco and went up into the bush to pray. He had discovered that this was one way for him to feel balance — to feel peace...

A few days later, *Ni* was speaking to a friend about the experience of the past few weeks, and how he felt when he heard the news that the greying old man had passed to the spirit world. He said, "You know, he hurt me so badly when I was young, and when I got older and much bigger, I grabbed him by the neck and threw him against the wall of his house. I told him that if I ever heard that he hurt another child in the community, I would find him and kill him. I think he lived in fear of my threat and it kept him in line."

He continued, "I think in that last sharing circle, he was trying to say sorry to me. At least, that's the way I took it and that's what I believe."

As they finished their talk, *Ni*'s friend thought to himself, so that's what this journey is all about.

The ultimate lesson of my research is that peace is a cultural construct. In Indigenous contexts, peace is a life long journey. It is a journey towards traditional culture of which land is the most critical component. As a researcher in PACS, I can choose to be assimilated into the culture of violence within the academy, or like *Ni*, I can live peace. I can help others, I can forgive, I can learn my culture, and I can choose to be happy.

Bibliography

- Abuelaish, I. & Doubleday, N.C. (2011). Holistic frontiers in peace and health research. *International Journal of Peace and Development Studies*, 2 (4), p.
- Abu-Saad, I. (2008). Spatial transformation and Indigenous resistance: The urbanization of the Palestinian Bedouin in Southern Israel. *American Behavioural Scientist*, 51(12), p. 1713-1752.
- Absolon, K. (2011). *Kaandossiwin: How we Come to Know*. Black Point, NS: Fernwood Publishing
- Absolon, K. (1993). *Healing as Practice: Teachings from the Medicine Wheel*. A commissioned paper for the WUNSKA network, Canadian Schools of Social Work. Unpublished Manuscript.
- Adelson, N. (2007). *Being Alive Well: Health and the Politics of Cree Well-Being*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Adelson, N. (2000). Re-imagining Aboriginality: An Indigenous peoples' response to social suffering. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 37(1), p. 11-34.
- Aiken, L.P. (1990). The Cultural Basis of Indian Medicine. In L.P. Aiken, and E.W. Haller (Eds). *Two Cultures Meet: Pathways for American Indians to Medicine*. Garrett Park, MD: Garrett Park Press.
- Alfred, T. (1999). *Peace, power, righteousness*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.

- Ancona, D.G., Kochan, T.A., Van Maanen, J., Scully, M., & Westney, D.E. (1999). *Managing for the Future: Organizational Behaviour and Processes*, 2nd ed. Sylva, NC: South-Western College Publishing.
- Annan, K. (2001?). Definitions of human security. United Nations definitions, available at, <http://www.gdrc.org/sustdev/husec/Definitions.pdf>
- [Accessed 3 June 2010]
- Anonymous. (2002). *Aboriginal Cultures and History*. The Aboriginal Nurse. 2002: 3-17.
- Atleo, E.R. (2004). *A Nuu-chah-nulth Worldview: Tswalk*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Attneave, C. (1982). American Indians and Alaska Native Families: Emigrants in their own Homeland. In M. McGoldrick, J.K. Pearce, and J. Girodano, *Ethnicity and Family Therapy*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Ariss, R. & Cutfeet, J. (2012). *Keeping the Land: Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug, Reconciliation and Canadian Law*. Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing.
- Arthur, E. (). The de Larondes of Lake Nipigon.
- Arthur, E. (1973). Thunder Bay District.
- Auger, R. (1994). Rose Auger: Buffalo Robe Medicine Woman. In S. Johnson (Eds), *The Book of Elders: The Life Stories and Wisdom of Great American Indians*. New York, NY: Harper Collins.
- Avurch, K. (2008). Culture. In S. Cheldelin, D. Druckman, & L. Fast (Eds), *Conflict*. New York, NY: Continuum.

- Avruch, K. (2009). Culture theory, culture clash, and the practice of conflict resolution. In D.J.D. Sandole, S. Byrne, I. Sandole-Staroste, & J. Senehi (Eds), *Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Ayoob, M. (2007). State Making, State Breaking, and State Failure. In C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson, & P. Aall (Eds), *Leashing the dogs of war* (pp. 553-582). Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Azar, E. E. (1983). The Theory of Protracted Social Conflict and the Challenge of Transforming Conflict Situations. *Monograph Series in World Affairs*, 20(2), pp. 81-99.
- Barsh, R.L. & Marlor, C. (2003). Driving Bison and Blackfoot Science. *Human Ecology*, 31(4), 571-593.
- Battiste, M. (2009). Maintaining Aboriginal Identity, Language, and Culture in Modern Society. In In, M. Battiste (Eds), *Reclaiming Indigenous voice and vision* (pp 193-208). Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Battiste, M. (2009). Introduction: Unfolding the Lessons of Colonization. In In, M. Battiste (Eds), *Reclaiming Indigenous voice and vision* (pp xvi-xxx). Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Bell, K. (2004). Indigenous Dispute Resolution Systems within Non-Indigenous Frameworks: Intercultural Dispute Resolution Initiatives in Canada. In C. Bell & D. Kahane (Eds.), *Intercultural dispute resolution in Aboriginal contexts*, (pp. 11-27). Vancouver BC: UBC Press.
- Bennett, M. (2008). *Jumping through hoops: A Manitoba study examining the experiences and reflections of Aboriginal mothers involved with the child welfare and legal systems*

- respecting child protection matters*. Winnipeg, MB: First Nations Child & Family Caring Society of Canada.
- Bennett, M. (2004). A Review of the literature on the benefits and drawbacks of participatory action research. *First Peoples Child & Family Review: A journal on the Innovation and best practices in Aboriginal Child Welfare Administration, Research, Policy and Practice*. 1(1), 19-32.
- Benton-Benai, E. (1988). *The Mishomis Book: The Voice of the Ojibway*. Hayward WI: Indian Country Communications, Inc.
- Berkes, F. (2009). Evolution of co-management: Role of knowledge generation, bridging organizations and social learning. *Journal of Environmental Management*, 90, 1692-1702.
- Berkes, F. & Davidson-Hunt, I. (2006). Biodiversity, traditional management systems, and cultural landscapes: examples from the boreal forest of Canada. *International Social Science Journal*, 58(187), 35-47.
- Bethany, L.L. & Baily, S.J. (2004). Evaluating From the Outside: Conducting Cross-Cultural Evaluation Research on an American Indian Reservation. *Evaluation Review*. 28(4), 342-357.
- Bird, S., Wiles, J.L., Okalik, L., Kilabuk, J., & Egeland, G.M. (2009). Methodological consideration of story telling in qualitative research involving Indigenous peoples. *Global Health Promotion*, 16(4), 16-26.

- Blackstock, C., Trocme, N., & Bennett, M. (2004). Child maltreatment investigations among Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal families in Canada. *Violence Against Women, 10*(8), 901-916.
- Blaut, J.M. (1993). *The Colonizers View of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History*. New York, NY: The Guilford Press.
- Bopp, J., Bopp, M., Brown, L., & Lane, P. (1989). *The Sacred Tree: Reflections on Native American Spirituality. Third Edition*. Twin Lakes WI: Lotus Light Publications.
- Borrini-Feyerabend, G. (2004). *Sharing power: Learning by doing in co-management throughout the world*. Tehran: ITED and IUCN/CEEP.
- Botes, J.M. (2008). Structural Transformation. In C. Cheldelin, D. Druckman, & L. Fast (Eds), *Conflict 2nd Ed*. New York, NY: Continuum.
- Boulding, E. (2000). *Cultures of Peace: The hidden side of history*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Brant, C. (1990). Native Ethics and Rules of Behaviour. *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry, Vol 35*, p. 534-539.
- Brown, D.L. (1983). Managing conflict at organizational interfaces. In J.P. Wanous. *The Addison-Wesley series on Managing Human Resources*, (p. 1-18). Reading MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Brown, M.E. (2007). New Global Dangers. In C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson, & P. Aall (Eds), *Leashing the dogs of war* (pp. 553-582). Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.

- Brownlie, R.J. (2003). *A Fatherly Eye: Indian agents, government power, and Aboriginal resistance in Ontario, 1918-1939*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Brownridge, D.A. (2003). Male partner violence against Aboriginal women in Canada: An empirical analysis. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 18*(1), 65-83.
- Burns, B. (2004). Kurt Lewin and the Planned Approach to Change: A Re-appraisal. *Journal of Management Studies, Vol. 41, No. 6*, p. 977-1002.
- Burrowes, R. J. (1996). *The strategy of nonviolent defense: A Gandhian approach*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Byrne, S., & Nadan, A. (2011). The Social Cube Analytical Model and Protracted Ethnopolitical Conflicts. In T. Matyók, J. Senehi, & S. Byrne (Eds), *Critical Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies, (pp. 199-215)*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Education.
- Byrne, S., & Senehi, J. (2009). Conflict analysis and resolution as a multidiscipline: A work in progress. In Sandole, D.J.D., Byrne, S., Sandole-Staroste, I., & Senehi, J. (Eds.). (2009). *Handbook of conflict analysis and resolution*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Cameron, D. (1804). *The Nipigon country 1804*.
- Canad, E.R. (1993). General Implications of Shamanism for Clinical Social Work. *International Social Work, Vol. XXVI, No. 4*, p. 14-22.
- Capra, F. (1996). *The Web of life*. New York, NY: Anchor Books.

- Carlson, K.T. (2010). *The Power of Place The Problem of Time: Aboriginal Identity and Historical Consciousness in the Cauldron of Colonialism*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Chartrand, P. (2004). Forward. In C. Bell & D. Kahane (Eds.), *Intercultural dispute resolution in Aboriginal contexts*, (pp. 11-27). Vancouver BC: UBC Press.
- Chataway, C.J. (1997). An examination of the constraints on mutual inquiry in a participatory action research project. *Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 53, No. 4, p. 747-765.
- Chataway, C.J. (2002). Successful development in Aboriginal communities: Does it depend upon a particular process? *The Journal of Aboriginal Economic Development*, Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 76-88.
- Chigas, D. (2007). Capacities and limits of NGOs as conflict managers. In C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson, & P. Aall (Eds), *Leashing the dogs of war* (pp. 553-582). Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Christie, J.J. (2009). *Landscapes of Origin in the Americas: Creation Narratives Linking Ancient Places and Present Communities*. Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press.
- Clarkson, L., Morrissette, V., & Regallet, G. (1992). *Our Responsibility to the Seventh Generations: Indigenous Peoples and Sustainable Development*. Winnipeg, MB: International Institute for Sustainable Development.
- Cook-Huffman, C. (2009). The role of identity in conflict. In Sandole, D.J.D., Byrne, S., Sandole-Staroste, I., & Senehi, J. (Eds.). (2009). *Handbook of conflict analysis and resolution*. New York, NY: Routledge.

- Cormier, P. & Ray, L. (in Print). A Tale of Two Drums: Kinoo-amaadawaad Megwaa Doodamawaad – “They are Learning With Each Other While They are Doing”. In Jean-Paul Restoule & Rochelle Johnston (Eds) *Contexts of Indigenous Research*. Accepted for publication and peer reviewed. Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier Press.
- Cormier, P.N. (2014). Aboriginal Peoples and the Role of Religion in Conflict: The Ever Elusive Peace. In T. Matyok, M. Flaherty, H. Tuso, J. Senehi, & S. Byrne (Eds), *Peace on Earth: The Role of Religion in Peace and Conflict Studies (pp. 165-180)*. New York, NY: Lexington Books.
- Cormier, P (2010). Indigenous Youth Conflict Intervention: The Transformation of Butterflies. *First Peoples Child & Family Review*, 5(3), p. 23-33.
- Corntassel, J. (2012). Re-envisioning resurgence: Indigenous pathways to decolonization and sustainable self-determination. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1(1), pp 86-101.
- Cortright, D. (2008). *Peace: A History of Movements and Ideas*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Coser, L.A. (1964). *The functions of social conflict*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
- Creswell, J.W. (2009). *Research Design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches 3rd ed*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Crocker, C.A., Hampson, F.O., & Aall, P. (2007). Leashing the Dogs of War. In C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson, & P. Aall (Eds), *Leashing the dogs of war (pp. 3-13)*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.

- Crocker, C.A., (2007). The Place for Grand Strategy, Statecraft, and Power in Conflict Management. In C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson, & P. Aall (Eds), *Leashing the dogs of war* (pp. 355-367). Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Crowshoe, R., & Manneschmidt, S. (2002). *Akak'stiman: A Framework for Decision-Making and Mediation Processes*. Calgary Alberta: University of Calgary Press.
- Daschuk, J. (2013). *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal life*. Regina, SK: University of Regina Press.
- Daes, I. (2009). Prologue: The Experience of Colonization Around the World. Henderson, J.Y. (2009). In, M. Battiste (Eds), *Reclaiming Indigenous voice and vision* (pp 11-38). Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Davidson-Hunt, I. (2003). Indigenous Lands Management, Cultural Landscapes and Anishinaabe People of Shoal Lake, Northwestern Ontario, Canada. *Environments*. Volume 31(1).
- Deane, L., Bracken, D.C., & Morrissette, L. (2007). Desistance within an urban Aboriginal gang. *Probation Journal: The Journal of Community and Criminal Justice*, 54(2), 125-141.
- De, Dreu, C.K.W. (1997). Productive Conflict: The importance of conflict management and conflict issue. In Carsten K.W. De Dreu and Evert Van de Vlert. *Using Conflict in organizations*. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage. P. 9-22.
- Denzin, N.K., & Lincoln, Y.S. (2008). Preface. In, N.K. Denzin, Y.S. Lincoln, & L.T. Smith (Eds), *Handbook of critical and Indigenous methodologies* (pp ix-xv). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Inc.

- Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (2008). Introduction: Critical Methodologies and Indigenous Inquiry. In, N.K. Denzin, Y.S. Lincoln, & L.T. Smith (Eds), *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies* (pp 1-20). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Deutsch, M. & Coleman, P.T. (2000). *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Dewdney, S. (1975). *The Sacred Scrolls of the Southern Ojibway*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Diamond, L.D., & McDonald, J. (1996). *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace*. Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press Inc.
- Dickson, G., & Green, K. (2001). Participatory action research: lessons learned with Aboriginal grandmothers. *Health Care for Women International*, Vol. 22, p. 471-482.
- Dickson, G., & Green, K. (2001). The external researcher in participatory action research. *Educational Action Research*, Vol. 9, No. 2, p. 243-260.
- Diehl, P.F. (2007). New Roles for Regional Organizations. In C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson, & P. Aall (Eds), *Leashing the dogs of war* (pp. 535-551). Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Dion Buffalo, Y.R. (1990). Seeds of Thought, Arrows of Change: Native Storytelling as a Metaphor. In T.A. Laidlaw, C. Malmö, & Associates (Eds), *Healing Voices: Feminist Approaches to Therapy for Women*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

- Duran, B., & Duran, E. (2009). Applied Postcolonial Clinical and Research Strategies. In, M. Battiste (Eds), *Reclaiming Indigenous voice and vision* (pp 86-100). Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Duran, E., & Duran, B. (1995). *Native American Postcolonial Psychology*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Ellison-Williams. E., & Ellison, F. (1996). Culturally Informed Social Work with American Indian Clients: Guidelines for non-Indian Social Workers. *Social Work*, Vol. 41, No. 2, p. 14-151.
- Edosa, C.D., Babel, S.M., Gupta, A.D. & Awulachew, S.B. (2005). *Indigenous systems of Conflict resolution in Oromia, Ethiopia*. International workshop on African Water Laws: Plural Legislative Frameworks for Rural Water Management in Africa. Johannesburg, South Africa.
- Ewen, A. & The Native American Council of New York City. (1994). *Voices of Indigenous Peoples: Native people address the United Nations*. Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light Publishers.
- Evans, M., Hole, R., Berg, L.D., Hutchinson, P., & Sookraj, D. (2009). Common Insights, Differing Methodologies: Towards a Fusion of Indigenous Methodologies, Participatory Action Research, and White Studies in an Urban Aboriginal Research Agenda. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 15(5). pp. 893-910.
- Farley, M., Lynne, J., & Cotton, A.J. (2005). Prostitution in Vancouver: Violence and the Colonization of First Nations Youth. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 42(2), 242-271.

- Fick, G.W. (No date). Linear and Community-Based Processes of Ethical Decision Making for Grasslands Workers. Ithica, NY: Cornell University Department of Soil, Crop and Atmospheric Sciences.
- Firestone, G, & Weinstein, J. (2004). In The Best Interest of Children: A Proposal to Transform the Adversarial System. *Family Court Review*, 42(2), pp. 203-215.
- Fisher P.A. & Ball T.J. (2002). The Indian Family Wellness Project: An Application of the Tribal Participatory Research Model. *Prevention Science*. 3(3), 235-240.
- Fisher, R.J. (2005). *Methods of Third-Party Intervention*. In, the Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation. Berlin Germany: Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management.
- Fisher, R.J. (2001). *Methods of Third-Party Intervention*. In, *the Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation*. Berlin Germany: Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management.
- Fisher, R.J. (2000). Intergroup Conflict. In, M. Deutsch & P.T. Coleman (Eds). *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution*. San Francisco CA: Jossey-Bass Inc.
- Fisher, R.J. (2000). *Sources of Conflict and Methods of Conflict Resolution*. International Peace and Conflict Resolution School of International Service. The American University.
- Fisher, R.J. (1993). Towards a Social –Psychological Model of Intergroup Conflict. In K.S. Larsen (Eds). *Conflict and Social Psychology*. New York, NY: Sage Publications.

- Folger, J.P., Poole, M.S., & Stutman, R.K. (2001). *Working Through Conflict: Strategies for Relationships, Groups, and Organizations*. Fourth Edition. New York, NY: Addison Wesley Longman.
- Fox, W.A., Hancock, R.G.V., & Pavlish, L.A. (1995). Where East Met West: The New Copper Culture. *The Wisconsin Archeologist*, 76(3-4), pp. 269-293.
- Foxcroft, D. (1995). *Wawaac 'akuk yaqwii?itq quu 'as (wawaach 'akuuk yaqwii?itq quu 'as: The Sayings of Our People*. Penticton B.C.: Theytus Books Ltd.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York, NY: The Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Friedel, T.L., Archibald, J., Bighead, R., Martin, G., & Munoz, M. (2013). Editorial – Indigenous Pedagogies: Resurgence and Restoration. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 35(1), pp. 1-6.
- Frideres, J. (2008). Aboriginal Identity in Canadian Contexts. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 28(2), 313-342.
- French, W.L., & Bell, C.H. (1995). *Organizational development: behavioural science interventions for organization improvement*. 5th ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, peace, and peace research. *The Journal of Peace Research*, 6, 167-191.
- Galtung, J. (1990). Cultural Violence. *Journal of Peace Research*, 27(3), p. 291-305.

- Gleditsch, N.P. (2007). Environmental change, security, and conflict. In C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson, & P. Aall (Eds), *Leashing the dogs of war* (pp. 553-582). Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Guay, S. (1994). *Peer Counselling*. Ottawa, ON: National Association of Friendship Centres.
- Guba, E., & Lincoln, Y. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. Denzin, and Y. Lincoln (Eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Gurr, T.R. (2007). Minorities, Nationalists, and Islamists: Managing Communal Conflict in the Twenty-First Century. In C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson, & P. Aall (Eds), *Leashing the dogs of war* (pp. 553-582). Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Hallowell, A.I. (1992). *The Ojibwa of Berens River, Manitoba: Ethnography in History*. Toronto, ON: Harcourt Brace Ivanovich College Publishers.
- Hart, M.A. (2002). Seeking Mino-Pimatisiwin: An Aboriginal Approach to Healing. Black Point, NS: Fernwood Publishing.
- Hart, M.A. (2009). For Indigenous People, by Indigenous People, with Indigenous People: Towards an Indigenous Research Paradigm. In, R. Sinclair, M.A. Hart, & G. Bruyere (Eds), *Wicihitowin: Aboriginal Social Work in Canada*, (pp 153-168). Black Point, NS: Fernwood Publishing.
- Henderson, J.Y. (2008). *Indigenous Diplomacy and the Rights of Peoples : Achieving UN Recognition*. Saskatoon, SK : Purich Publishing Ltd.

- Henderson, J.Y. (2009). The Context of the State of Nature. In, M. Battiste (Eds), *Reclaiming Indigenous voice and vision* (pp 11-38). Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Herring, R.D. (1996). Synergetic Counselling and Native American Indian Students. *Journal of Counselling and Development*, Vol. 74, No. 6, p. 542-547.
- Hiller, H. (1991). Culture. In, L. Tepperman & R.J. Richardson (Eds), *An Introduction to Sociology: The Social World, 2nd Ed.* (pp 73-103). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited.
- Hodgkins, A.P. (2008). A critical analysis of Freirean pedagogy: The case of development in Northern Canada. *Journal of Transformative Education*, 6(4), 302-316.
- Herman, J. (1997). *Trauma and Recovery: The aftermath of violence – from domestic abuse to political terror*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Hingangaroa Smith, G. (2008). Protecting and Respecting Indigenous Knowledge. In, M. Battiste (Eds), *Reclaiming Indigenous voice and vision* (pp 3-8). Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Hughes, I. (1997). Introduction. *Action Research Electronic Reader*. Retrieved March 3, 2005 from <http://www.scu.edu.au/schools/gcm/ar/arr/arow/rintro.html>.
- Huntington, S.P. (1993). The clash of civilizations. *Foreign Affairs* 72(3), p. 22-49.
- Howley, J.P. (1980). *The Beothuks or Red Indians: The Aboriginal Inhabitants of Newfoundland*. Toronto, ON: Coles Publishing Company Limited.

- Imai, S., Logan, K., & Stein G. (1993). *Aboriginal Law Handbook*. Scarborough ON: Carswell – Thomson Professional Publishing.
- Janzen, H.L., Skakum, S., & Lightning, W. (1994). Professional Services in a Cree Native Community. *Canadian Journal of School Psychology*, Vol. 10, No. 1, p. 88-102.
- Johnston, B. (1976). *Ojibway Heritage*. Toronto, ON: McClelland and Stewart.
- Kahane, D., & Bell, C. (2004). Introduction. In C. Bell & D. Kahane (Eds.), *Intercultural dispute resolution in Aboriginal contexts*, (pp. 11-27). Vancouver BC: UBC Press.
- Kenny, C., Faries, E., Fiske, J., & Voyageur, C. (2004). *A Holistic Framework for Aboriginal Policy Research*. Ottawa, ON: Research Directorate Status of Women Canada.
- Kinchloe, J.L. & S.R. Steinberg, (2008). Indigenous Knowledges in Education: Complexities, Dangers, and Profound Benefits. In, N.K. Denzin, Y.S. Lincoln, & L.T. Smith (Eds), *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies* (pp 135-156). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Kirby, S., & Mckenna, K. (1989). *Experience, research, social change: Methods from the margins*. Toronto, ON: Garamond Press.
- Kirmayer, L.J. (1994). Suicide among Canadian Aboriginal Peoples. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 31(3), 3-58.
- Kriesberg, L. (1998). *Constructive conflicts: From escalation to resolution*. New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc.

- Kritz, N.J. (2007). The rule of law in conflict management. In C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson, & P. Aall (Eds), *Leashing the dogs of war* (pp. 553-582). Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Kulchyski, P. (1992). Totalization and Resistance in Native Canadian Politics. *Cultural Critique*, No. 21, p. 171-195.
- Kulchyski, P. (2005). *Like the Sound of a Drum: Aboriginal Cultural Politics in Denendeh and Nunavut*. Winnipeg MB: University of Manitoba Press.
- Kuokkanen, R. (2011). Indigenous Economies, Theories of Subsistence, and Women: Exploring the Social Economy Model of Indigenous Government. *The American Indian Quarterly*, 35 (2), 215-240.
- Larocque, E. (2010). *When the Other is Me: Native Resistance Discourse 1850-1990*. Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press.
- Laszlo, E. (1996). *The Systems View of the World: A Holistic Vision for our Time*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press Inc.
- Lavallee, L.F. (2009). Practical application of an Indigenous research framework and two qualitative Indigenous research methods: Sharing circles and Anishnaabe symbol-based reflection. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 8(1), 21-40.
- Lederach, J.P. (2003). *Conflict Transformation*. Retrieved from [Http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/transformation](http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/transformation)
- Lederach, J.P. (1997). *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.

Lemelin, R. H. & Lickers F. H. (2005). *Implementing Capacity-Building, Respect, Equity, and Empowerment (CREE) In the Social Sciences*. Unpublished paper.

Letieqc, B.L. & Bailey, S.J., (2004). Evaluating from the outside: Conducting cross-cultural research on an American Indian reservation. *Evaluation Review*. 28(4), 342-356.

Levy, J.S. (2007). International sources of interstate and intrastate war. In C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson, & P. Aall (Eds), *Leashing the dogs of war* (pp. 553-582). Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.

Lickers, h., Doyle, D., Haas, G., Winslow, D., Barrasso, G., Lemelin, R., Diogo, B.J. & Rujderova, A. (1995). *Building Respect – Native People and Environmental Assessment*. Akwesasne: Mohawk Council of Akesasne & Ottawa: Institute of Research on Environment and Economy.

Lincoln, Y.S., & Gonzalez, E.M. (2008). The search for emerging decolonizing methodologies in qualitative research: Further strategies for liberatory and democratic inquiry. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 14(5), 780-805.

Lischke, U., & McNab, D.T. (2009). Introduction to Sacred Landscapes. In J. Oakes, R. Riewe, R.T. Bruggencate, & A. Cogswell (Eds), *Sacred Landscapes*. Winnipeg, MB: Aboriginal Issues Press University of Manitoba.

Little Bear, L. (2009). Jagged Worldviews Colliding. In, M. Battiste (Eds), *Reclaiming Indigenous voice and vision* (pp 77-85). Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.

- Longclaws, L.N., Rosebush, P., & Barkwell, L.J. (1993). *Report for Wawayseecappo First Nation Domestic Violence Project*. Submitted to Solicitor General of Canada, Corrections Branch, Ministry Secretariat, Contract no. 1514-93/wal-525.
- Longclaws, L.N. (1994). Social Work and Medicine Wheel Framework. In B.R. Compton and B. Galaway
- Lord, J., & Hutchinson, P. (1993). The process of empowerment: Implications for theory and practice. *Canadian Journal of Community Mental Health*, 12(1), 5-22.
- Loppie, C. (2007). Learning from the Grandmothers: Incorporating Indigenous principles into qualitative research. *Qualitative Health Research*, 17(2), 276-284.
- Lum, D. (2003). *Culturally Competent Practice: A Framework for Understanding Diverse Groups and Justice Issues*. 2nd Edition. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole - Thomson Learning.
- Mack, A. (2007). Successes and Challenges in Conflict Management. In C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson, & P. Aall (Eds), *Leashing the dogs of war* (pp. 553-582). Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- MacGinty, R. (2012). Between Resistance and Compliance: Non-participation and the Liberal Peace. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 6(2), p. 167-187
- MacGinty, R. (2008). Indigenous Peace-Making Versus the Liberal Peace. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 43, p. 139-163.
- MacGinty, R. (2006). *No War, No Peace: The Rejuvenation of Stalled Peace Processes and Peace Accords*. New York, NY: Palgrave Publishing.

- Macrae, J.A. (1898). Report on Robinson Treaty Annuities Port Arthur Agency 9th July 1898.
- Malloch, L. (1989). Indian Medicine, Indian, Health: Study Between Red and White Medicine. *Canadian Women Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2/3, p. 105-112.
- Mankowski, E.S., & Rappaport, J. (2000). Narrative concepts and analysis in spiritually-based communities. *Journal of community psychology*, Vol. 28, No. 5, p. 479-493.
- Marsick, V.J. & Sauquet, A. (2000). Learning through reflection. In, *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: theory and practice*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Matyók, T. (2011). Designing a Way Forward: Why this Book? Why Now? In T. Matyók, J. Senehi, & S. Byrne (Eds), *Critical Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies*, (pp. xxiii - xxviii). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Education.
- Maxwell, J. (2005). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach (2nd Ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Mcniff, J., & Whitehead, J. (2006). *All you need to know about action research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Merry, S.E. (2006). *Human rights and gender violence: Translating international law into local justice*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Meyer, J.F. (2002). "It is a Gift from the Creator to Keep us in Harmony": Original (vs. Alternative) Dispute Resolution on the Navajo Nation. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 25(11), pp. 1379-1401.

- Miller, A.M. & Davidson-Hunt, I. (2010). Fired, Agency and Scale in the Creation of Aboriginal Cultural Landscapes. *Human Ecology*, 38, p. 401-414.
- Mills, A. (1994). *Eagle Down is Our Law: Witsuwit'en Law, Feasts, and Land Claims*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Morrisseau, C. (1999). *Into the Daylight: A Wholistic Approach to Healing*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Nabigon, H., Hagey, R., Webster, S., & Mackay, R. (1999). The Learning Circle as a Research Method: The Trickster and Windigo in Research. *Native Social Work*, 2(1), p. 113-117.
- Nadasdy, P. (2003). *Hunter and Bureaucrats: Power, knowledge, and Aboriginal State Relations in the Southwest Yukon*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Nelson, C.H., Kelley, M.L., & McPherson, D.H. (1985). Rediscovering Support in Social Work Practice: Lessons from Indian Indigenous Human Service Workers. *Canadian Social Work Review*, Vol. 2, p. 231-248.
- Northrup, T.A. (1989). The Dynamic of Identity in Personal and Social Conflict. (p. 55-82). In, Kriesberg, L., Northrup, T.A., & Thorson, S.J. (1989). *Intractable Conflicts and their Transformation*. Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Oakes, J.Riewe, R., Bruggencate, R.T., & Cogswell, A. (2009). *Sacred Landscapes*. Winnipeg, MB: Aboriginal Issues Press University of Manitoba.
- O'Conner, J., & McDermott, I. (1997). *The art of Systems thinking: Essential skills for creativity and problem solving*. Hammersmith, London: Harper Collins Publishers.

- Odjig White, L. (1996). Medicine Wheel Teaching in Native Language Education. In S. O'Meara & D.A. West (Eds), *From our Eyes: Learning From Indigenous Peoples*. Toronto, ON: Garamond Press.
- Ollerenshaw, J., & Creswell, J.W. (2009). Narrative research : A comparison of two restorying data analysis approaches. *Qualitative Inquiry*, Vol. 8, No. 3, p. 329-347.
- Onah, P.U. (2008). The meaning of peace in African traditional religion and culture, available at: <http://www.afrikaworld.net/afrel/goddinoah.htm>.
[Accessed July, 18, 2008]
- Palys, T. (2003). *Research decisions: Quantitative and qualitative perspectives*. Scarborough, ON: Thomson Canada Limited.
- Peat, F.D. (1994). *Lighting the Seventh Fire: The Spiritual Ways, Healing, and Science of The Native American*. Toronto, ON: Canadian Manda Group.
- Prothrow-Stith, D., & Spivak, H.R. (2004). *Murder is No Accident: Understanding and Preventing Youth Violence in America*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Radford, J. (2005). *Onion Skin Model*. Class Lecture. Royal Roads University.
- Ray, L., & Cormier, P.N. (2012). Killing the weendigo with maple syrup: Anishinaabe pedagogy and post-secondary research. *Canadian journal of native education*, 35(1) 163-176.
- Reardon, B.A. (1992). Toward a paradigm of peace. In J.J. Fahey & R. Armstrong (Eds), *A Peace Reader: Essential readings on war, justice, non-violence, and world order*. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press.

- Regnier, R. (1994). The Sacred Circle: A Process Pedagogy of Healing. *Interchange*, Vol. 25, No. 2, p. 129-144.
- Rice, B. (2005). *Seeing the World With Aboriginal Eyes*. Winnipeg, MB: Aboriginal Issues Press.
- Rice, B. (2009). Restorative processes of peace and healing within the governing structures of the Rotinoshonni “Longhouse People”, in Sandole, D.J.D., Byrne, S., Sandole-Staroste, I. & Senehi, J. (Ed), *Handbook of conflict analysis and resolution*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Rice, B. (2011). Relationships with Human and Non-Human Species and How They Apply Toward Peacebuilding and Leadership in Indigenous Societies. In T. Matyók, J. Senehi, & S. Byrne (Eds), *Critical Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies*, (pp. 199-215). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Education.
- Rojas, E.Y. & Gretton, H.M. (2007). Background, offence characteristics, and criminal outcomes of Aboriginal youth who sexually offend: A closer look at Aboriginal youth intervention needs. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 19, 257-283.
- Pinto, J. (2000). Peacemaking as Ceremony: The Mediation Model of the Navajo Nation. *The International Journal of Conflict Management*, 11(3), pp. 267-286.
- Pepper, F.C., & Henry, S.L. (1991). An Indian Perspective of Self-Esteem. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, Vol. 18, No. 2, p. 145-160.

- Porter, R.B. (1997). Strengthening Tribal Sovereignty Through Peacemaking: How the Anglo-American Legal Tradition Destroys Indigenous Societies. *Columbia Human Rights Law Review*, winter
- Rorty, R. (1998). *Truth and progress*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Powers, S. (2002). *A Problem From Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*. New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers.
- Reardon, B.A. (1992). Toward a paradigm of peace. In J.J. Fahey & R. Armstrong (Eds), *A Peace Reader: Essential readings on war, justice, non-violence, and world order*. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press.
- Robertson, I. (1988). *Sociology 3rd Ed*. New York, NY: Worth Publishers Ltd.
- Robinson, M.P. (1996). Shampoo archaeology: towards a participatory action research approach in civil society. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, Vol 16, No. 1, p. 125-138.
- Ross, R. (No Date). Criminal Conduct & Colonization: Exploring the Link. Unpublished Paper
- Ross, R. (2006). *Returning to the Teachings: Exploring Aboriginal justice*. Toronto, ON: Penguin Books.
- Ross, R. (2006). *Traumatization in Remote First Nations: An Expression of Concern*. Unpublished paper.
- Rothman, J. (1997). *Resolving identity-based conflict: in nations organizations, and communities*. San Francisco CA: Jossey-Bass publishers.

- Prothrow-Stith, D., & Spivak, H.R. (2004). *Murder is No Accident: Understanding and Preventing Youth Violence in America*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Sandole, D.J.D., & van der Merwe, H. (1993). *Conflict Resolution, Theory and Practice: Integration and Application*. New York, NY: Manchester University Press.
- Sandole, J.D. (2001). *A comprehensive mapping of conflict and conflict resolution: A three pillar approach*. George Mason University Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution.
- Santiago-Rivera, A.L., Morse, G.S., Hunt, A., & Lickers, H. (1998). Building a Community-Based Research Partnership: Lessons from the Mohawk Nation of Akwesasne. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 26(2), 163-174.
- Said, E.W. (1993). *Culture and Imperialism*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- Schein, E.H. (1999). Organizational Culture. In, D. Ancona, T. Kochan, J. Van Maanen, M. Scully, & E. Westney (Eds), *Managing for the Future: Organizational Processes & Behaviour* (pp. 76-93). Sylva, NC: South-Western College Publishing.
- Schein, E.H. (1999). *The Corporate Culture Survival Guide: Sense and Nonsense About Culture Change*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishing.
- Schnarch, B. (2004). Ownership, Control, Access, and Possession (OCAP) or Self-determination Applied to Research: A Critical Analysis of Contemporary First Nations Research and Some Options for First Nations Communities. *Journal of Aboriginal Health*, January 2004.
- Shagoury Hubbard, R., & Miller Power, B. (1993). *The art of classroom inquiry: A handbook for teacher-researchers*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Shanahan, D. (2008). Red Rock First Nations Railway Lands Specific Claim Summary Analysis.

Shanahan, D. (2008). Red Rock First Nations Railway Lands Specific Claim Document
Summary.

Sharp, G. (2005). *Waging nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential*.
Boston, MA: Porter Sargent Publishers Inc.

Shearer, J., Peters, P., and Davidson-Hunt, I. (2009). Co-producing a Whitefeather forest cultural
landscape framework. In M.G. Stevenson and D.C. Natcher (Eds.), *Changing the culture
of forestry in Canada: Building effective institutions for Aboriginal engagement in
Sustainable forest management*. Edmonton, AB: CCI Press.

Shewell, H. (2004). *Enough to Keep Them Alive: Indian Welfare in Canada, 1873 – 1965*.
Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Sinclair, R., Hart, M.A., & Bruyere, G. (2009). *Wicihitowin: Aboriginal Social Work in Canada*.
Black Point, NS: Fernwood Publishing.

Simard, E. (2009). Culturally restorative child welfare practice – a special emphasis on cultural
attachment theory. *First Peoples Child & Family Review*, Vol. 4, No. 2, p. 44-61.

Simmel, G. (1955). *Conflict: The web of group-affiliations*. New York: NY: The Free Press.

Simpson, L. (2010). First Words. In L. Davis, (Eds), *Alliances: Re/Envisioning Indigenous-non-
Indigenous Relationships*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

- Stewart F., & Brown, G. (2007). Motivations for conflict. In C.A. Crocker, F.O. Hampson, & P. Aall (Eds), *Leashing the dogs of war* (pp. 553-582). Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Stonechild, B. (2006). *The new buffalo: The struggle for Aboriginal post-secondary education in Canada*. Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press.
- Strega, S. (2005). The view from the poststructural margins: Epistemology and methodology reconsidered. In, L. Brown & S. Strega (Eds.), *Research as Resistance: Critical, Indigenous, & anti-oppressive approaches* (pp. 199-235). Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars Press/Women's Press.
- Stringer, E. (2008). *Action research in education* (2nd ed.) Upper Saddle River NJ: Pearson/Merrill Prentice Hall.
- Stringer, E.T. (1996). *Action research: a handbook for practitioners*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Struthers, R. & Peden-McAlpine, C. (2005). Phenomenological research among Canadian and United States Indigenous populations: Oral tradition and quintessence of time. *Qualitative Health Research, 15*(9), 1264-1276.
- Surtees, R.J. (1986). Treaty Research Report: The Robinson Treaties (1850). Treaties and historical research centre, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada.
- Spitz, P. (1978). Silent violence: Famine and inequality. *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 30, No. 4, p. 867-892.

- Swamp, J. (2010). Kanikonriio: Power of a Good Mind. In L. Davis, (Eds), *Alliances: Re/Envisioning Indigenous-non-Indigenous Relationships*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- The World Bank (2011). *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Thiessen, C. (2011). Emancipatory Peacebuilding. In T. Matyók, J. Senehi, & S. Byrne (Eds), *Critical Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies*, (pp. 199-215). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Education.
- Thomas, K.W. (1979). Organizational Conflict. In, H.L. Tosi, (1990). *Organizational Behaviour and Management: A Contingency Approach*. Boston: Kent Publishing.
- Thompson Cooper, I., & Stacey Moore, G. (2009). *Walking in a Good Way Ioterihwakwarihshion Tsi Ihse: Aboriginal Social Work Education*. Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholars' Press Inc.
- Thoms, M. J. (1996). *Illegal Conservation: Two Case Studies of Conflict Between State Indigenous and State Natural Resource Management Paradigms*. A Master's Degree project submitted to Frost Centre for Canadian Studies and Native Studies. Trent University.
- Thorson, S. (1989). Introduction: Conceptual Issues. In L. Kriesberg, T.A. Northrup, & S.J. Thorson (Eds), *Intractable Conflicts and their Transformation* (pp. 1-10). Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1989

- Tidwell, A.C. (2001). *Conflict resolved? A critical assessment of conflict resolution*. New York, NY: Continuum.
- Tuhai-Smith, L. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. New York, NY: Zed Books Limited.
- Turner, D. (2004). *Perceiving the World Differently*. . In C. Bell & D. Kahane, *Intercultural dispute resolution in Aboriginal contexts*. Vancouver BC: UBC Press.
- Turner, D. (2006). *This is not a peace pipe: Towards critical Indigenous philosophy*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Tuso, H. (2011). Indigenous Processes of Conflict Resolution: Neglected Methods of Peacemaking by the New Field of Conflict Resolution. In T. Matyók, J. Senehi, & S. Byrne (Eds), *Critical Issues in Peace and Conflict Studies*, (pp. 199-215). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Education.
- Uvin, P. (1998). *Aiding violence: The development enterprise in Rwanda*. West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press.
- Wadden, M. (2008). *Where the Pavement Ends: Canada's Aboriginal Recovery Movement and the Urgent Need for Reconciliation*. Vancouver, BC: Douglas & McIntyre Ltd.
- Waldram, J.B. (1997). *The Way of the Pipe: Aboriginal Spirituality and Symbolic Healing in Canadian Prisons*. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press.
- Walker, P.O. (2004). Decolonizing Conflict Resolution Addressing the Ontological Violence of Westernization. *The American Indian Quarterly*, 28(3&4), 527-549.

- Wa'na'nee'che', R.D., & Freke, T. (1996). *Thornsons Principles of Native American Spirituality*. San Francisco CA: Thorsons Publishing.
- Warry, W. (2007). *Ending Denial: Understanding Aboriginal Issues*. Toronto ON: Toronto University Press.
- Weller, L.D. Jr. & Weller, S. (2000). *Quality Human Resource Leadership: A Principal's Handbook*. Lanham, Maryland, and London: Scarecrow Press.
- Wesley-Esquimaux, C., & Smolewski, M. (1999). *Historic Trauma and Aboriginal Healing*. Ottawa ON: Aboriginal Healing Foundation.
- Westra, L. (2008). *Environmental Justice and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: International and Domestic Legal Perspectives*. Sterling VA: Earthscan.
- Whiteman, G. (2009). All my relations: Understanding perceptions of justice and conflict between companies and Indigenous Peoples. *Organization Studies*, 30(01), 101-120.
- Wilkinson, G.T. (1980). On Assisting Native People. *Social Casework*, Vol. 61, No. 8, p. 451-452.
- Wilson, S. (2008). *Research is ceremony: Indigenous research methods*. Black Point, NS: Fernwood Publishing.
- Wolff, S. (2006). *Ethnic Conflict: A Global Perspective*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Woodworth, W. (2010). Iroquoian Condolence Practised on a Civic Scale. In L. Davis, (Eds), *Alliances: Re/Envisioning Indigenous-non-Indigenous Relationships*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

- Yazzie, R. Chief Justice. (2004). *Navajo Peacemaking and Intercultural Dispute Resolution*. . In C. Bell & D. Kahane, *Intercultural dispute resolution in Aboriginal contexts*. Vancouver BC: UBC Press.
- Yazzie, R. (2009). Indigenous Peoples and Postcolonial Colonialism. In, M. Battiste (Eds), *Reclaiming Indigenous voice and vision* (pp 39-53). Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Young, D., Ingram, G., & Swartz, L. (1989). *Cry of the Eagle: Encounters with a Cree Healer*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Zieba, R.A. (1990). *Healing and Healers Among the Northern Cree*. Unpublished Master's Thesis. Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba.
- Zeni, J. (1998). A guide to ethical issues & action research. *Educational Action Research*, Vol. 6, No. 1, p. 9-19.