

Settler Canadians and Racism in Winnipeg

by

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**A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
The University of Manitoba**

In partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Peace and Conflict Studies

University of Manitoba

Winnipeg

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Acknowledgments

While I'd like to take a lot of credit for this thesis, without the tremendous support of my family, friends and committee members this research project would have never been started, not alone come to completion.

I'd like to extend my gratitude to my amazing committee; Dr. Neil Funk-Unrau, Dr. Maureen Flaherty and Dr. Cathy Rocke. I'll admit that I was not the most motivated graduate student and am very thankful to my committee for stick alongside me through my reluctant struggle to write this thesis.

To my family, I am extremely lucky to have such a close and supportive family. While they may not have contributed to my thesis directly, they consistently offered me the love and support that gave me the confidence needed to take on this project. I must also give a special thanks to my mother Carol, who has enthusiastically stood by me for my entire academic career, always asking, "So what is it that you're studying again?" Of course this research study would never have happened without the love and support of my husband Ben. Every time I was ready to throw in the towel Ben was there waiting with food and words of encouragement. He saw me through the darkest days of my writing phase and without him this thesis would have never come to completion.

I'd like to thank my friend and mentor Anastasie Hacault. Being the oldest of three children, I never had an older sister to give me guidance. Anastasie filled that void. She encouraged me to pursue graduate studies and walked me through the application process. An alumni of the University of Manitoba's graduate program herself, Anastasie was the person I went to when the writing process seemed overwhelming and impossible. She was always there to reassure me that I could complete this task. Regrettably, Anastasie lost her battle to cancer on November 27th, 2017. In her last year of life Anastasie was putting up a strong fight and somehow managed to support me immensely at the same time. Her strength and courage were truly inspiring. The completion of this thesis is my gift to her. I know that if she were

here today that she would be so proud of me, and that has made this whole process worthwhile.

Finally I want to acknowledge the Indigenous people of Turtle Island. Your strength and perseverance in the face of social injustice is commendable. I acknowledge that my privilege has come from these injustices, and for this I say “I’m sorry, and thank you”.

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1.0 Introduction

It is no secret that the Indigenous community in Winnipeg has faced many challenges. The Indigenous peoples and Settler Canadians alike are aware of the stereotypes and prejudice that surrounds and plagues this community. As Settler Canadians have attempted to grapple with this social issue, they have labelled it the *Indian Problem*, all the while neglecting to acknowledge the more concerning *Settler Problem* (Regan, 2010).

In analyzing this social issue, we have the option of studying the victims of racism and attempting to understand their suffering. However, this method of inquiry only provides us with a list of symptoms; it does not provide us with insight on how to resolve the root causes of racism. To thoroughly understand how to respond to racism we need to shift the focus away from the oppressed (McIntosh, 2012; Stoudt, Fox, & Fine, 2012). We need to instead study the attitudes and behaviours of Settler Canadians.

The purpose of this study is to better understand the relationship between Settler Canadians and racism in Winnipeg. If we can determine the barriers that prevent Settler Canadians from acting out against racism, we can potentially identify avenues through which those settlers can become allies of the oppressed. Through the use of personal interviews with University of Manitoba students, this researcher hoped to produce knowledge concerning racism, settler identity, and the potential for social change in Winnipeg.

2.0 Terminology

Throughout this study the reader will notice constant reference to two distinct communities: The *Indigenous peoples* and *Settler Canadians*. The following attempts to explain why those particular terms were chosen and how they are utilized. The intent of naming these two communities is not to create or reinforce a di-

vision between them, but rather to recognize their potential to become allies on the road towards reconciliation.

The term *Indigenous peoples* will be used routinely to refer to the first inhabitants of North America and their descendants. This term was deliberately chosen as it encompasses all First peoples in Canada, including First Nations, Inuit, and Métis.

First Nations is the contemporary term for the out dated term *Indian*. The term *Indian* was first used to describe the original inhabitants of North America in 1492 when Christopher Columbus mistakenly believed he had landed in India. (Joseph, 2016; Lee, 2011). In Canada, the term was defined by the Indian Act¹ and includes Status and Non-Status Indians². The term *Indian* has largely been abandoned due to its historical inaccuracies, its connection to various negative stereotypes, and because it is a symbol of colonial power (Larocque, Emma, 2014).

Inuit refers to people living in or hailing from four regions in Canada; Nunavut territory, Nunavik, Nunatsiavut and the Inuvialuit Settlement Region. Inuit is not synonymous with First Nations. Lastly, *Métis* refers to those people who have a mix of both First Nations and non-First Nation ancestry. The Métis people went on to create their own distinct culture by marrying within their group for generations, eventually creating a new ethnicity (Larocque, Emma, 2014; Simeone, 2015).

Indigenous is also becoming an increasingly preferred term both internationally and within Canada and it situates the First peoples within the global context (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, n.d.) In Canada, many have adopted the term *Indigenous* because of the limitations the Canadian government has placed upon the Aboriginal identity. Identifying as Aboriginal is based upon the government's official recognition of who does and who does not fit a certain set of criteria, where as identifying as *Indigenous* is based on a shared experienced of being in opposition to colonization (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015a).

¹ The Indian Act is an act of parliament that was first passed in 1876. The act concerns the interactions between the Canadian Government and the First Nations in Canada (Government of Canada, 1985).

² Non-status refers to those individuals are not entitled to legal registration under the Indian Act (Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2012).

Special Rapporteur Jose R. Martinez Cobo has also influenced the understanding of the term *Indigenous*. He was one of the first to work towards a definition of the term Indigenous and he included a working definition of the term in the United Nations' *Study of the Problem of Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations*:

Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system." (UN Commission on Human Rights, 1986, pp. 379-382)

The interpretation of this term has been further influenced by the United Nations' current understanding of *Indigenous peoples*; in which particular importance has been placed upon self-identification:

Article 33 of the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to determine their own identity or membership in accordance with their customs and traditions. This does not impair the right of Indigenous individuals to obtain citizenship of the States in which they live.
2. Indigenous peoples have the right to determine the structures and to select the membership of their institutions in accordance with their own procedures.

(United Nations, 2007).

The second community, *Settler Canadians*, are irrefutably linked to the Indigenous peoples through their shared colonial history. The term *Settler* literally means

“one who settles in a new country” (“Settler,” 2015, para. 4) however within the context of this research study, *Settler Canadians* should be understood as the community that has consciously or unconsciously profited from the displacement and destruction of Indigenous peoples. The understanding of this term was largely influenced by the work of Emma Battell Lowman and Adam Barker (2015a). However, Lowman and Barker give credit to historian Paulette Regan (2010) as being one of the first persons to employ the term *Settler* in this way. While the term *Settler Canadian*, and the Settler Canadian identity will be further discussed and explained in the context section, it is important to note that the term is not a synonym for non-Indigenous persons. There are individuals living in Canada who may not identify as either an Indigenous person or as a Settler Canadian, there are also individuals who will identify as both (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015a).

It is also worth noting that not all academics are in favour of the term *Settler Canadian*. Emma Laroque (2014) is opposed to the term as she believes Indigenous peoples should be considered the original settlers, as they are rooted to and deeply settled on this land. She does not approve of Europeans owning the term *settler* or *settlement* and considers Europeans to be the *Immigrant re-Settlers* (p. 7). Others believe the term to be too gentle and instead suggest *Settler-Invaders* to be more appropriate. (Mackey, 2016, Endnote 3).

3.0 Context

3.1 Winnipeg

Winnipeg is the nation’s 8th largest city with a population of approximately 714,640, and is also home to the largest Indigenous population of any city in Canada. (Environics Institute, 2011). In 2011, 11% (78,420) of Winnipeggers identified as being Indigenous persons. The majority, 46,320, identify as Métis, 30,420 as First Nation, and a small minority identified as Inuit (Statistics Canada, 2013).

Winnipeg is also a home of severe racism and discrimination. Over the last few years, several examples of racism and the challenges that face Indigenous people have come to light. Winnipeg become ground zero in the growing concern over

missing and murdered Aboriginal women and girls. On August 17th, 2014, the body of 15-year-old Tina Fontaine was pulled from the Red River. Fontaine, from Sagkeeng First Nation, had been reported missing August 9th. Raymond Cormier, was charged with her murder and was acquitted by a jury on February 22nd, 2018. Tina's death and the subsequent trial have drawn national attention and fuelled conversation in Winnipeg surrounding the apprehension of Indigenous children by government agencies, the victimization of Indigenous women and girls, and a lack of justice for Indigenous families (Nancy Macdonald, 2018).

Although some argue that racism and discrimination has little to do with the surge of missing and murdered Aboriginal women and girls (Brodbeck, 2015), there's no denying that the actions of people like Brad Badiuk are motivated by racism. Badiuk, a Winnipeg high school teacher, posted statements on his personal Facebook page such as, "How long are Aboriginal people going to use what happened as a crutch to suck more money out of Canadians?" (Martin, 2014). While his comments appalled many, and he was quickly suspended from his position as a teacher, what is surprising is how many quietly defended him, explaining that he had merely verbalized what some were already thinking. Not long after a group in support of Badiuk was also discovered on Facebook. The page, created in December 2014, called *Aboriginals need to get a job and stop using our tax dollars* was shut down by Facebook administrators, but only after it had amassed almost 5,000 members. Written in the page's description was "Stop the Aboriginals from milking us Whites for all we got." (CBC News, 2015).

Racism against Indigenous peoples has also become an issue within Winnipeg's healthcare system. In September 2017 the Brian Sinclair Working Group published its interim report investigating the death of Brian Sinclair and the existence of systemic racism in the healthcare system. Sinclair was an Indigenous man who died in 2008 in a hospital emergency room. Staff assumed he was drunk, homeless, or avoiding the cold. He was discovered dead after being in the emergency room waiting area for 34 hours. The working group determined that racism was a contributing factor in his death (Brian Sinclair Working Group, 2017).

In spite of incidents like these, many in Winnipeg continued to turn a blind eye to racism; however, an article written by Nancy Macdonald (2015) would inevitably make it harder to avoid this social injustice. On January 22nd, 2015 Maclean's magazine published Macdonald's controversial article, entitled *Welcome to Winnipeg: Where Canada's racism problem is at its worst*. In the article Macdonald, a former Winnipegger, exposed the oppression experienced by the city's Indigenous population and deemed Winnipeg the most racist city in Canada, putting the city front and centre in the racism debate (Macdonald, 2015).

The incidents described above are only a few of the many ways in which Winnipeg's Indigenous peoples face regular discrimination. Most are fully aware of the stereotypes that Settler Canadians hold against them. They know that they and members of their community are often unjustly stereotyped as having addiction issues, being lazy and unmotivated, being unemployed and uneducated, dependent upon handouts and prone to criminal behaviour. A majority of Indigenous people in Winnipeg report that they have been personally insulted because of their race and culture (Environics Institute, 2011).

Many Settler Canadians are not blind to the racism that plagues their neighbours and recognize that Indigenous people face more discrimination than any other minority group in Winnipeg. Nonetheless, and despite recognizing this discrimination, some settlers do not believe that racism is to blame for the socio-economic barriers faced by Indigenous people. In fact, it is a common belief in Winnipeg that the challenges Indigenous people face are brought upon themselves. Many Winnipeggers are willing to admit that equal treatment is necessary to ensure a better quality of life for all people, but fail to recognize their own role in perpetuating and maintaining racism and discrimination (Environics Institute, 2011).

3.2 Colonial Canada

Mistreatment of Indigenous people in Winnipeg is no doubt linked to Canada's violent and exploitive past. The roots of racism run deep in Canada, as this country was built upon a collection of racist and exploitive policies. For many years the Canadian state implemented policies intended to preserve the British character

of the nation (Comack, 2015). These policies made Canada more accessible to White European immigrants, and less accessible to those deemed undesirable. Chinese immigrants, for example, were subject to a head tax which went as high as \$500 per person in 1903; and in 1923 the federal government implemented the Chinese Exclusion act, which essentially barred Chinese immigrants all together (Comack, 2015). Japanese Canadians experienced similar abuse. During World War II, 22,000 Japanese Canadians were forcibly removed from British Columbia's coastline and made to relocate to remote and inhospitable communities further inland at their own expense (Robinson, 2010).

Canada's history is full of stories like these; stories of discrimination. Some were state sanctioned and some not, but one of the most tragic and lasting stories is the suffering and abuse experienced by the Indigenous peoples. European colonization was a venture motivated by greed, self-righteousness and a worldview of dominion, and the Indigenous peoples were the casualties of that greed. During the formative years of Canada, the government approved state-sanctioned violence against those who already occupied this land.

Prior to colonization Indigenous people had complex forms of governance; they had formed confederacies, made trade agreements, and practiced many cultural ceremonies; but in order for settlers to justify their dominion over them, Indigenous peoples had to be dehumanized (Mascarenhas, 2012). The *Doctrine of Discovery*³ was used to establish settler superiority, legitimize colonialism, and undermine Indigenous sovereignty (Miller, Ruru, Behrendt, & Lindberg, 2010). Because the Indigenous peoples of Turtle Island did not share the economic and governmental institutions of the settlers, they were declared "non-existent", which in turn gave the settlers justification to take the land from its original inhabitants;

Casting imperial law as normative and Indigenous law as non-existent or abnormal played a distinct role in the implantation of beliefs about the rightful-

³ The Doctrine of Discovery gave legally recognized property, governmental, political and commercial rights to newly arrived Europeans with out Indigenous peoples' knowledge or consent. It is still an international law today (Miller et al., 2010).

ness of European property laws. Additionally, situating Indigenous nations as 'savage' and lawless inverted reflections of imperial nations meant that rightful and righteous force and/or authority could be applied and used to justify settler invasion. (Miller et al., 2010, p. 94–95)

Consequently, a deliberate effort was made to assimilate the Indigenous peoples and to destroy their culture. Europeans perceived themselves as being more civilized than the Indigenous population, and therefore more entitled to land, so Indigenous social institutions and knowledge systems were labelled primitive and their physical appearance was ridiculed (Hart, 2015; Silver, Ghirashi, Hay, & Klyn, 2006).

In 2006 the Canadian government entered into the *Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement*, under which compensation was paid to eligible former students who had attended any of the 139 Residential schools between the 1860's to the 1996 (Government of Canada, 2006; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b). On June 11th, 2008 Prime Minister Stephen Harper issued an apology on the behalf of Canada for one of the darkest atrocities to occur during Canadian history, the Indian Residential School system (IRS) (Regan, 2010). The foundations for residential schools were laid by Christian missionary organizations, but the national IRS was formed through a partnership with these organisations and the federal government in 1883 (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b). The goal of the IRS was to educate and assimilate Indigenous children into mainstream European society (Regan, 2010). Residential schools allowed for 24-hour separation of the Indigenous child from their culture. It is estimated that 150,000 Indigenous children were removed from their homes and forced to attend one of these institutions (Environics Institute, 2011; Regan, 2010; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b). While some past students of the IRS have reported positive experiences, many children suffered severe hardship including physical, psychological and sexual abuse (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b). Children were not allowed to speak their own languages or practice their own traditions (Environics Institute, 2011). The IRS instilled young Indigenous peo-

ple with a sense of shame. They were taught to be embarrassed by their culture, a lesson that inevitably tore away at their identity and self-esteem (Silver et al., 2006).

Those under the impression that residential schools were part of a far-gone era might be surprised to know that the last school closed only in 1996 (Environics Institute, 2011). Twenty years later, the wounds are still fresh. The IRS has not only impacted former students, but also their descendants. As entire generations were removed and segregated from their families and communities, lessons that would have normally been passed from parent to child were lost. As a direct result of the IRS, descendants have lost contact with their ancestors' culture, identity, and parenting practices. In Winnipeg, half of the Indigenous people interviewed by the Environics Institute said that they had been personally impacted by residential schools (Environics Institute, 2011).

Colonialism and the IRS have left many Indigenous people with an overwhelming feeling of sadness and anger. This can best be described as *Intergenerational Trauma*, where the damaging effects of traumatic experiences are not remedied, and are thus passed down to future generations (Marsh, Cote-Meek, Young, Najavits, & Toulouse, 2016; Menzies, 2007). Due to centuries of marginalization and residential schools, trauma has become institutionalized in some Indigenous families. This trauma, passed from one generation to the next, diminishes the families' ability to transmit their values and knowledge. It also allows for the introduction of dysfunctional models of behaviour, such as substance abuse and self-harm. In short, it is not necessary for an Indigenous person to have attended a residential school in order to have felt its effects (Marsh et al., 2016; Menzies, 2007).

Some have internalized the oppression they've experienced and have begun to believe the awful things settlers have told them about themselves. They are confronted daily by the pain of colonialism, and regrettably some have tried to escape through drugs, alcohol, and self-abuse (Hart, 2015). For so long the image of the Indigenous peoples has been unjustly degraded, and tragically some Indigenous peoples have become a sort of self-fulfilling prophecy, as Michael Hart (2015) explains,

As Aboriginal people move further into internalizing the colonization processes, the more we degrade who we are as Aboriginal people. All of these internalized processes only serve the colonizers, who then are able to sit back and say “see, we were right”. In colonizers’ eyes, the usurpation is justified. (p. 10)

Paulette Regan (2010) suggests that the attitudes that motivated the Indian Residential School system are “still alive and well today, rooted in settler historical myths and colonial mindsets” (p. 6). She explains that as a nation, Canada continues to use these myths to avoid having to accept our country’s violent past. Many Settler Canadians try continuously to minimize the violence and rationalize offenses by claiming it was the extreme actions of a few, and not the fault of the majority. We have failed to see how we are continuing to contribute to the plight of Indigenous people. Rather than acknowledging our role in perpetuating colonialism, we have avoided guilt by committing ourselves to finding a resolution to the “Indian problem” while simultaneously denying the existence of a “settler problem” (Regan, 2010).

2.3 Road to Reconciliation

In 2008, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) was established in response to the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement. The commission was mandated to study and reveal the complex truth about residential schools. It was to inspire healing and provide guidance on how to work towards reconciliation between the Indigenous and the non-Indigenous peoples, the church, various levels of government and with Canada in general (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b).

The commission’s purpose was not to blame or shame non-Indigenous people in Canada, but rather to acknowledge that both the Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous peoples are in need of healing, and that healing is best achieved through reconciliation.

Reconciliation must inspire Aboriginal and non-aboriginal peoples to transform Canadian society so that our children and grandchildren can live together in dignity, peace, prosperity on these lands we now share.

(Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b, p. 8)

The TRC started the reconciliation process by holding seven national events during which it gathered documents from residential school survivors. At the same time, it was conducting a historical investigation, collecting documentation concerning the IRS. The commission made it their mission to spread awareness concerning the suffering experienced by the Indigenous peoples, which they saw as being especially important considering the lack of historical knowledge among non-Indigenous people. The TRC has also worked towards official acknowledgement of harm and atonement, both from the Canadian government and the various church organisations that ran residential schools (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b).

One of the commission's greatest contributions was the Call to Actions, which included 94 recommendations for governments and other institutions. The Call to Actions expressed a need for change in the areas of child welfare, education, language and culture, health and justice; all areas needing deliberate change before the relationships between Indigenous peoples and Canada can be reconciled (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b).

4.0 Theoretical Framework

4.1 Settler Colonialism and Settler Canadian Identity

Before discussing the Settler Canadian identity, we must first understand the concept of *Settler Colonialism*. Settler colonialism differs from other forms of colonialism in that the goal is not to extract resources from a particular geographical area, but rather to remove Indigenous peoples from the land and establish a permanent occupation. During European colonialism, many relocated to the colonies to extract valuable resources, all the while maintaining the intention of returning home. In

Canada, Australia, and the United States however, settlers came to stay. Consequently, the invasion of the new colony is not restricted to a moment in time, but rather becomes an endless occupation that requires the eradication of the Indigenous peoples (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; Mackey, 2016; Wolfe, 2006). With this occupation also comes the social, political, and economic structures needed to maintain and grow the settler society. These structures establish the cultural norms, the laws and the taboos of the foreign Settlers (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015a; Bonds & Inwood, 2016). Settler colonialism is also transcending in nature, meaning that the ultimate goal is to establish a settler society that is so deeply entrenched that it becomes normalized and unchallenged. To accomplish this, Settler sovereignty must constantly be defended and maintained (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015a; Mackey, 2016).

In order for the settler society to reach this level of security, the sanitization of the land is essential. Settlers seek to replace Indigenous societies with their own. To reach this unquestioned state, settlers must eliminate any pre-existing ties to the land. The Indigenous peoples become the casualties of this process as their history prior to colonisation is washed away to support the myth of *terra nullius*⁴ and the Doctrine of Discovery (Mackey, 2016; Taiaiake Alfred, 2010). Structural racism is also established as a method to further deny the Indigenous people their land.

Meanwhile, as the Settlers begin to establish their identity in the new colony, they selectively choose various Indigenous symbols to serve the national identity. We use symbols like the Inuksuk, the canoe, and even maple syrup to define Canadian society without having asked or consulted the communities from which they originated (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015a; Wolfe, 2006). Settler Colonialism is also maintained through Settler narratives that we find in various media like; movies, books, and video games. We commonly talk about colonialism as though it is a phenomenon of a past era. We use terms such as *post-colonialism*, and yet colonial-

⁴ *Terra nullius* was the principle through which the British legitimized creating colonies in the “New World”. *Terra nullius* implies that by natural law, vacant land can be occupied. The land (Turtle Island) was not *actually* vacant, but rather it was *legally* vacant, meaning it was not already owned as sovereign property. Because the land had yet to be legally claimed, Europeans determined it was free to be claimed.

ism is still “pervasive and persistent” in Canada and it is able to continue through the narratives of the settler myths (Veracini, 2015, p. 1). Taiaiake Alfred (2010) explains how these myths are renewed daily in the minds of Settlers;

Colonization is not just Redcoats, muskets, and felt hats. Its not even just priests in residential schools. It is you. It is this continual living process of renewal in the minds of Canadians and Americans of the ancestral fantasies of dispossession, domination and assimilation that were at the foundation of their forebears’ colonial enterprises. (p. 6)

Settler colonialism has succeeded in developing and maintaining many myths in Canada. Settler Canadians hold on tightly to the *peacemaker myth* and the peacemaker is our preferred identity. As Settlers, we have told ourselves stories about our-nonviolent history. We think of ourselves as being polite heroes, both at home and abroad. This identity, established and normalized by settler society, is a ruse and is not a reflection of our true identity (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015a; Ralston Saul, 2008; Regan, 2010).

Settler Canadians have also developed a sense of entitlement. We feel that we have improved the land that we have colonized, therefore granting us a natural right to own it. As Settlers we are so certain that our claim to the land will go unchallenged, that we become angry when this claim is called into question. This perception is what Eva Mackey (2016) refers to as “settler expectations” (Introduction, Settled and Unsettled Expectations section, para. 1). Furthermore, Settlers are for the most part unwilling to acknowledge the hostile relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Settlers deny their role in land appropriation and their role in the destruction of the Indigenous cultures (Mackey, 2016). In contemporary times Indigenous peoples are permitted to exist within the colonial society, provided they are absorbed into the mosaic and remain compliant;

They [Settlers] invite Indigenous people into their communities as long as they behave appropriately and “buy land, work beside us, pay taxes and observe our local, state and federal laws”. (Mackey, 2016, Chapter 4, para. 4)

The binding commonality between all Settler Canadians is that we have benefitted from settler colonialism (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015a). For many it is the unclaimed identity. A large part of this identity is the denial of any wrongdoing; and by denying this identity we are simultaneously rejecting our collective responsibility for the harms done to the Indigenous peoples (Regan, 2010). As Battell Lowman and Barker (2015a) explain “it can be an identity that we claim or deny, but we inevitably live and embody it. It is who we are, as a people, on these lands” (p. 2).

Because of our shared history, present, and future, our settler identity is inherently linked to the Indigenous identity. Consequently, it is also linked to that land we currently occupy. Land is without question a major factor in the identity formation of both the Indigenous People and the Settler Canadians. This disputed land has significant meaning to Indigenous communities, but is also what Settlers perceive as ensuring their personal prosperity and security. As Settlers we have become rooted to the land that was previously claimed. Consciously or unconsciously the goal of the Settler Canadian is the same as the goal of Settler Colonialism: to obtain control and maintain control of land (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015a).

The Settler Canadian identity, like all identities is flexible and shifting; and not all Settlers will have similar life experiences. It is important and crucial to understand that these identities are non-binary and not dualistic in nature, and it should be noted that Settler Canadian is not synonymous with non-Indigenous. There are many individuals living in Canada who would identify neither as Indigenous nor as a Settler. Consider for example, slaves, refugees, and other visitors to the country who did not necessarily choose to come to Canada. These individuals would be part of a third group, and may not identify with either of communities under discussion (Amadahy & Lawrence, 2009; Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015a). It also cannot be assumed that Settlers are all “white”. People of colour may also iden-

tify as Settler Canadians, but may not have experienced the benefits and privileges of colonialism to the same degree white Settlers have. Furthermore, it is possible for a person to identify both as an Indigenous person and as a Settler Canadian. Consider the Métis for example, who may experience some of the privileges of being a Settler, but also have a strong connection to their Indigenous culture (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015a).

This understanding of the complexities associated with both the Indigenous and Settler Canadian identity is important, because it reassures us that change is possible. A Settler may not be able to change their race or ethnicity, but they can change their relationship with their neighbours and the land. For this reason, we must remember that many different people, of different races, genders, with diverse educations, differences in wealth and social status may all identify as Settlers. Yet despite their differences, many will still be complicit in maintaining the colonial system by upholding the settler myths (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015a).

There are several reasons one may not want to accept the settler identity. To accept this identity would be to accept a role in the continuation of colonialism, and to accept that we have contributed to the wrongdoings towards the Indigenous peoples. Furthermore, accepting accountability conjures a fear of the unknown. Canadians may fear that acknowledging our settler identity would mean having to leave land we have currently occupy. Accepting the Settler identity weakens our claim to the land and although Settlers, the majority have no ties in other territories and therefore no other home to go to (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015a; Bell, 2009). Avril Bell (2009) explains that in accepting the identity, Settlers might feel that they have lost identity entirely, “the problem of having no identity,” (p. 147). Settlers are not European, but there also not Indigenous, leaving them to wonder who they are. They are faced with the dilemma how to recognize the prior land claim of the Indigenous peoples, while still feeling like they belong (Bell, 2009). Furthermore, if we voluntarily surrender our privilege, what will we have left? Consequently, the idea of acknowledging ourselves as Settler Canadians is uncomfortable, however being uncomfortable is not wrong and being a Settler is also not wrong. Mackey (2016)

explains that many dislike the term Settler because it makes them feel uncomfortable, which she believes is a good thing;

In my mind, that is precisely why it is important to use the term, because it unsettles the idea of us (settlers) as “good” or “bad” individual citizens who may or may not have “racist” attitudes, and reminds us (hopefully) of the collective land theft that is foundational to our nations and citizenships, and that is ongoing. (Mackey, 2016, Introduction, Endnote 3)

Being referred to as a Settler should not be perceived as an insult, but rather a simple truth. Accepting our settler identity implies that we’re ready to accept responsibility and it is the first step towards positive social change (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015a).

The colonial system has been able to thrive through passive compliance. We deliberately remain ignorant to the pain and suffering we have caused Indigenous people. We collectively accept the illusion that normalizes colonialism and masks the violence committed against the Indigenous peoples (Yerxa, 2015). In order to make significant social change, we must challenge what has been normalized and confront our own identity. This truth finding will be uncomfortable, but that’s okay. As Jana Rae Yerxa (2015) has said “humility does not mean silence and acceptance. Respect does not mean to not challenge. Love does not mean that feelings will not be hurt” (p. 102). Realizing that we are Settler Canadians, that we have been privileged by colonialism, and that others have sacrificed for our privilege will be difficult and yet it is a crucial first step towards social change.

4.2 Identity Development and Oppressive Social Structures

Now that we understand what it is to identify as a Settler Canadian, we must understand how that identity is developed in the first place. According to Bobbi Harrow (2013b) all individuals go through what she refers to as a *Cycle of Socialization* during which we learn and play out the identity roles assigned to us.

This social system in which we live is an inequitable one, where some receive privilege and others are disenfranchised. This system is oppressive, built upon dualism, domination and competition; and yet for the most part it is unchallenged. This is because as individuals we play out the roles assigned to us by this oppressive system. We passively follow the Cycle of Socialization and consequently maintain the injustices that surround us.

It's important to understand that we do not just hold one identity, but rather a mosaic of identities (Harro, 2013ab, p. 46). Some of these will be privileged identities, while others will be identities often associated with the disadvantaged. Harro (2013b) refers respectively to these as the agents and the target groups. The agents are those lucky enough to be born into privileged groups (whites, middle-upper classes, males, etc.) and they typically determine the social norms within society. The subordinate or target groups, are often invisible to the rest of society, or defined by misinformation and stereotypes. They are often discriminated against and exploited in this oppressive system. Again, it is important to understand that we can belong to both agent and target groups. Most will never be entirely advantaged or entirely disadvantaged by their social identities (Harro, 2013b).

As these identities are bestowed upon us at birth, we cannot blame others for the social identities they possess nor should we feel guilty for those we possess. Neither can we accept blame for the oppressive social system that we were born into, as it was already established prior to our birth.

Without consultation we are assigned many different identities based on our various categories of difference (gender, race, economic and social status, sexual orientation, etc.). From day one we are taught the norms, the rules to follow, and the roles to play by those whom are closest to us: our parents, other family, and mentors. They will teach us about our identities, and what is acceptable within those identities (Harro, 2013b). For example: girls should be obedient, boys should be aggressive, Settlers shouldn't be trusted, and Indigenous peoples should be feared.

Later we will begin interacting with the various institutions within our society: schools, the legal system, healthcare and businesses. These institutions will further reinforce the messages we received as young children. These messages are all

consuming and come from all angles, making it difficult not to buy into our predetermined roles. Harro (2013b) explains,

We could identify thousands of examples to illustrate the oppressive messages that bombard us daily from various institutions and aspects of our culture, reinforcing our divisions and “justifying” discrimination and prejudice. (p. 49)

At some point we may realize this system is unfair, that some receive preferential treatment while others are routinely disadvantaged. This realization is likely made more often by those who are disadvantaged, as they regularly feel penalized by the system. Those who benefit from the system might not notice that that it is unjust (Harro, 2013b). There are also enforcements in place that discourage people from speaking out against the injustices they observe. Maintaining the status quo rewards those who are privileged, in that they also maintain their position of power. Meanwhile, those in the target group who try to speak out are commonly punished, imprisoned or suppressed, in order to keep them in line (Harro, 2013b). This system is damaging for both groups.

Identifying as part of a subordinate or target group can be stressful, leading to feelings of disempowerment and helplessness. As has been seen in the Indigenous community, some will internalize this oppression. It will push them towards criminal behaviour and self-destructiveness (Hart, 2013b). Agents also suffer from this oppression. As they begin to examine their own identity they may encounter feelings of guilt. Some may fear payback from the targeted groups, and in turn withdraw from these groups in an effort to self-protect (Harro, 2013b).

Even those agents who do wish to make a change within the social system will encounter many barriers. Those with privilege may want to support those without, but are unsure how to become an ally of the oppressed. They may feel that they don't have sufficient knowledge to speak out, or aren't sure how to appropriately verbalize their desire for change, and they feel insecure. As Harro (2013b) explains, even those who can see that social change is required, may still shy away:

Many of us choose to do nothing because it is (for a while) easier to stay with what is familiar. Besides, it is frightening to try to interrupt something so large. “What does it have to do with me, anyway?” say many agents. “This isn’t my problem. I am above this.” We fail to realize that we have become participants just by doing nothing. (p. 50)

On the surface this oppressive social system seems intractable. The system is specifically designed to discourage change and to encourage passive participation in an unjust cycle. Challenging something so large appears impossible and yet there are some individuals who find a way out of this cycle. Harro (2013b) would describe these individuals as having been liberated, and they can and will bring change to society.

4.3 Challenging Oppressive Social Structures

Harro (2013a) reasons that once awareness is achieved people can pursue a critical transformation of the existing social structure. Her model, built upon theory, analysis and her own experience, is referred to as the *Cycle of Liberation*. An individual often seeks liberation after they experience an intrapersonal change of perspective that causes them to no longer feel comfortable in the oppressive society. Once that change of perspective has occurred the individual cannot return to their original point of view, “Once you know something, you can’t *not* know it anymore...” (Harro, 2013a p. 52). Through introspection, education, and consciousness raising, they begin to dismantle and rebuilt their worldviews. The individual begins to reflect upon past experience with their new perspective and empowers themselves by questioning their surroundings (Harro, 2013a).

Once sufficient self-reflection has taken place, the individual will need to reach out to others. They will feel a need to tell others in their community about their new findings, however they will inevitably feel push back from those who want to discourage change. Supportive community members will help to reassure the individual that change is both necessary and possible (Harro, 2013a).

Although it is important to build a supportive community among like-minded people, the pursuit of social change also requires building dialogue across differences. Talking to those with similar experiences reassures the individual that others are also working to end this particular form of oppression. It confirms that the individual is not alone, but rather part of a larger community. Talking across differences helps to dismantle stereotypes and demonstrates that neither the privileged nor the subordinates are to blame for an oppressive social structure (Harro, 2013a).

Harro (2013a) admits that talking across differences is not easy, but stresses the importance of this dialogue. Dialogue helps to increase energy and inspiration, to identify resources, and develop appreciation for humanity. The privileged and subordinate groups need to become partners before any significant change can be achieved. Once the lines of communication have been solidified, the coalition can be developed to act as a powerful unit. Individuals that stand as a group are together more assertive. They reject oppression and refuse to play the roles assigned to them by the social structure. Privileged individuals can assert great force by rejecting the advantages of their position, which in turn builds hope and trust within the group (Harro, 2013a).

With this collective power the coalition can begin to transform the system by creating a new culture based on a just and collective identity. As a group, and with great creativity, they can influence policy and demonstrate the potential for change. While social change is the obvious goal, obtaining it is not the final step. Once change is achieved it must be nurtured and maintained. Whenever change occurs in society, there will most certainly be a few unanticipated obstacles. The coalition will have to stay unified in an effort to smooth out and modify any new challenges. Maintenance will also be necessary to ensure a more collective society remains that way (Harro, 2013a).

Harro's (2013a) Cycle of Liberation is in line with the models and theories of many other academics that have focused on relationship building as the key to conflict transformation. The question remains, however, "what's in it for the privileged?"

Diane Goodman (2011), who writes about educating privileged groups, suggests that the oppressive system not only negatively impacts the subordinate, it also harms the privileged. Goodman (2011) explains that the privileged are often hesitant to participate in social change because they fear they will be on the losing side. However, if the privileged were made aware of how social change could actually enrich their lives, they may be more willing participants. In a society where systemic inequalities thrive, all people are affected. The dominant group needs to be aware of how they too are limited by this oppressive system (Goodman, 2011).

Goodman (2011) is not implying that the hardships encountered by the privileged are necessarily comparable to those faced by the subordinate groups, but they exist nonetheless. To begin, the privileged, not unlike the subordinate groups, are pushed into rigid social roles. They are instructed to pursue particular occupations, to dress certain ways and to behave in a particular manner. These roles undermine people's capacity to decide who they are, and when the prescribed role does not match with the individual's genuine identity, mental distress can result. The privileged are also forced to suppress their emotions. They are taught to be kind to others, but at the same time are expected to maintain inequality by looking down upon particular groups. This contradiction forces the privileged to suppress their feelings of empathy and compassion (Goodman, 2011).

The privileged are also victims of stereotypes (Goodman, 2011). It is assumed that people of privilege live a relatively joyful life, but internally some individuals may actually feel quite isolated and lonely. Unfortunately they are expected to maintain a happy and confident image because of their perceived power and wealth. Furthermore, privileged individuals face distrust when attempting to develop relationships with people from marginalized groups. Their stereotypes supersede them, and it is assumed that they have a secondary agenda (Goodman, 2011). Goodman (2011) points to numerous other examples of ways in which the privileged are disadvantaged by unequal and oppressive societies. Ultimately, the privileged sacrifice a portion of their own humanity by participating in oppression and discrimination. To dehumanize another is to dehumanize ourselves. Privileged groups need to be aware of the potential advantages that come with a more equali-

tarian and collective society. In general, those who live in equal states experience better education and income, live longer lives, encounter less violence, and are happier, healthier people (Goodman, 2011).

The works of Bobbie Harro (2013a) and Diane Goodman (2011) are particularly insightful in the discussion of addressing the Settler Canadian identity and racism in Winnipeg. Harro (2013a) has demonstrated how an oppressive society functions, and explains how identity formation, in this case the settler identity, occurs. She also maps out the path that many have taken in the pursuit of social change. Finally, Goodman (2011) illustrates the incentives that exist to persuade the privileged to pursue reconciliation with the oppressed.

4.4 Reconciliation and Decolonization

The term reconciliation has gained popularity in recent years, but as John Paul Lederach and Angela Lederach (2010) explain, this has caused the term to lose some of its specificity and resulted in a “thin” understanding of the term (p. 3). What is important to understand is that reconciliation is relationship focused and that it is not the act of minimizing or avoiding conflict, but rather the act of facing conflict head on, “reconciliation is a journey *toward* and *through* conflict.” (Lederach, 1999, p. 23). Where as conflict resolution strives to simply end conflict; reconciliation endeavours not only to create peace, but to maintain that peace by preventing the emergence of new conflict (Bar-Siman-Tov, 2004; Rouhana, 2018). At the minimum reconciliation implies peaceful coexistence, but if successful, could mean forgiveness and salvation (Hughes & Kostovicova, 2018).

Lederach (1997) states that reconciliation is a place of social encounter, where the concerns of past and future can meet. Reconciliation is also the meeting point of truth, mercy, justice and peace. Lederach’s model for reconciliation understands truth to be the acknowledgement of past injustices, mercy to be the act of acceptance and letting go, justice to be restitution and social restructuring, and peace to be the need for mutual interdependence between groups (Lederach, 1997).

Reconciliation is often pursued in the aftermath of violent conflict in which the opposing sides are deeply divided. The purpose of reconciliation is to break the

cycle of violence and to consolidate peace. It also facilitates truth sharing, the reparation of past injustices and healing for survivors. This is done by rebuilding or building non-violent relationships in which a common understanding of the past and a common vision for the future are agreed upon (Bloomfield, Barnes, & Huyse, 2003; Hughes & Kostovicova, 2018; Rouhana, 2018; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a).

Reconciliation requires sharing of power, and changes in attitudes, conduct, and institutions (Bloomfield et al., 2003). Reconciliation is also reflective, meaning that it requires us to turn and face ourselves. Every member of the impacted community must be willing to accept responsibility for their role in conflict. Furthermore, reconciliation will not be successful if it is only discussed amongst a select few individuals. It is meant to be engaged in by entire communities (Bloomfield et al., 2003; Lederach, 1999).

Reconciliation is an arduous process with various stages of progression (Hughes & Kostovicova, 2018; Lederach & Lederach, 2010). This process is not linear and the stages of progression do not necessarily come in any set order. Given the hefty task of reconciliation, small improvements in relationships are significant and “relapses” into conflict are not unheard of, and the process can take decades, if not generations (Bloomfield et al., 2003). Bloomfield, Barnes, and Huyse (2003) identify the three stages of reconciliation;

1. Replacing fear with non-violent coexistence

At this stage, those involved in conflict have, at a minimum, stopped killing each other. The conflict still exists, but parties are no longer using violent methods to fight with the opposing sides. This allows for some sense of security to be able to pursue reconciliation.

2. Building confidence and trust

Those involved in the conflict begin to observe the humanity in every person. It becomes easier to perceive an individual as separate from their community and respect for human and social rights increases. At this stage certain insti-

tutions must be established. Non-partisan judiciary, effective civil service and legislative structures must be in place in order to facilitate the transition from conflict to peace.

3. Towards Empathy

Those affected by conflict begin to listen and understand the anger and pain of those on the opposing sides. Truth commissions are used to facilitate truth telling, and official acknowledgments and apologies for past injustices are made. The victims and perpetrators of conflict work together to find common ground and shared identity.

The importance of this third stage should not be overlooked. Lederach (1997) explains that people need the opportunity to express their anger over injustices. Acknowledgement is equally important, as it is not enough to know that injustices occurred, they must also be recognized.

In the Canadian context, as in all settler-colonial societies, reconciliation will undoubtedly require decolonization. This requires first recognizing the inequalities that exist between the colonized and the colonizer (Rouhana, 2018). Nadim Rouhana (2018) recommends that in the pursuit of decolonization, that the framework that allowed for settler colonialism be examined. The injustices toward the native population should be exposed, as too should the privileges enjoyed by the colonizers by virtue of being settlers. Once exposed a mutual understanding of this history must be accepted.

Various academics, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, have made recommendations for what decolonization and reconciliation should look like in Canada. Taiaiake Alfred (2010) suggests that Settlers reimagine Canada as a “sacred homeland” and not as a commodity (p. 5). Others encourage Settlers to make space for Indigenous cultures, to return stolen land, and to learn and uphold the promises made in the Treaties (Bell, 2008; Mackey, 2016; Taiaiake Alfred, 2010). Mackey (2016) states that decolonization will require Settlers to enter a space of uncomfortable uncertainty, but that this uncertainty is positive in that it will promote crea-

tivity and inventiveness. She encourages Settlers to begin seeing Indigenous issues as *our* issues and to “allow preconceptions to be unsettled” (Mackey, 2016, Who declonizes and how section, para. 13).

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015a) is clear on how they believe reconciliation should be carried out, and what long-term objectives should be sought after. The TRC (2015) believes that reconciliation should address the ongoing legacies of colonialism and make societies more equal and inclusive. It believes that all Canadians have a responsibility to help build healthy relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples; and that reconciliation should be sustained through public education and dialogue (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a).

In the Canadian context, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015a) affirms that non-Indigenous peoples need to understand how Indigenous knowledge and traditional methods of conflict resolution can inform the reconciliation process. The TRC (2015a) states that Indigenous perspectives be respected through the process, this includes honouring their need to also reconcile with the natural world. For as the TRC (2015a) explains, there cannot reconciliation if people continue to destroy the earth. The TRC (2015a) also states that the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (United Nations, 2007) should be used as the framework for reconciliation and is adamant that Canadians not just talk about reconciliation. Reconciliation must be learned and practiced everyday.

5.0 Research Questions

The objective of this study is to better understand the relationship between Settler Canadians and racism towards Indigenous people in Winnipeg. The study looks at the variable of “perceived responsibility”. Are Settler Canadians conscious of the racism Indigenous people endure? To what extend do they feel accountable for their suffering, and what are they willing to do about it? In order to develop this deeper understanding, the following questions concerning racism, identity, and social change will be addressed.

1. Racism

- a. Are Settler Canadians conscious of the racism Indigenous people endure?
- b. Are Settler Canadians willing to acknowledge Canada's violent and colonial past?
- c. Are Settler Canadians willing to acknowledge Canada's colonial present?
- d. What actions and/or in-actions taken by Settler Canadians help to maintain racism towards Indigenous people?

2. Settler Identity and Acknowledgment

- a. What advantages and/or disadvantages come with being a Settler Canadian?
- b. Are we willing to accept the Settler Canadian identity?
- c. What barriers prevent people from accepting this identity?

3. Social Change

- a. Are Settler Canadians willing to pursue change that could benefit the Indigenous Community?
- b. What barriers prevent Settler Canadians from pursuing social change?
- c. What types of changes are Settler Canadians willing to pursue?

6.0 Methodology

6.1 Design Approach

In an effort to better understand the relationship between Settler Canadians and racism towards Indigenous people in Winnipeg, a grounded theory approach was utilized. A grounded theory approach implies an inquiry or investigation into a social issue in which the interaction with collected data is done with the intention of developing theory. This approach requires the use of open-ended questions, where analysis of the collected data begins early on. There is a comparative element to this approach where datum is compared to other datum and leads to the creation of coded categories for common themes and concepts. These coded categories remain flexible and can change throughout the interaction with the data. When scrutiny of the data is complete, the coded categories are used to help inform theory development (Charmaz & Stainton-Rogers, 2008).

Personal interviews were used to generate research data. The majority of the amassed data was qualitative, however some quantitative data was also collected, for example, “how many participants chose to self-identify as a settler?”. This researcher sought to collect primarily qualitative data, in large part, due to the limitations of quantitative data. While quantitative research methods are effective in measuring the frequency or distribution of a social issue, they often fail to explain why a particular trend exists. For example, through quantitative data this worker could have observed the frequency of incidents of racism, but would be unable to explain why incidents occurred at this frequency, or how the participants felt about them (Flick, 2014). This researcher chose to use a qualitative research method with the understanding that accumulated data would allow for exploration and discovery of the social issue of racism. Qualitative data would be more valuable in developing grounded theories which could explain and shed light upon the issue and phenomenon of racism within Winnipeg .

6.2 Research Participants

For the purpose of this study, a *Convenience Sampling* method was used. This is a form of non-probability sampling where participants are chosen as they become available. The advantages of this method are that it is simple, inexpensive to coordinate, and allows for quick and efficient participant recruitment and data collection. The disadvantage to the convenience sampling method is that there is an increased occurrence of sampling bias and this limits any generalisations. Nonetheless, convenience sampling is considered useful when conducting pilot or preliminary studies and was therefore deemed appropriate for this research study (Salkind, 2010).

Students from the University of Manitoba were the sole participants of this study. *Student* was defined as anyone taking classes at the University of Manitoba. The University of Manitoba is attended by nearly 30,000 students annually, with approximately 15% of its students studying at the graduate level. Nearly 18% of the population are international students, and roughly 2,400 students identify as Indigenous persons.

Several considerations were made when deciding that the research participants would be made up from the pool of students at the University of Manitoba. Students were chosen primarily due to convenience as this researcher had easy access to a population of nearly 30,000 students. Students are also more willing participants. They typically have more flexible schedules compared to the general population, and therefore were more likely to be able to participate in a research study. The expected compensation for participating would likely be lower, compared to members of the general population who were working full-time, and they were already on the campus where the interviews were to take place. Finally, the ethical concerns were less and more predictable for students than they would have been for general members of the population.

The disadvantage of using students as research participants is that they are not representative of the general Settler population. Student tends to be homogeneous in categories such as age and education. Furthermore, their ability to attend a post-secondary institution implies a particular socio-economic status. This makes it difficult to take the conclusions derived from this study and say with certainty that they can be applied to the general Settler population (Peterson & Dwight, 2014).

The advantages of using students as research participants is that while students at the University of Manitoba may not be representative of the whole city of Winnipeg, university campuses do serve as hubs for many different cultures, socio-economic backgrounds and worldviews. Additionally, due to their aforementioned homogeneity, it is easier to compare their responses amongst themselves. It is for this reason that students are commonly used for to represent cultures in cross-cultural research. Furthermore, while its possible a replication of this research study in the general population would not garner the same results, this study could be easily replicated and tested in other post-secondary institutions in Winnipeg (Peterson & Dwight, 2014).

Participants were recruited for the personal interviews through the use of a research advertisement flyer that was posted through the University of Manitoba Fort Garry Campus (Appendix A). This researcher chose the first ten participants who made contact, and via email arranged the interview times. Participants were

given a \$25.00 gift card to the University of Manitoba library to compensate them for their time. Prior to participant recruitment it was decided that 10 would be the maximum number of students selected to participate in the research study. It was decided that interviews with 10 participants would produce enough variety of opinion, and would hopefully approach saturation (when no new themes or concepts are emerging) (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), without overwhelming this researcher with data. Furthermore, 10 interviews was the maximum amount of participants this researcher could accommodate without exhausting resources such as time, meeting space, and money.

Ten students participated in this research study; unfortunately, due to a significant language barrier between this researcher and one participant, the interview with the ninth participant was largely unusable. Consequently, her qualitative contributions were taken into consideration whenever possible, however were not included in any quantitative data.

The participant pool consisted of five males, four females, and one participant who chose not to identify with either. In selecting participants, this researcher did not discriminate between part and full-time students, nor was it required that students be undergraduates. Of the ten participants, seven were undergraduate students, and three were graduate students. The participants were asked to identify their area of study; five students were enrolled in the Faculty of Science, two were enrolled in the Faculty of Architecture, two were enrolled in the Faculty of Arts, and the final student was enrolled in the Faculty of Agriculture. Half of the participants had spent more than 4 years in post-secondary school, one participant had been in school for 3 years, and another had completed his first year. The three remaining participants were in their first year of university. Participants were not asked specifically about their heritage, however during the course of the interviews it was discovered that three of the ten participants identified as Indigenous or Métis.

As this researcher did not observe any gender specific trends, gender has largely been ignored in this research study. Age, years in post-secondary school, and faculty were also not seen to have impacted responses. Enrolment in graduate ver-

sus under-graduate program, and Indigeneity did seem to influence some responses, which will be discussed in the findings section.

6.3 Data Collection- Personal Interviews

Qualitative and quantitative data were amassed through the use of personal interviews. The ten in-person interviews were conducted with participants between December 13th, 2016 and January 12th, 2017. The interviews took place in various classrooms in St. Paul's College at the University of Manitoba and ranged from 30 minutes to 60 minutes in length.

The participants were asked 31 open-ended questions, and four demographic questions (Appendix B). This researcher would often ask probing questions to clarify or explore participant responses. With the participants' permission, the interviews were all recorded on a personal recording device. After the completion of the ten interviews, this researcher transcribed all interviews personally, using the online audio transcription software, Transcribe. A copy of participants' transcript was emailed to each participant for final approval.

6.4 Protecting Participants

6.4.1 Risk and Benefits

To ensure that participants understood the risks and benefits associated with this study, each participant was asked to sign a consent form (Appendix G). The researcher read the consent form out loud before the commencement of each interview. Participants were told that they were permitted to ask questions whenever they liked and that they could end the interview at anytime without consequence.

Participating in this study allowed students to directly comment on social issues they may encounter regularly, without the fear of repercussion. The experience may have been beneficial for those with an interest in conducting their own research at a later date. Risks for this study were minimal. There were no known physical risks associated with this study, however there was a potential for psychological and social risks. Racism is a topic of conversation that can evoke uncomfortable feelings of depression, guilt, or anger, among others. Participants who encoun-

tered these emotions were encouraged to reach out to the University of Manitoba student counselling services. Some student participants voiced opinions and attitudes that they did not want to share publically. To minimize the social risks associated with this study several measures were taken to ensure anonymity and confidentiality.

6.4.2 Anonymity or Confidentiality

The participants that volunteered for the personal interviews needed to identify themselves first when they contacted this researcher and again when they signed consent forms. In order to ensure their confidentiality several measures were taken. Contact information and consent forms, were collected and stored separately from the collected data. Audio recordings from the interviews will be destroyed after the final submission of the thesis. Names found in the transcriptions were replaced with a coded identifier, and then pseudonyms. The key to the identifier code was stored separately from the transcriptions. Participants were also given the opportunity to proof read their transcripts and request that any identifying information, or any text that they were uncomfortable with, be deleted from the transcript.

All digital documents were stored in password-encrypted folders on the researcher's personal computer. All hard-copy documents and hard drives have been kept in a lockable, portable filebox, kept at the personal residence of this researcher in Alberta. Only this researcher and the thesis advisor have had access to the confidential information. All documentation will be destroyed after 4 years after the final thesis submission date (April 3rd, 2022).

6.5 Data Analysis

After the interviews were transcribed, this researcher began the data analysis. The first step was to read over the transcripts and develop a list of the *big ideas*. This step acted as a type of brainstorm for themes and trends and provided the initial framework that would be used to explore the study's findings (Appendix C). This

framework was then used to help develop a coding scheme (Appendix D). As this researcher wanted to use an *open coding* method, the coding scheme was very flexible and was amended at least three times during the data analysis process (Dale Bloomberg & Volpe, 2008).

The coding scheme was then used to code the transcripts. While coding transcripts, this researcher simultaneously filled out data summary charts for each interview questions (Appendix E) and kept a journal of general observations. After transcript coding was completed, this researcher cut quotes from the transcripts and sorted them into the categories identified in the coding scheme. Each category was read through several times to detect prevailing themes and trends, as well as outlier comments. The final step before presenting the findings was to develop findings charts (Appendix F) that corresponded to each of the previously identified research questions as per Dale Bloomberg & Volpe (2008).

7.0 Findings and Analysis

The purpose of this study was to better understand the relationship between Settler Canadians and racism in Winnipeg. If we could determine the barriers that prevent Settler Canadians from acting out against racism, we could potentially identify avenues through which those settlers could become allies of the oppressed. The intention of the findings and analysis sections is to reflect on the previously identified research questions and to use the collected data to respond to those questions. As previously stated, the participants' real names have been replaced. All the names used in the findings and analysis sections are pseudonyms.

The findings and analysis section of this study has been divided into three sections that correlate with the previously identified research questions. In each section the numbered findings (Appendix H) will be presented first, followed by an analysis section, which responds to those findings. The last section will respond to the appropriate research questions. An additional fourth section has been included. The findings in this section do not correspond to any of the previously mentioned research questions, but are still relevant in that they help to situate the research.

7.1 Racism

This first section will concentrate on racism; the participants' willingness to acknowledge Canada's unsettled history and present, and those inactions and actions that allow racism to persist. Six findings will be presented and then analyzed in an effort to respond to following research question related to racism:

1. Are Settler Canadians conscious of the racism Indigenous people endure?
2. Are Settler Canadians willing to acknowledge Canada's violent and colonial past?
3. Are Settler Canadians willing to acknowledge Canada's colonial present?
4. What actions and/or in-actions taken by Settler Canadians help to maintain racism towards Indigenous people?

Finding One: When referring to the First Peoples, research participants used *Aboriginal* or *Indigenous* more often than *Indian* or *Native*.

The issue of terminology was not a question originally identified in the research questions set, and yet during the interview process it became apparent that it was an important observation to make. It was observed that a variety of proper nouns were being used to describe the First Nations, Métis, and the Inuit people of Canada.

The word *Native* was used by participants when referring to organisations or courses that have *Native* in the proper name, for example *Native Studies*. It was also used to describe people who were born in a given location, for example "...now I am native to Canada" (Lee). A few participants (3 of the 9) used this term as a proper noun to describe First Nations, Métis, and Inuit people. Of these three, Lee did not identify any Indigenous heritage; Ashley considers himself to be Métis, and Terry identifies as Indigenous.

The noun *Indian* was used rarely, and again, mostly to refer to institutions and policies that contain Indian in the formal name, such as the *Indian Residential School System*, and the *Indian Act*. Only one participant, Ashley, used the term oth-

erwise, and this was while quoting others, “I don’t know, I’ve heard some people say that they hate natives or no, they say Indians. Hate Indians.”

A small majority of participants (5 of 9) used the term *Aboriginal*. Of those three were non-Indigenous participants, and two identified as either Indigenous or Métis. The most commonly used term was *Indigenous*, with six of nine participants using the noun. It should be noted that *Indigenous* was the noun used by this researcher throughout the interviews. Consequently, it could be assumed that some participants utilized *Indigenous* to mirror this researcher. Three participants used *Indigenous* quite frequently throughout their interviews; Kris, Lee, and Blair. All three were students at the graduate level.

Aside from the last observation, the noun usage did not correlate with any other demographics such as age or gender. Nor was it observed that nouns correlated with any particular ideology; meaning that those who used the noun *Native* were not seen to have advocated any more or less for Indigenous rights than those who used *Aboriginal* or *Indigenous*.

Finding Two: Participants are conscious of the racism endured by Indigenous peoples in Winnipeg

When asked to describe the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Winnipeg, a large majority (7 of 9) described the relationship negatively. The relationship was described as *contentious* and *difficult*. Some participants identified a social rift between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, “In Winnipeg, specifically, there’s definitely a divide. [...] there’s definitely a very distinct divide between Indigenous and non-Indigenous.” (Brett). One participant described the relationship as painful, “So how do I see the relationship in Winnipeg? It hurts” (Blair).

Of the two participants who did describe the relationship positively, Taylor described an appreciation of his Indigenous heritage, but acknowledged that his experiences might not align with those of others:

From my personal experience it's [the relationship] pretty good. As an Indigenous person, like I haven't had anybody treat me better nor worse for my culture. A lot of people appreciate my culture. Like say for example, my work, we had a potluck [...] and I mentioned bannock and everybody was like in love; and like, "oh you have to bring bannock. That's amazing!" But no, I'd say my personal experience is pretty good. [...] Although second hand I hear it's not as good. I hear a lot of people are mistreated. (Taylor)

On the whole, participants seemed very aware that Indigenous people in Winnipeg face racism regularly. When asked if Indigenous people in Winnipeg faced racism, all but one of the nine participants said yes. Furthermore, the majority (7 of 9) agreed that the discrimination experienced by Indigenous people is either worse or different than that experienced by other minority groups. The remaining two said that racism was the same as that experienced by others. Not one participant suggested that the discrimination was less than that experienced by other minority groups.

The problem First Nations face today is [...] in my experience, its very difficult because we have to deal with the stigma and we have to deal with embedded racism and the systematic racism. You know, trying to figure out what we are, on top of all the labels that are already prescribed to us. (Terry)

Lot's of the time some racism, it's not like actual racism. It's kind of like, you know just stereotypes. But you don't have anything against them. [...] Where as against natives, it's like more serious, I'd say. (Ashley)

I think that because of Canada's history, that yes, they as a racial group have experienced probably more racism than others. Because it's been sort of a free-for all and it's been a free-for-all not just for White people, but for new immigrants to come and they already see this existing tension and strain. (Lee)

There is definitely a lot of covert racism. [...] You know, you hear the term "lazy Aboriginal", or "why don't they just get a job?" or "they ask for money". Stuff like that. That's overt racism. [...] there's a line where they'll say, you know, they'll think or say something that they don't think is racist and the average person would think isn't racist. But deep down it's very rooted in racism.
(Brett)

The participants collectively identified numerous challenges that face Winnipeg's Indigenous community, including; stigma and stereotypes, lack of employment opportunities, lack of educational opportunities, visibility, an inherited inferiority complex, and segregation. Of those interviewed, six of nine believed that at least some of the challenges facing Indigenous people could be directly linked to racism described above.

Finding Three: Participants are willing to acknowledge Canada's violent and colonial past.

Canada's history of colonialism and violence against the Indigenous peoples has not been overlooked by this study's participants. Almost all participants (8 of 9) talked about the suffering of children in residential schools; participants talked about land exploitation and there was an obvious acknowledgement that colonialism had disadvantaged Indigenous people.

Several participants talked about the disingenuous techniques used by colonizers to appropriate land, and a general disregard for the Indigenous people.

The colonizers came over, basically tricked them [and] pretended that there [were] mutually beneficial and respected treaties and working relationships with them [sic]. But it was not, and they took the land basically right out from underneath them and it's been a continuous push of moving and relocating groups, for economic gain with complete lack of respect to traditional culture and respect [for] them as a group of human beings. (Lee)

I just know that this was their land. It was colonized and they were pushed to the side by settlers. And slowly the settlers and European traditions [...] became more prevalent and they just kept being pushed to the side. (Brett)

Quite notably, study participants discussed Canada's history while alluding to genocide. A third of the participants made a comparison between Canada's colonial history, Nazi Germany and the Holocaust. Kris referred to the holocaust while reflecting on the question; "To what extent do you think that the challenges facing Indigenous people today are directly related to the Indian residential school system?"

I think that that is a question that I would like versed by Indigenous populations. [...] I wouldn't want to speak for them, sort of like is the Holocaust going to define, you know, Jewish people forever considering that some of the last survivors are starting to die out. And I've known, especially when I lived in Chicago, a lot of Jewish people were like " the Holocaust does not define me". (Kris)

Kris used the Holocaust comparison to communicate that she felt uncomfortable assessing the impact of the Residential School System on a community in which she was not a member. Brett also referenced the Holocaust when discussing the residential school system. He used the reference to communicate the permanence and incorrigibility of the schools;

Like the Holocaust, there's been apologies. It happened a long time ago, but that never didn't happen. Just like residential schools. [...] It contributes to how Aboriginals feel towards Canadians. (Brett)

Lastly, Blair alluded to the Holocaust and the actions of Nazis while discussing Canada's perception of its own history, "It [Canada's history] must be hated by the White population as much as Germans are hating the Nazi history." The significance of comparing Canada's colonial history to one of world's most ill-famed genocides cannot be overlooked. While Kris, Brett, and Blair never directly referred to

colonialism or the IRS as an act of genocide, Terry – who identifies as Métis – was willing to make that connection;

Less than 50 years ago [society] was literally trying to commit a genocide against part of who I was. And it's, you know, it's a weird thought to just kind of have in the back of your head while you're having conversation with people who say that racism isn't real anymore. (Terry)

The argument of whether to consider the injustices committed against the Indigenous people a form of genocide has long been disputed (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015a; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b; Wolfe, 2006). That four of nine participants either directly or indirectly link this country's history to genocide is an important finding that will be further explored in the conclusions section.

While the majority of the study's participants identified violence in Canada's history in relation to the Indigenous people, language used by one participant made this researcher wonder if they were sceptical of what they had been taught. Participant Lee displayed some uncertainty. When asked to reflect on the Indian Residential Schools, she said the following;

*I know that, **what I've been told is** that children were taken basically from their parents, basically without parental consent. (Lee)*

*Well, **I've just been fed a steady diet** since I've been young, to be told that all Residential Schools verbatim were evil, and awful, and terrible [...]. (Lee)*

Personally, I'm sure a lot of [the schools] were awful and terrible and that at the hands of corrupt and evil people – who would harm anyone [...] that yes, I think a lot of it went wrong. I don't think that absolutely every single one of them was terrible and awful. (Lee)

Lee's assessment of Residential Schools is not incorrect, as some IRS students did report positive experiences (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b). What is of importance is the portion of the former two quotes that has been bolded. When Lee says, "what I've been told is..." and "I've been fed a steady diet" it leads this researcher to wonder if she's hesitant to accept the information as fact. If this is the case, it's definitely an issue worth exploring, and will be discussed in the conclusions section.

Finding Four- Participants are willing to acknowledge Canada's colonial present

Study participants were asked to reflect on the question "How would you respond to the argument that colonialism is still occurring in Canada?" The majority, (6 of 9), agreed that colonialism is still occurring, however some acknowledged that contemporary colonialism looks different than its more traditional predecessor.

I mean there's also obviously the big one [challenge for Indigenous people], which is just, I guess colonization still from government policy. Which is still there. (Kris)

So I would say, I mean maybe it's not like hard-core colonialism with a capital C, as we've known it. But I would say it's more like a soft C where there's sort of, sort of a dissonance between what the vision and mission statement is for empowering Indigenous success, and values, and knowledge. (Kris)

Colonialism was the settlers coming in and taking over land, and you know imposing their views on it. Which I think is still occurring on a small scale. Where Aboriginals [...] their own experiences and their own culture is kind of pushed to the side. [...] They are expected to be, you know, when they're in Winnipeg, to be more part of, you know, the White person culture. They kind of, they're not given as many opportunities to express their culture as [...] a Jewish person, or an Italian person would be in Winnipeg. (Brett)

There's still colonization as an act in our society. And it's still something that can be done, and is done. [...] Just because you're no longer taking someone's land [doesn't mean] it's no longer colonizing. You can still colonize the way people think, and the way people learn, and the way people live, and where they live, and how they live. (Terry)

For others, the relocation of Indigenous communities, lack of investment, and exploitation of natural resources were the indicators of an ongoing colonial process.

*Like when you hear about a new resource up north [...] being found and then people being asked to relocate again. [...] One of the local reserves, when they get flooded out or when a tornado wipes out their whole infrastructure, then we just relocate them into hotels and say, "okay and you don't get to go back home". Yes that home was like, it wouldn't traditionally have been their home, but now it's their home. And just to say [...] "you're not of enough importance to have us put funding into fixing up your community" or "it was s*** already" then that speaks to [the] perpetuating notion of colonialism I'd say. (Lee)*

The other issues that participants referenced while debating the existence of contemporary colonialism included; the Oka crisis⁵, Standing Rock⁶, Canadian pipeline disputes⁷, and access to clean water⁸.

Two participants were convinced that colonialism had ended in Canada. Quinn was prepared to acknowledge that institutions from colonialism were still lingering, but overall he believes colonialism to be a thing of the past:

I don't think it like happening now, in a sense, because essentially like it's like not a colony anymore. [...] Canada's an independent country, even though

⁵ Oka crisis (Marshall, 2013).

⁶ Dakota Access Pipeline protests at Standing Rock Indian reservation (Worland, 2016).

⁷ First Nations groups protest Trans Mountain pipeline (McCarthy, 2018)

⁸ Clean water issues on First Nations reserves (McClearn, 2017)

there's still like ties to like Great Britain and stuff. So there's definitely some of this kind of lingering history, absolutely because institutions take a while to change. And if you're not going to change it, it'll be the old way until we change it again, right? [...] That term [colonialism] is like, it's already dead. It's an old word. Nobody colonializes anymore. It's a dead word. (Quinn)

Wynne's response to this question was very heated, as she took personal offence to the suggestion that colonialism could be continuing in Canada. As an immigrant to Canada from India, Wynne was offended by the suggestion that people could still be colonializing Canada. She was adamant that she was not taking land from anyone. When asked how she would respond to the argument that colonialism is still occurring in Canada, Wynne responded with the following;

I don't think that people are taking over this country. I guess everyone that deserves to be here is being here. And I guess it's, like you know if you talk about Syria and people who are coming from there. They have no place over there and if Canada has this little space why can't they come in. If they are willing to, and I think every one who knows that they had no opportunities back there and they have an opportunity now. Trust me, no one is stupid to give that out. Everyone is going to make the effort to get most of it. And live their life. Who wants to be dependent on someone? How long can you be dependent on something? So it wouldn't be right to say that those people are colonializing, you know. And if there wasn't any space in Canada then maybe, if you can't afford to let those people in, maybe don't let them in. (Wynne)

Finding Five: Negative stereotyping and a limited perception of what is be Indigenous allows racism to endure in Winnipeg

After conversing with the study's participants it became apparent that there are several issues that could be contributing to the persistence of racism against Indigenous peoples. While very complex- these issues have been divided into the cate-

gories of negative perceptions and stereotypes, fear, and placing blame on the Indigenous peoples.

The first observation is that negative perceptions and stereotypes of Indigenous peoples are still a persistent problem. Many of the study's participants talked about perceptions that they either hold themselves, or those of others. The perceptions were often negative and depict Indigenous people as homeless, begging for money, having substance abuse issues, and being a burden on the remainder of the population. The following quotes illustrate some of those negative perceptions.

And especially when you're thinking about Winnipeg, downtown Winnipeg, on the streets they're [Indigenous people] walking around, usually drunk. And so I guess that just gives a very negative perception to Winnipeg residences, people who come to visit Winnipeg, people who hear things about Winnipeg. (Brett)

There's people, like the encounter I had downtown right. Those kind of people who are not letting you live [your] life I guess? They're bothering you in some manner right? It's not okay to just approach someone and be like "hey do you have some money" or anything like that right? So that might give other people a bad influence about who Indigenous people are – if they were Indigenous people, which I don't know if that person was or not. (Wynne)

They're always sad, the Indigenous people fighting on the street or homeless. (Sam)

While not reflected by the majority, two of the study's participants offered a possible point of origin for negative stereotypes against Indigenous people. Lee and Quinn suggested that the stereotyping of Indigenous peoples has as much to do with economics as it does with racism.

I think people are prejudiced against lower socioeconomic classes, and I think even regardless of race. And people feel afraid of people who are poor or look down on them, or want to belittle them to make themselves feel better. (Lee)

I don't think it would have mattered you colour if you were [...] at that like socioeconomic level. Like you know what I mean right, where you're like a bum. I don't think it would have mattered whether they were like Aboriginal. If they were white it would have been the same reaction. (Quinn)

Some non-Indigenous Winnipeggers are also maintaining a limited view of Indigenous peoples. Sam made the following observation; "There's not too much news about normal Indigenous people, I think". Sam observes that she doesn't hear about "normal" Indigenous people in the news. By this we might assume that she means only stories about transient and underprivileged Indigenous people receive news coverage. Meanwhile, Brett made this observation,

I know there's a very low number [in] University, or not. I wouldn't say low number, but there is, you don't often hear [about] university educated Aboriginals. (Brett)

Brett starts to suggest that there are few Indigenous people attending university, but then backtracks and says instead that he doesn't often hear about Indigenous graduates. Not hearing about Indigenous graduates might explain why both Kris and Brett brought up the same news article in their interviews. They highlighted the significance of a news article written about Dr. Kona Williams, Canada's first Indigenous pathologist (Daubs, 2016):

*Aboriginals wouldn't be seen as smart or intelligent, just based off the fact that they're Aboriginal. And it's very clear in magazines. Like there was the first Aboriginal pathologist in Canada and that was a big deal, but because it was an **Aboriginal** [emphasis] pathologist. [...] There's always been smart Aboriginals,*

but now they want it to be known, that were trying to move away from this, you know, lazy, unintelligent stereotypes. (Brett)

*You know, I was just reading before I got here. You know that there's this first Indigenous surgeon in Canada? [...] These things that we need to celebrate, which are in some ways great, because I'm thinking of those little girls that are seeing that and they're thinking "Oh my gosh, I could be that!" But also like you know, **really**? Ha-ha! [sarcastic emphasis]. (Kris)*

Should this be front-page news? (Interviewer)

Yeah... (Kris)

Both Brett and Kris identify an underlying issue with an article celebrating Dr. Williams. For Brett he believes the article was intended to showcase intelligence amongst Indigenous people, despite that there have always been intelligent Indigenous people. Kris' reaction to the article implies disapproval, questioning whether the celebration of Indigenous people for what would otherwise be considered a great, but not news worthy achievement, is really necessary. Perhaps suggesting that this celebration implies a lowered societal expectation of the Indigenous community.

In combination, these quotes make this researcher wonder if Indigenous people who are average, successful contributing members of society are being overlooked, or going unnoticed. If they are being overlooked, it might have something to do with "not looking Indigenous"; an issue presented by three participants,

I guess what I've also heard is that in terms of not looking Indigenous, especially with our, we have a strong Metis population. And in some ways they're many, many times removed at this point. So people will say, "oh you're blonde with blue eyes, how can you possibly be Metis?" or "you don't look Indigenous." (Kris)

I don't necessarily experience the stereotypes because a lot of people don't know I'm Indigenous. (Taylor)

I am Aboriginal, but I don't look Aboriginal, so I get to hear the different sides of the spectrum. (Terry)

By not considering the variety of people who do identify as Indigenous or assuming that you must “look” a certain way to be Indigenous, we continue to limit our perception of what Indigenous is. This ties into what Kris refers to as a “sense of stasis”,

I guess it's that sense of stasis, that they see them [Indigenous peoples] in the past; and don't necessarily see contemporary identities.” (Kris)

Kris is suggesting that our perception of the Indigenous peoples is still one dictated by historical representations.

Finding Six: Indigenous peoples are still being blamed for their misfortune

A final observation is that some participants (4 of 9) suggested that Indigenous people are somewhat responsible for their situation. One participant suggested that in order to reduce negative stereotypes, Indigenous people would need to give up government incentives or restitution.

And the restitution, it puts them, it makes us very unequal. So other people see it as unequal. So I think if it [restitution] stopped then other people wouldn't – because a lot of the stereotypes come from people towards Aboriginals [because] they get all these free things. So I think that, you know, if they'd stop that [restitution] there'd be less things for White people to complain about. (Brett)

Lee explains how she thinks a perception amongst Indigenous people that Canada's westernized system is incompatible with their culture, has given them a false justification for disengaging with that system,

I've heard a lot of arguments that culturally the way, the typical Western way of doing business in commerce, in capitalism, all of that is completely against traditional [Indigenous] values and ways of being. So therefore, the whole system is setup for them to fail or not do well. And the only way for them to succeed is for them to like let a whole part of their core culture go and just like, kind of, become semi-assimilated into Western culture. I don't know if I really buy that. [...] So I think that, where I'm going is them [Indigenous people] being told that, that is, being given like kind of a reason for why things won't work, or why you shouldn't get a job, or you shouldn't do whatever. [...] This is a western way of doing things, therefore you should ignore it or just like think that special exceptions should be made for you or whatever. (Lee)

Quinn suggests that certain hardships are based off poor decision-making. When asked to identify the challenges that Indigenous people face in Winnipeg, he said the following;

Like yeah, better decision making, but that goes to everybody. But like, using birth control and things like that. You know, whether it's [...] just choosing not to have sex, or like just using a condom or something. Just don't get pregnant, you know? Things like [...] making yourself broke because you have a pile of kids. You know, it's like, where's the forward thinking? (Quinn)

Lastly, Blair's stance is unlike the others, in that she is not suggesting the inequality experience by Indigenous people is of their own doing, but rather that they haven't done enough to fight against this inequality. She is careful to specify that she is not blaming the Indigenous community, and yet her comment is worth noting here.

I have a huge problem with the passiveness that the Indigenous Community also have had in the past. Why you can't fight? Why you can't fight for your

rights? Why are you giving up so easily? [...]There was never a point of time where the Indigenous felt like "we are good here". So there was a constant struggle, why they give up the struggle? I just failed to understand that. And what drives people to such a passivity? I'm not blaming Indigenous population but I'm trying to also make a comment on the way this kind of violence and the discrimination was used in a very, very obtuse manner. Where people just felt like giving up. We don't want to fight. We don't want to resist. (Blair)

Whether it be for collecting benefits, for being defiant to a western ideology, for poor decision-making, or for not be aggressive enough in their advocacy; Indigenous people are perceived by some participants as being at least somewhat responsible for their own misfortune.

Analysis of Findings

Finding One: When referring to the First Peoples, research participants used *Aboriginal* or *Indigenous* more often than *Indian* or *Native*.

Through finding one it was discovered that participants were more likely to use the terms *Aboriginal* or *Indigenous* to describe the First peoples. The terms *Indian* and *Native* were observed less often. The latter two terms are considered by many to be out-dated and carry a derogatory undertone. It is interesting then that these terms were most often used by participants who identify some First Nation or Métis heritage.

The fact that *Aboriginal* and *Indigenous* were used most often overall could imply a shift to more socially acceptable terms, perhaps even implying a heightened awareness amongst the study's participants. As mentioned previously, it's likely that some participants used the term *Indigenous* to mirror the language used by this researcher. The three participants, who used the term regularly throughout their interview and demonstrated a level of comfort with the term, were all registered as graduate students at the time of the interviews. From this we could assume that *In-*

digenous is still a more academic term that students would see more often as they progress through their post secondary education.

The fact that participants with First Nation and Métis heritage used seemingly out-dated terms, while graduate students chose a more socially informed term, makes this researcher wonder if the significance of terminology is emphasized more in academia than it is amongst the members of the group that we're discussing.

Some Indigenous writers do think it important to choose terminology purposefully. Indigenous academic Emma Larocque (2010) dislikes the term *Indian* as it is a term invented by colonizers and has since been tied to a number of negative stereotypes. She acknowledges the colonial origins of *Aboriginal* and *Native* but admits to using the words interchangeably. In the end, when she cannot refer to Indigenous groups specifically, such as Cree or Anishinaabe, she prefers to use *Natives peoples*;

My preference comes from my political origins in the 1970s when Status and non-Status Indians and the Metis of the Prairies embraced the name "Native peoples" with the shared understanding of themselves as a cohesive indigenous body in a common struggle against colonization. The word "peoples" identifies the phrase as a resistance self- designation in response to massive depersonalization to which Ai-see-nowuk ("the people" in Cree) have been subjected. (Larocque, 2010, p. 7)

Perhaps, given Larocque's preferences, it is not all that surprising that those students who identified as Indigenous or Métis did use the term *Native*. While terminology seems significant for Larocque, for other Indigenous writers, terminology does not appear to matter as much. Thomas King (2013), an Indigenous author, addresses the issue of terminology in his book *The Inconvenient Indian*. King (2013) talks about the multiple of changes in terminology since Columbus first mistakenly referred to the first inhabitants as *Indians*. As he sees it, there really is no right or wrong term;

...As time went on, various folks and institutions tried to make the matter right. Indians became Amerindians and Aborigines and Indigenous People and American Indians. Lately, Indians have become First Nations in Canada and Native Americans in the United States, but the fact of the matter is that there has never been a good collective noun because there never was a collective to begin with. I'm not going to try to argue for a single word. I don't see that one term is much better or worse than another. (King, 2013, pp. xii-xiii)

King then goes on to use a myriad of terms throughout his book, including *Indian* and *Native*. Despite Larocque's position on terminology, and while this researcher would never presume to speak for Indigenous peoples and their language preferences, I do wonder if the terminology has as much importance practically as it does academically.

Finding Two: Participants are conscious of the racism endured by Indigenous peoples in Winnipeg

The second finding outlined the participants' perception of the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Winnipeg, which for the majority was fairly negative. It's curious that one of the two individuals who did describe the relationship positively identifies as Indigenous, but perhaps not all that surprising. If we were to look at this situation using Bobbie Harro's (2013b) *Agent* and *Target* group theory we would find that Taylor belongs to a target group in that he is Indigenous, but he also belongs to several Agent groups, namely; male, young, middle-class, and educated. While he is a member of an oppressed group, he is also a member of several dominant groups, which might help to explain his positive experience (Harro, 2013b). After all, even he recognizes that he's heard of many Indigenous people having been mistreated.

The example Taylor provides is also interesting, in that he mentions that his co-workers were enthusiastic about him bringing bannock. He attributes their en-

thusiasm with an approval of his culture, which might be the case. However, it is also possible that his coworkers are embracing a symbol they now associate with the settler identity. Battell Lowman and Barker (2015b) explain how many Indigenous symbols have been appropriated by the settler culture;

In Canada, the Settler identity is closely bound up with symbols, objects, and practices appropriated from Indigenous nations. [...] Maple syrup, a staple of the Algonquian-speaking people of eastern North America, is sold around the world stamped with the maple leaf. [...] All of these are Indigenous inventions and technologies, all shared by multiple nations with different meanings and uses in many traditions, and yet they are all taken out of context and claimed by Canadians as part of a homogenizing national culture. (Chapter 2, Appropriation and Extraction section, para. 3)

It is very possible that Taylor's co-worker are embracing bannock along with his Indigenous culture, but its equally possible that they are embracing what they believe to be part of their settler own identity.

A final observation from the second finding is that participants are very much aware of the racism Indigenous people in Winnipeg are facing. Their suffering has no way eluded them. There may be a positive implication to this, as this level of awareness means that the participants are "awake" which Bobbie Harro (2013a) identifies as the first stage in the Cycle of Liberation model.

Finding Three: Participants are willing to acknowledge Canada's violent and colonial past.

In her book, Regan (2010) discusses the various ways that settler Canadians deny or have trouble accepting Canada's violent past. She might be happy to know that in the seven years since her book was published that there seems to have been an awakening, at least among the ten participants in this study.

The participants of this study seemed very much aware of the violence Indigenous peoples endured throughout colonialism and during the residential school system era. They were able to provide examples of how initial colonial settlers dis-

advantaged the Indigenous people, by robbing them of their land, trapping them in injustice treaties and demonstrating a total lack of respect for their culture, language, and human rights.

In this third finding it was shown that four participants were willing to at the very least allude to genocide in Canada. Three participants either referenced or compared Canada's violent past to the Holocaust. The fourth participant outright called the Indian Residential School system genocide. This is in agreement with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015b) which describes the Indian Residential School system as a form of *cultural genocide*;

Cultural genocide is the destruction of those structures and practices that allow the group to continue as a group. [...] Land is seized, and populations are forcibly transferred and their movement is restricted. Languages are banned. Spiritual leaders are persecuted, spiritual practices are forbidden, and objects of spiritual value are confiscated and destroyed. And, most significantly to the issue at hand, families are disrupted to prevent the transmission of cultural values and identity from one generation to the next. In its dealing with Aboriginal people, Canada did all these things. (p. 5)

Regan (2010) and other academics, are also adamant that the IRS was a form of genocide (D. B. Macdonald, 2015).

The latter part of this finding refers to one participant who seems unwilling or at the very least, hesitant to accept what she has been told about the Residential School System. A quote from Regan (2010) may help to make sense of this participant's position;

Why focus on violence? Some readers may think that I overstate the case and will resist this particular reading of Canadian history. [...] Others rationalize, declaring that not all children had a bad experience in residential schools, not all teachers were abusers, and that some staff and officials spoke out courageously, criticizing conditions at the schools. (p. 5)

Regan (2010) continues from here, saying that there some truth in these claims, and acknowledges that this side of the story must also be told. But then she goes on to say that Settlers have a tendency to minimize violent truths because they do not match with the image we have of ourselves. Overall, the participants of this study did seem prepared to acknowledge Canada's violent history, several of them might even call it genocide if asked the question directly. But there continues to be a minority who are sceptical of what their being told and are unwilling to own that truth. As per Lederach (Lederach, 1997) acknowledging and atoning for a violent and oppressive past is an important part of the reconciliation process. Until Settler's are willing to accept the truth about Canada's violent history, reconciliation would be seemingly unattainable.

Finding Four- Participants are willing to acknowledge Canada's colonial present.

Battell Lowman and Barker (2015b) explain that in Canada decolonization means;

...an end to settler colonial relationships to land, the dismantling of the spaces, systems and stories of invasion that root Settler people to the nation and state, and the simultaneous restoration of Indigenous ways of knowing and being on the land. (Chapter 6, Decolonization: From Awareness to Responsibility section, para. 6)

Battell Lowman and Barker (2015a) stress that decolonization is the "something" that they hope settlers will commit to doing, but the problem lies in that they must first recognize that colonialism is still occurring.

Some participants reflected on current events, resources exploitation, and insufficient funding towards Indigenous basic needs, which inevitably led them to the conclusion that colonialism is continuing in Canada. Jen Preston (2013) would likely concur with this perception. Preston (2013) argues that the resource extraction and energy projects in Canada are examples of "ongoing settler colonialism" (p. 43). This

is also in agreement with what Mackey (2016) has said about the continued dispossession of Indigenous lands for the benefit of Settler Canadians;

Colonial and national struggles for possession of Indigenous land were, and continue to be material conflicts that dispossess Indigenous people for the benefit of other in settler nation-states. (Introduction section, para. 7)

One participant, however, concentrated on the terminology of colonialism, as opposed to the features of colonialism. This researcher wonders if his response can only be considered a rejection of the term, and if he would have been more accepting of the concept if a contemporary term had been used instead.

The final point of discussion under finding four is the manner in which Wynne, a new Canadian, reacted to the thought that colonialism was ongoing. It appears, as though Wynne might have been under the impression that this researcher was implying that only immigrants were the primary source of ongoing colonialism. This researcher suspects that if the question had been rephrased and been made more specific, to perhaps reference the impact of ongoing colonialism of Indigenous people, that Wynne may not have been as offended. Nonetheless her response is noteworthy in that she is adamantly opposed to idea that she could be colonizing Canada, specifically because what it would imply about her own intentions on moving to Canada. Wynne's response will be explored further in the later section focusing on the Settler Identity.

Finding Five: Negative stereotyping and a limited perception of what is be Indigenous allows racism to endure in Winnipeg

The fifth finding showcased many of the negative stereotypes that the participants either used themselves, or have overheard from others. None of these stereotypes are particularly surprising and for the most part they confirm the stereotypes previously identified in the Environics Institute's (2011) *Urban aboriginals peoples study: Winnipeg report*.

Some of the feedback from participants was that *normal* Indigenous people were not featured in the news regularly or that regular achievements were made to sound extraordinary when achieved by Indigenous people. The participants of this study are not alone in their observations. In 2014, artist K.C. Adams observed a similar issue, "The people who are holding down a job, they have a mortgage, they're paying taxes, they put themselves through school... you don't hear about them in the news." Stereotyping of Indigenous peoples inspired Adams to create her photoseries *Perception*, which shows portraits of average Indigenous Winnipeggers, with and without racist labels written across them. The objective was to discourage prejudice and to show how Indigenous peoples are successful, contributing members of society (CBC News, 2014).

Participants also commented on not *looking* Indigenous. This likely contributes greatly to the negative perceptions directed towards Indigenous people. By maintaining a limited view of what is to be Indigenous, we are weeding out all those *normal* people and focusing our attention on those people who are in a state of crisis, or who have struggled in life. We overlook the university graduates – which educational institutes tell us are becoming a larger group each year (Paul, 2017) – and focus in on those with addictions issues. We are projecting our own image of what it is to be Indigenous, and choosing to recognize only those individuals that fit within that preconceived image. Given the responses from participants, it appears that our blinders are a contributing factor in the maintenance of racism towards Indigenous peoples in Winnipeg.

Finding Six: Indigenous peoples are still being blamed for their misfortune

The final finding within this section showed that four of nine participants believed that Indigenous people were at least somewhat responsible for the challenges they encounter. This matches very closely with the research conducted by the Environics Institute (2011), where it was found that 41% of non-Indigenous Winnipegger's believed that Indigenous people had caused their own problems. In reference to the comment made by participant Blair, that Indigenous peoples are too passive in their fight for decolonisation, this can be explained by Harro's (2013b) Cycle of

Socialization. Harro (2013b) explains that when faced with constant oppression, subordinate groups begin to feel that changing the system is hopeless and they internalize the oppression. What Blair is observing as passivity might actually be a feeling of defeat and internalized oppression amongst some members of the Indigenous community.

Summary and Conclusion

A major theme throughout this section has been awareness and acceptance. Analysis of the interview transcripts have shown that for the most part, participants are aware of the challenges that face Indigenous peoples, both currently and historically. The purpose of this section was to respond the research questions that relate directly to racism. The following will attempt to respond to each of these previously identified questions.

Are Settler Canadians conscious of the racism Indigenous people endure?

Overall the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Winnipeg was not perceived positively. The majority of participants agreed that Indigenous peoples do face racism, and that racism is either equivalent to, or worse than the racism faced by other minority groups. Participants were aware of the daily challenges that Indigenous peoples endure.

Are Settler Canadians willing to acknowledge Canada's violent and colonial past?

Participants are aware of the exploitation and suffering that Indigenous peoples have faced due to colonialism, and they know of the stories of abuse in the Indian Residential Schools. Some participants are prepared to associate Canada's violent history with genocide, although few are ready to label it genocide outright. With this said, there is some hesitation among participants to accept everything as truth. A select few participants seem critical of the history of the Indian Residential School, indicating a reluctance to accept the account of history that has been provided to

them. In short, the participants are aware of Canada's colonial and violent history, but some participants are reluctant to accept this account of history as truth.

Are Settler Canadians willing to acknowledge Canada's colonial present?

The proposition that colonialism is an ongoing phenomenon in Canada was for the most part accepted. Participants looked at resource exploitation, continued oppression of Indigenous cultures, and governmental systems as indicators of an enduring colonialism. However, for one participant, the suggestion that colonialism could be ongoing was not only inconceivable, it was offensive and she believed brought her intentions as an immigrant to Canada into question.

What actions and/or in-actions taken by Settler Canadians help to maintain racism towards Indigenous people?

Participants demonstrated that stereotypes of Indigenous peoples contribute to ongoing racism in Winnipeg. The daily successes of average Indigenous peoples are often overlooked. The perception that Indigenous people cannot be *normal*, contributing members of society persists and consequently leads to a narrow view of what it is to be Indigenous. The belief that Indigenous peoples are responsible for the challenges they face is still a prevalent problem.

In conclusion, the findings demonstrate a strong sense of awareness, occasionally hampered by a reluctance to accept an unfavourable history. The findings also demonstrate the continuation of damaging stereotypes that fuel racism in Winnipeg and at times, misplaced blame upon the Indigenous peoples. While this section shows that participants can, for the most part accept that Indigenous people have been treated unfairly, the following section will assess their willingness to accept a role in this mistreatment.

7.2 Settler Identity

The objective of this second section of findings and analysis section is to assess the participants' willingness to embrace the Settler Canadian identity and the responsibility that comes with it. The advantages and disadvantages to being a Settler Canadian, and the barriers to accepting this identity will also be explored. In this section the researcher will attempt to respond to the following questions surrounding the Settler identity;

1. Are we willing to accept the Settler Canadian identity?
2. What barriers prevent people from accepting this identity?
3. What advantages and/or disadvantages come with being a Settler Canadian?

Finding Seven: The majority of participants agree with the term *Settler Canadian* but would not self identify as a *Settler Canadian*

During the course of the interviews, the participants were provided with a definition of a Settler Canadian inspired by the work of Battell Lowman and Barker (2015a);

A Settler Canadian could be understood as someone who has benefitted from colonialism and the suffering of Indigenous people.

They were then asked to what extent they agreed or disagreed with the term and definition. Notably, the majority (6 of 9) accepted the term and only one participant, Wynne, was adamantly opposed to the term. Wynne's disagreement with the term *Settler Canadian* will be discussed further on. Two participants were unsure about the term; Kris required additional information and Taylor took issue with one section the definition;

I have a problem with the suffering of Indigenous part. I don't know. I don't agree with it entirely. I don't think they [Settler Canadians] necessarily had to have benefitted from the suffering of Indigenous people. (Taylor)

What is interesting is that in spite of the general approval for the term, very few participants were willing to self identify as a Settler. For participants Terry, Ashley and Taylor, their Métis and Indigenous heritage was a factor in their decision on whether or not to adopt the identity. Terry did not identify as a settler, as he believed his Indigenous ancestry was incompatible with the Settler identity;

No, and I would say probably because I have a fancy little card that says I'm part of the North, something Northern Affairs Indian. I don't know⁹. (Terry)

For Terry the two identities, Indigenous and settler were mutually exclusive. Ashley identified a similar issue, but acknowledged the complexity of identities;

That is difficult. I know, cuz I have Métis ancestry and white ancestry. So my family, well I'd say probably in some way[s] but also not. Cuz my family, the majority of my family comes from a Métis farming town basically. So if you consider Métis could be settlers then yes. But if you consider me to be Indigenous and not a Settler, then no. (Ashley)

Taylor was the only one of the three to accept the settler identity, but continued to express concern with a portion of the definition;

Yeah, just again without the suffering of Indigenous people. I mean my mom's background is entirely European and [...] my grandma on my dad's side is like full Aboriginal. But the dad, my grandpa on my dad side, yep he's entirely like European. [...] He married my grandma obviously and had children with them [sic]. So I don't know if this suffering part applies to that. So I don't agree with that. But I do identify as both Indigenous and a Settler and kind of a multi-cultural background so. (Terry)

⁹ Terry is likely referring to his Indian and Northern Affairs (INAC) card which confirms his *Indian* status (Government of Canada, n.d.)

Taylor acknowledged that he has both Indigenous and European roots, and felt comfortable identifying as both Indigenous and as a settler. However because his European grandfather married his Indigenous grandmother, he takes issue with the proposition that all Settlers benefitted from Indigenous suffering. It should be noted that Battell Lowman and Barker (2015a) specify that a person can identify as both Indigenous and a Settler Canadian. This information was not relayed to the study participants. This researcher wonders if Terry or Ashley's responses would have varied at all had information had been provided.

A connection, and sometimes a disconnect, with European roots was also factor that participants contemplated when deciding whether or not to identify as a settler. Brett was reluctant in accepting the Settler identity, and never definitively identified himself as a settler. Nonetheless, his European ancestry seems to make him think about it;

I wouldn't, or I guess I wouldn't be here [...] my parents are European, my family's European, so we wouldn't be here if the Settlers didn't come here. (Brett)

Quinn and Lee also identified European roots, but unlike Brett, who is first generation Canadian, they identified a historical gap between themselves and their European ancestors. Neither chose to identify as Settlers;

If you're born in Canada, you're Canadian. Like I guess you could consider mine [heritage] but like it's probably like couple of generations ago already. Like, I didn't know those people. [...] I'm not really a Settler. I was just born here. So if someone called me that – I think that's a little bit of an old term. (Quinn)

I feel like there's a question of at what generation do we stop becoming a Settler? Cuz you do get disassociated from that and if you are actively, you know, if you were, maybe your Settler, your colonizer ancestors were Ukrainian and you still very much identify with your Ukrainian identity and you celebrate and partake in cultural events and that's very much who you are in your family, then

maybe you would still then, consider yourself a Settler and you understand or you would feel that more. [...] I feel that I wouldn't identify as a Settler once so ever because I don't identify with them. I identify as a person who has from the very day one just been living here. I wouldn't say, even though I was born here, like now I am native to Canada by modern terms. I would still feel like I am an inhabitant of Canada but I'm not a Settler of Canada. And I feel like my role might be even transient because I might not inhabit Canada forever. I might move somewhere else and become an immigrant and that might become more of my identity. (Lee)

Quinn and Lee's reactions to this question have several similarities. First they both acknowledge colonial ancestry, but again, unlike Brett, they feel that they are too far removed from their foreign born ancestors to identify with any nationality beyond Canadian. They also point to their birth in Canada as a factor in their decision not to identify as Settlers. Not unlike Lee, Blair, a student born in India, also provides her temporary habitation of Canada as a reason for not wanting to identify as a Settler Canadian. She goes on to explain that she is not willing to adopt another identity

Actually I don't. [...] forget about the Canadian part of it, the Settler part of it. Oh that's not me. I am a nomad. [...] I just don't feel anything. It means I don't even feel Indian in lot of ways. So how do I feel myself as Canadian? That's another question. And I really don't. The whole struggle of my life has been breaking the identities; getting away from the identities. So I really don't need another one. (Blair)

Blair's response to this question is interesting when compared to that of Wynne. While Blair does not feel a need to identify as Canadian, not alone a Settler Canadian, Wynne, who is also a student from India, was offended by the proposition of being called a Settler Canadian. As mentioned in the previous section, Wynne's response to questions about Settler Canadians and colonialism was particularly

heated. When asked if she agreed with the term Settler Canadian, she said the following;

No. Don't say that to people. I don't think that's fine, why would you say that? Just you know, immigrant is an okay term to say for a little bit. But being one myself at this point I would feel it's not really fair to say you're not Canadian anymore. I think people who have decided to move out of their country to come here have that pride in their mind that we're going to be Canadians. [...] As long as no one is taking advantage, you know. Why would you say someone Settled? Settled is to like, it's saying as like you have taken over my land. And you know, something that I had the right to, you're taking over it. I get, I have earned it. The government allows people to come in. (Wynne)

From Wynne's response, one might assume that the term and accepting the identity of a Settler Canadian is in someway threatening her Canadian identity. She feels that she has earned her space in Canada and that she is not taking anything more than she is entitled. This response is noteworthy and the implications of such a response will be discussed in the analysis portion of this section.

The final reaction to the identity question comes from Kris. Kris reflects on the question, she contemplates the use of the term Settler Canadian, and even considers using the term professionally;

I am interested in it [the term], but I also realize that it would be kind of the unsettled Settler, I guess. (Kris)

And I was like "Oh they have an elder in residence program." So I said "could I pitch to Urban Shaman that I would be their Settler in residence?" (Kris)

Here Kris is making a reference to Paulette Regan's book (2010), *Unsettling the Settler Within* and is referencing the uncomfortable nature of the settler identity.

In the second quote she is talking about making a proposal to Urban Shaman¹⁰ to create a *Settler* position. Despite her interest in the term, Kris ultimately says that she would not identify as a Settler Canadian;

I would say no, just because whatever criteria is roaming around in my head is something that I have a lot more questions about. Like I think that even as just even as a term it can connote, like could have pejorative or even ameliorative associations. Like depending on who you're talking to, like I've said I've seen researchers who were working in Indigenous issues refer to themselves as settler Canadians. But I've also seen like it referred to very negatively in other sort of literature. So I'm not sure how I feel about that. (Kris)

Overall, when asked if they identified as a Settler Canadian, the majority (6 of 9) participants said no. Two participants (Ashley and Brett) remained unsure, or did not provide a definitive yes or no response. Ironically the only participant who did choose to identify as a Settler Canadian, Taylor, also identified a strong Indigenous background.

Finding Eight: This study was unable to gain a full perspective of what the advantages and disadvantages are to being a “Settler Canadian”

Regrettably, this researcher was unable to compile a list of advantages and disadvantages that come from being a Settler Canadian. Several participants refer to the level of privilege they experience, but no trends were detected across participant responses. With that said, one participant in particular reflected on some of the disadvantages she has experienced with being a person of privilege. Lee reflects on what she refers to as the *white girl blues* and being assigned a *blame label*. She believes that she and other white Canadians are being blamed due to their British or European roots;

¹⁰ Urban Shaman is a contemporary Aboriginal art gallery in Winnipeg.

When you are told that “no, you are obviously a Settler because of how you look” and what you think your lineage is. And “Guess what, you guys are evil” because you did this, and you did all this to all these people.” And you know, let’s bring out Penny’s backpack and unpack you¹¹. You know, get that guilt out.
(Lee)

Lee talked passionately about her education where she believes she was made to feel guilty for her whiteness. She also reflects on a lack of identity amongst Settler Canadians and comments that those who are othered might actually have a stronger sense of self;

I think that the issue is like, that we don’t come with a strong sense of who we are and like our history and our traditions. We don’t have any of that. And you grow up and maybe a lot of times you don’t even have religion and so a lot of it is navigating “Oh who am I as a person?” And in this modern-day Canadian context, where do I fit in, and how do I relate to others and what is my identity? And I think that not having that identity and even if you feel like you’re othered and a minority, it still gives you some power in itself, because you are grounded centrally at your core of who you are. (Lee)

She goes on to explain that while the Indigenous community is trying to reclaim their culture, that she feels that the Settler population never had this culture to begin with;

There’s a lot of stuff that Aboriginal people were saying was ripped away from them, that they didn’t have, that they’re now trying to build up and get, which is that inner intact cultural core of who you are. And it’s like “well hey, we don’t have it, we never did!” [...] So we’re trying to like negotiate along with them right now, kind of our modern identity of who we are and how we fit in. (Lee)

¹¹ Lee is making reference to an privilege awareness building activity developed by Peggy McIntosh (1989)

Lee's reflections were not shared by other participants but are noteworthy nonetheless. Lee's belief that she is without culture and identity could be influenced by her being among the dominant culture. If other Settler Canadians relate to Lee's reflections then it presents a barrier to them empathizing for Indigenous people seeking to reconnect with their identity.

We might want to rush to assume that colonialism has been inherently beneficial for the Settler community and yet a comment from participant Quinn challenges this assumption. Quinn demonstrates that not all Settler Canadians experience privilege equally. He explains that as a French Canadian his ancestors have been discriminated against and that he does not embrace British symbols;

You know, they definitely tried to pinch down on people talking French and stuff in the province. And I know it was a while ago, I think it was at the start of the 1900s they like, there was a law you can't teach French in school. And they like limited it and stuff. So it kind of irks you. Its like, that not my queen. You know, why is this person the head of the country right? I feel just the way anyone else would. These aren't our symbols, these aren't my symbols. (Quinn)

While still a settler, Quinn has common ground with Indigenous groups who reject the symbols of British Imperialism.

Analysis of Findings

Finding Seven: The majority of participants agree with the term "Settler Canadian" but would not self identify as a "Settler Canadian"

In finding seven it has been shown that while the participants are not opposed to the term "Settler Canadian", the majority are unwilling to self identify as settlers. The reasons for not wanting to identify as a settler vary from; having Indigenous or Métis heritage, not identifying with colonizers ancestors, concerns with the

derogatory or ameliorative implications, and not having a permanent bond with Canada.

One participant, an immigrant to Canada was very offended by the suggestion that she could be a Settler in this country. Her reaction to the question reminded this researcher of a story provided by Battell Lowman and Barker (2015a) in which an immigrant student was upset and emotional after being labeled a Settler. For this person it was difficult for her to reconcile that what her parents had done in the best interests of her family was also an act of Settler Colonialism. For Wynne, she believes that being labeled a Settler calls into question her intentions to be a hard working member of Canadian society. Wynne's reaction also demonstrates a level of entitlement. Mackey (2016) explains that many Settlers feel that they have "improved" or "laboured" that land, justifying their perceived natural right to the land. This claim generally goes unchallenged, which is why some Settlers become so upset when their claim is challenged (Mackey, 2016). Wynne feels that her immigration to Canada has not only been beneficial for herself, but that she will also contribute to Canadian society, thereby entitling her to occupy this land.

Two participants took issue with identifying as Settlers because they are so far removed from their colonizer ancestors. This was something that participant, Blair, also noticed when speaking with a friend;

I asked my roommate, the French Canadian, "what do you think about what happened to the Indigenous population in this country?" [...] And then he said to me "oh yeah the European Settlers did it." So you see, and then I told him "those European settlers were your ancestors, somewhere like a hundred years back." And then he said, "Yes, I agree with that, but still don't have a link with that ancestry." So there's a certain amount of rejection and denial. (Blair)

In part, this shows that the participants understand the concept of Settler to be defined by time – when someone, or someone's family arrived in Canada. They are not defining a Settler by the benefits they receive at the expense of the Indigenous peoples. This unwillingness to accept the identity could also qualify as what

Battell Lowman and Barker (2015a) refer to as a fear of being *rootless* and *of not belonging on the "land"*. If we as Canadians acknowledge that this land was taken unjustly, what are the potential consequences? While those with strong ties to other countries might be able to define themselves based on other nationalities, where would that leave those Settlers who do not identify any other home? Battell Lowman and Barker (2015b) further explain some of the reluctance around accepting the Settler identity;

...it is difficult to reconcile the cognitive dissonance between how we see our selves and the harsh reality – we are discouraged from questioning too deeply the well-springs of our national pride. This emotional discipline is the “stick” to the “carrot” of Settler Benefits. Because Settlers react with fear to being confronted with their colonial complicity... (Chapter 5, Settler Fear section, para. 14)

In summary, what this finding has told us is that while the participants are willing to accept that society has disadvantaged Indigenous peoples, the participants as individuals are not willing to accept personal responsibility. Accepting the Settler Canadian identity would mean both accepting culpability and the consequences that go along with it. At this point, the large majority of participants we're unwilling to take on this role.

Fighting Eight- Finding Eight: This study was unable to gain a full perspective of what participants thought the advantages and disadvantages are to being a “Settler Canadian”

In finding eight this researcher concedes that a full list of advantages and disadvantages associated with being a Settler Canadian could not be formulated. While some participants did hint at various advantages or disadvantages, there were no observable trends. With that said, two notable comments were made and presented in the findings section not because they represent the opinions of the majority of participants, but rather because they are thought provoking.

Lee identifies two disadvantages to being a Settler Canadian, the first being blamed or made to feel guilty for occupying a position of privilege. This issue is something that Bobbie Harro (2013b) identifies. She explains that our dominant and subordinate identities are assigned to us at birth and that we have no control over which identities we are assigned;

These identities are ascribed to us at birth through no effort or decision or choice of our own; there is, therefore no reason to blame each other or hold each other responsible for the identities we have. [...] There is no reason for any of us to feel guilty or responsible for the world into which we are born into. (Harro, 2013b, p. 47)

Regardless of whether Lee should feel guilty for her position of privilege, she is suggesting that guilt is being projected onto her. It's possible that she is pushing back to deflect this guilt. As Diane Goodman (2011) explains, sometimes when we encounter guilt we will blame the victim;

Some people feel uncomfortable with the fact that some people have so much, while others have so little. They may feel embarrassed or guilty for having more than others. People frequently feel guilt when they know that others do not share their privileges or standard of living. In response to these increasingly apparent inequities, people often "blame the victim" (p. 93)

While Lee is not explicitly "blaming the victim" she is expressing frustration at being forced to acknowledge privilege. Lee was the only participant to share this frustration, but it would not be surprising to discover that others also felt uncomfortable at times when having to discuss their role in the exploitation of Indigenous peoples.

Lee's second comment refers to not feeling like she has a strong sense identity and effectively feeling cultureless. It's unlikely that Lee is actually void of culture, but more likely that she is blind to her own culture. As Colin Salter (2013) explains,

often members of the dominant group within society – he would say *White people* – are unable to perceive their own culture because it is the dominant and unquestioned culture. White people in turn see themselves as being without ethnicity and being white becomes synonymous with being human. Diane Goodman (2011) echoes this point;

This lack of awareness relates to being the norm, and therefore not needing to think about one's social identity. It's like being a fish in water — when you're surrounded by water as part of your natural environment, it's hard to be aware of it. And, this water has been filtered through the dominant ideology. People from privileged groups are surrounded by their culture and therefore don't notice it. (p. 23)

Again, it is unlikely that Lee is without culture, but rather that she cannot perceive her own culture because it is all around her and unquestioned.

Quinn's comment about rejecting British symbols is another noteworthy comment to be included in this finding. While we might assume that all Settlers experience privilege equally, this is not the case;

In my description of common characteristics of people from privileged groups, I have narrowly focused on a single aspect of one's identity. However, that is only one strand of a whole tapestry. Individuals' other social identities color their experience of that dominant identity, and more broadly, affect one's overall experience of both privilege and oppression. Not everyone benefits equally; privileges are mediated by one's other social positions. Other social statuses affect the degree to which an individual experiences the advantages of privilege. (Goodman, 2011, p. 23)

As Goodman (2011) explains, people can be a member of the privileged group and still find themselves disadvantaged by their other social identities. In this case, Quinn might experience the privileges of being a Settler Canadian, but because he is

not a British descendant, his own culture has also been oppressed. While Quinn did not identify his disregard for British symbols as a potential to connect with Indigenous peoples, this researcher wonders if this frustration could better align him with Indigenous, or Métis peoples in Winnipeg.

Summary and Conclusion

The purpose of this section was to explore the participants' willingness to accept the Settler Canadian identity. Outlined in the research questions were three questions related to Settler identity, to which the findings of this section respond.

Are we willing to accept the Settler Canadian identity?

While most participants of the research study did not take issue with the term and the concept of Settler Canadian, the majority were unwilling to self identify as a Settler.

What barriers prevent people from accepting this identity?

Some participants declined the identity because they saw it as incompatible with their Indigenous or Métis identities. Others questioned, once generations removed from their colonizer ancestors, when we can shed the Settler label. This perception indicates that these participants are assessing their potential identities as Settlers based on the act of arriving in Canada, and not on the act of benefiting from the continued exploitation of the Indigenous peoples.

Fear of becoming *rootless* or not belonging anywhere serves as another barrier to accepting the Settler identity. For those participants who have recently immigrated to Canada, some hesitate to accept the identity for fear that it will negate all the hard work they, or their families, have done to establish themselves. Finally, accepting the Settler Canadian identity implies acceptance of some personal culpability for the suffering of Indigenous people. While the participants seem willing to recognize that society has disadvantaged the Indigenous people, they are much more reluctant to accept personal responsibility.

What advantages and/or disadvantages come with being a Settler Canadian?

Regrettably, this researcher was unable to detect any trends amongst participant interviews to build a list of advantages or disadvantages experienced by Settler Canadians. What was observed was individual frustrations that come with belonging to the dominant group in society. For one participant this meant dealing with labels and guilt she did not welcome. She was also left feeling devoid of culture and identity, a by-product of being from the privileged group, where one's own culture is so present and all encompassing that it becomes invisible. Lastly, reflections from another participant demonstrate that a person can never be entirely disadvantaged or advantaged by their identities. This participant arguably belongs to the Settler community, and yet because he is not a British descendant, feels oppressed by the symbols of another group's culture.

In conclusion, the participants are still reluctant to take on the Settler Canadian identity. This effectively communicates a continued discomfort with the identity and the implications that come with it. In spite of not wanting to accept the responsibility that comes with being a Settler, the participants did demonstrate a desire to see social change. The following section will discuss the extent of this desire, and what they are willing to do to make Winnipeg a more equalitarian city.

7.3 Reconciliation and Social Change

The purpose of this section is to explore the participants' thoughts on reconciliation and social change. In finding 9 through 14 this researcher assesses the participants' optimism for reconciliation, who they believe should be responsible for creating social change, and what those changes should be. Finally barriers and knowledge surrounding the Truth and Reconciliation Commission will be discussed. This section will respond to the research question related to social change;

1. Are Settler Canadians willing to pursue change that could benefit the Indigenous community?

2. What barriers prevent Settler Canadians from pursuing social change?

Finding Nine: All participants were optimistic about the potential for reconciliation, but the understanding of what reconciliation is varied.

Hopeful for reconciliation

When asked about the potential for a successful reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Canada, all nine participants indicated that they were hopeful. Some participants questioned how long the process might take, theorizing that it could take generations, but in general the tone was positive. Here are the responses from all nine participants to the question “How optimistic are you that the relationships between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous people in Canada can be reconciled?”

But I’m definitely like, I’m hopeful and I’m confident it will get better. For sure. I think it’s just the way that people will be brought up. I don’t know, I think it can, absolutely. (Quinn)

I’m a pretty optimistic guy, like I said before. I’m easy going so I do think, I do think that it can be rebuilt and reestablished from prior harm done to the culture. (Taylor)

I would say that it definitely can. Like there’s little reason why it can’t. I think the only question is at what rate can it be fixed? (Ashley)

I feel as though as long as the children are well educated on the topic, I feel as though things can change. I find it’s all about the childhood that is beneficial to a better society. (Terry)

Yes, if you really try. If everybody has that mentality saying that these people are no different than us, I think that they should be able to reconcile. (Wynne)

Some of this optimism comes from the progress in awareness and in the Indigenous communities that participants say have they've observed in recent years;

I would say even within the 4 years that I've been back; I've seen a difference in terms of just local news coverage related to Indigenous interest stories. I would also say that personally for me, for what I do professionally, for my job, I have seen an increase in interest in Indigenous issues and success. [...] I see a lot more, sort of, I guess, energy around different aspects of supporting Indigenous success. (Kris)

I think that right now they're [Indigenous Peoples] on a platform that this new generation is really going to be strong and it's really going to be able to further the gains that have already been made. And I don't think its going to be, they're going to be held back at every corner. I think that a lot of those barricades have been pushed, broken down. And I think that maybe we're in a, again, in this transition period where it's going to be forwards and upwards. (Lee)

Participants pointed to significant events and certain leaders to illustrate this progress. The rise of leaders and local celebrities like Brian Bowman¹², Wab Kinew¹³, Robert Falcon-Ouellette¹⁴, and Rosanna Deerchild¹⁵ were all mentioned. Meanwhile the introduction of mandatory Indigenous courses at the University of Winnipeg¹⁶, the integration of Indigenous teachings in academia on a whole, and an

¹² Brian Bowman, Mayor of Winnipeg (Welch, 2017a).

¹³ Wabanakwut Kinew, Manitoba Member of Legislative Assembly (Welch, 2017b).

¹⁴ Robert Falcon-Ouellette, Member of Parliament for Winnipeg Centre ("Robert Falcon-Ouellette," 2018).

¹⁵ Rosanna Deerchild, broadcaster, author and poet ("Rosanna Deerchild," 2018).

¹⁶ University of Winnipeg mandatory Indigenous course ("Indigenous course requirement," n.d.)

increase in Indigenous cultural events were all seen as indicators of success in the road to reconciliation.

What is reconciliation?

What did vary widely amongst participants was what they interpreted reconciliation to be, or what it implies for our society. Several participants suggested that reconciliation would imply a mutual effort from both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, coming together to discuss solutions;

So for me reconciliation means that it's sort of working together with Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. That being said, I think that there has to be a lot of intentionality and also sort of working together on both groups' side. Like I think it has to really be Indigenous and non-Indigenous people examining, like what's required in certain areas. (Kris)

It has to be like a mutual agreement, that like they need, that it's not equal. Like the standard of living is not the same and it should be. And then there needs to be a mutual agreement on a process to, like come to that. (Taylor)

Two participants also felt that it was important that Indigenous communities be able to define their own understanding of reconciliation;

I think I would sort of have to say its going to look different across Canada. I think its something that will be defined by the community that is sort of working towards reconciliation. (Kris)

I would expect that every person who belongs to the Indigenous community decides what they think reconciliation is for them. Because me deciding that, I don't know, I haven't been in their shoes. I haven't experienced what they have experienced. (Blair)

Participants identified improving the standard of living, social equality and eliminating barriers as important parts of reconciliation. Quinn suggested that reconciliation implied removing barriers created by racism. Blair wants to see the end of segregation and the healing of the Indigenous communities. Meanwhile Taylor referenced Indigenous women's increased risk of being sexually assaulted and suggested that successful reconciliation would see a decrease in those risk factors. Terry believes that reconciliation is about being able to relate to each other as humans and finding shared core values. Finally, Lee chose to define reconciliation by what she felt it ought not to be. While she is not opposed to formal apologies in the event that this is what's needed by the Indigenous Peoples, she doesn't see the value continuous or ongoing apologies;

My own personal point of view, I don't think it's just a bunch of just saying, "I'm sorry, I'm sorry, I'm sorry." I get that people, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous say that in order for the healing process to occur a person does verbally have to say, "We're sorry". They have to do, at least make the effort and I don't know, not put the act on. I just don't feel like that's authentic and I just don't necessarily see that this is that an integral step to a reconciliation. (Lee)

While we might be quick to assume Lee is not a supporter of the reconciliation movement, this would be wrong. She goes onto say that her version of reconciliation will be successful when Indigenous Peoples can be part of the Canadian society but at the same time feel connected to their Indigenous culture;

I think that it's [reconciliation] is when we, when Indigenous people have been given enough or we're at a point in society where they are respected enough and they themselves have carved out enough of a niche that they can be successful members of what is the Canadian reality right now. But they have been reconnected back to their culture that was lost and taken away from them, and that they have a strong sense of personal identity, but also an identity that's tied in with modern day Canada. An identity that does see themselves as dis-

tinctly separate, and acknowledges their historical ties and what it means to be Indigenous. (Lee)

For some, reconciliation means the end of social “benefits”. Wynne argues that for reconciliation to be successful, Indigenous people must not receive any social benefits beyond what is also available to everyone else;

It should be all fair, they shouldn't get an advantage, right? Because I think that it develops, like the racism. [...] The discrimination develops when you feel someone else is getting something better than I did. (Wynne)

Wynne is not alone in her opinion. Brett talked about reconciliation being the end of homelessness, ending racism and inequalities for the Indigenous population, but also the end of social benefits;

I guess those benefits that we talked about would be stopped, because as long as those benefits are going on then there's still that, then its still not in my opinion, the Truth and Reconciliation process has not fully... [...] like us giving them money is not enabling them to, I guess, try and find a job. (Brett)

He also suggests that a successful reconciliation process would resolve issues in the downtown, “If the Truth and Reconciliation was successful, it would have to transition what is currently our problem; downtown.” The perception that Winnipeg’s downtown is an area to be improved upon, strife with conflict, was mentioned by many participants and will be discussed in the following section.

Finally for Ashley, reconciliation means blurring the lines between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people;

I would say just where probably, just where it is indistinguishable being native from non-native. [...] Or have just have no difference in them, but its, I think if there's total reconciliation or something it would be where basically there's like

a moulding together I'd say overtime. Cuz like you know there's strong culture traditions in each thing, but they're influenced by one another. [...] As younger generations come in, I think they'll be less affected by their culture or their former cultures. (Ashley)

Ashley's perception of reconciliation is significant as the researcher wonders if it could also be perceived as encouraging assimilation.

Finding Ten: Who should be responsible for increasing equality in Winnipeg?

If reconciliation is the end goal, then it is important to understand by whom and how it will be achieved. Participants of the study were asked questions related to what role non-Indigenous people should play on the road to reconciliation. They were also asked if the responsibility to make society more equal should be left with individuals, or governments.

When asked about responsibility, participant Terry placed responsibility on "the ones doing the colonization". He was in the minority though, as most participants suggested that *everyone* has a responsibility to change society.

Everybody is responsible, including like the non-Indigenous and Indigenous people themselves. [...] I don't believe in the argument that "I'm just one person, I can't do anything." (Taylor)

Some thought that government was an important actor in creating change, but the majority (6 of 9) felt that individuals were better suited to the job. It was suggested that government can only take its direction from involved citizens and has its own limitations.

I think that again, it's all kind of grass roots; I think it comes from the people. Governments respond to the people's wants and needs. [...] We have to make sure that the government knows what we want. (Lee)

Every layer in society has their equal contribution to make. At the same time, I guess the more onus lies on the grassroots in terms of really, in terms of social change. Because the elites have their agenda, middle tier has their constraints. It's Lederach's model, I think that will make a difference¹⁷. And for that every person has a moral responsibility. Yes the government can make laws and policies, which are anti-discriminatory. Create certain privileges for the Indigenous communities in terms of scholarships and all that, to make the access easier to all kinds of basic necessities for basic rights for people. But then again just having a law does not mean that the law will be effective. (Blair)

Like it shouldn't be the government having to tell us to have, like have a paradigm shift. Like I don't get it. Why the government, [...] why does everything have to be legislated like that? Why can't it just be like us? Everybody. (Quinn)

Finding Eleven: Participants were able to brainstorm many ways that individuals could contribute to social change in Winnipeg.

Working on the assumption that individuals should be held responsible for creating change, what is it that they should be expected to do? Study participants were asked the following question; "What could non-Indigenous people do to make Winnipeg a more equitable city?" The responses varied from listening to Indigenous voices, to improving access to funding, to smiling.

One of the most referenced "changes" to be made was acknowledgement and awareness. Participants feel it is important that the non-Indigenous population acknowledge the First peoples and the suffering they have endured. Taylor recommends that we acknowledge the racism that exists within our society, "I think a topic we talked about earlier was just acknowledging racism, and things." Blair mirrors his comment, "I would say acceptance. That's the key right now." Kris praised the treaty and territorial land acknowledgements during events that have started to

¹⁷ Blair is referring to Lederach's (1997) model for conflict transformation, described in his book *Building peace: Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies*

gain traction recently, but questioned why physical copies of treaties could not be posted up more often. She also suggested that copies of the Truth and Reconciliation report be made more readily available. She recommends making them available at all elementary schools. Lee identified awareness as an important strategy when she said the following;

I see prejudice against multiple races, of different genders, of disabilities – you see a ton of that. And I think people aren't aware of it necessarily, but if we continue to make people aware or remind people that we're all just people, it will get better. (Lee)

Finally, Ashley calls for understanding, “Probably just understanding things better [...] and making decisions based on that.”

In order to build awareness, one could argue that you must first listen. This is presumably why participants advocated that we start to listen to Indigenous voices, and not speak for them. Participants suggested listening for Indigenous voices in the media, during film festivals, through storytelling, and in general, seeking out Indigenous content. Listening to the voices of Indigenous peoples might help to create a better understanding amongst non-Indigenous people. Participant Wynne asked this question;

What do they think about the world around them now? Like the now Indigenous people. What do they think this is happening to them? Do they think everything is fair? [...] Why do they need that space to feel protected? (Wynne)

While a response to her question could definitely be developed, a reaction from the source would likely be more meaningful. Kris speaks to this when she chooses not to speak for the Indigenous communities, “So I wouldn't want to speak for those communities, but I would hope that they feel empowered and enabled to sort of mobilize and speak for their communities.”

A third of participants recommended that privilege, and the power to act be considered when pursuing social change. A few participants reflected on how they grew up with privilege; how they were able to attend good schools, pursue secondary education, and do not know what it is to face racial discrimination, and this led into a dialogue about how to use this privilege. Taylor had one of the more unique responses when he argued that those who do have power and privilege are obligated to use it for the greater good;

If you can, and you have the ability, then like help in some way. Like the Spider-Man/Uncle Ben quote “with great power comes great responsibility”. So if you have the power to do something then, like yeah, you also have the responsibility to help. (Taylor)

Similarly, Lee said that those who benefit and have been empowered by society have a duty to help others in kind, but she also encourages caution;

If you are in a society and you’re benefitting or you are living comfortably, obviously you’re living comfortably because of how that society is set up. Therefore its part of your, if you are benefitting from that structure then you have to give back to keep improving upon that structure. (Lee)

It’s never said to be patronizing, it’s like, it’s said to be empowering, but I feel like them [Settlers] acknowledging their position of power and then opening up doors for them [Indigenous peoples]. [...] I just feel like its again taken out of the hands of the Indigenous people. (Lee)

While Lee encourages those who are privileged by society’s current structure to give back to those who are not, she also presents the possibility that what may be perceived by Settlers as being helpful, could be perceived by the disenfranchised as being patronizing, and could effectively take control away from the Indigenous peo-

ples. It is for this reason that Terry recommends that non-Indigenous actors step back a little when it comes to finding equality for Indigenous peoples;

The non-Indigenous people played a pretty strong role getting us into this situation that we're in. And you know it can't be the non-Indigenous getting us out of where we are, and it can't be solely the Indigenous people getting us out of where we are, its gotta be a joint effort. (Terry)

Practically, this might imply listening to the voices and needs of Indigenous people, which has been previously discussed in this section. Promoting opportunities for Indigenous people, specifically around employment was the next recommendation. Brett suggested that greater opportunities be provided for Indigenous people. He proposed that private business owners could assist Indigenous communities by hiring from them. This would allow Indigenous people to invest in their children's education, which would have a positive intergenerational impact. He also felt the City of Winnipeg could do more to hire Indigenous peoples. Quinn suggested that Indigenous people needed either to be paid a higher wage, or be granted increased subsidies in order to lessen the cost of living in Winnipeg. Kris recommends that allies advocate for policies in their workplace, but cautions not to promote tokenism;

Being able to support, I guess policies related to Indigenous successor achievement, whether it's your workplace, like if you're in a position of power say within HR or diversity. Making sure it's embedded with policies and procedures moving forward. Rather than say, like a tokenism. (Kris)

As previously mentioned, participants do see the government as an actor to be engaged in social change, but believe that it should be influenced by the grassroots. Participants reiterated that government should be taking its cues from the people. Holding government accountable was also mentioned as a vehicle of change. Participants encouraged non-Indigenous actors to canvass government and lobby

for change. And individuals were encouraged to “hold government accountable to basic human rights” of the Indigenous peoples (Kris). Taylor recommended voting for those policies that you support;

I guess, maybe stand up for someone if they see like racism occurring perhaps. But also, I think as a community standpoint, [...] if you're voting for something, maybe you vote for like a party that wants to do something about it. (Taylor)

If Settlers were voting for a change from government, they might be voting for increased funding for the basic needs of the Indigenous people. Brett advocates for more food banks and additional shelters for Indigenous people living in the downtown core. But with that, Blair encourages thoughtfulness, as she has observed that serving a community's basic needs can quickly reduce them to beggars;

Okay it's food, and then we take it and then we go kind of thing. So I really felt something missing from there is communication and talking to each other. It was more of, you know, like you give food to a beggar. The country I come from, that's how it happens¹⁸. So it's completely not engaging with a community when you are not having any kind of activity, just food. And I don't like the idea of it. (Blair)

Blair was not opposed to the idea of providing food for those in need, but felt that some form of engagement and communication should accompany it.

The next recommendation in the pursuit of social change was education, both for the Indigenous peoples, and for the non-Indigenous. For the Indigenous people participants observed a disparity in the educational resources provided. Taylor commented that improvements to the education system were required for Indigenous communities; changes that would put their schooling on par with that received by non-Indigenous students. Brett reflected on it being harder for Indigenous stu-

¹⁸ Blair originates from India.

dents to access post-secondary school. Kris felt that improved education was needed to change socio-economic status, but also emphasized choice;

I guess if you had to pick one hot button word, it would probably be education. To at least enable some sort of sense of possibility, support, and ability to hopefully move through those different socioeconomic levels. Or at least be given the education to decide if they don't want to. (Kris)

Finding Twelve: The majority of participants support increased Indigenous curriculum in schools

This researcher wanted to explore the possibility of increasing Indigenous content in schools as a potential avenue for change. Consequently, study participants were asked if they saw value in increasing the amount curriculum concerning Indigenous peoples in the public school system. The majority (6 of 9) of participants said yes to an increase and a 7th participant responded that quantity of material wasn't as important as the method and pedagogy. Several participants remarked that the education they received regarding Indigenous peoples was inadequate;

We had a Canadian year. I think grade 10 was Canada, grade 11? And then I would say, Oh maybe Dancing with Wolves? From like the 80's, which is obviously not a good marker for knowledge. (Kris)

There's only so much they can teach right? But it's definitely not enough, like I don't know, I shouldn't say enough. But like there wasn't much in school. (Quinn)

They talked a little bit in school. And I don't know, it was very vague. It was one of those things that you were taught kind of as you are at the age where you weren't listening to the teacher. So they kind of filled it with Aboriginal studies. (Terry)

Of the other two participants, one was against any increase in mandatory curriculum but wasn't opposed to optional courses, "No I don't think there should be an increase. I think there should be the option to pursue their studies and make sure that there's electives available." (Lee). Brett was willing to admit that he did not know a lot about Indigenous peoples, but also did not think he needed to know more;

Personally, I don't think I would like to know more about anything. Just because, I mean I don't interact with them [Indigenous people] that much. I guess if I'm going to be a doctor, especially in the emergency room in Winnipeg, I'm going to be seeing a lot of them. But personally, not that I know a lot right now, clearly, because I couldn't answer these questions, but I think like a highschool course on it was enough. (Brett)

On the topic of education, participants also brought up a need for educating new Canadians, who may not be aware of the history of the First peoples. If there were to be an increase in Indigenous content in schools, what would be the potential benefit be? For Taylor, it would be the potential to help others;

I think even being an Indigenous person, I think I could know more about Indigenous people. And yeah I think with that knowledge I'll learn to like value more and understand how to help my people more. [...] If you learn about the issues then you can better understand and better solve it I guess. (Taylor)

Beyond public school, Terry also discusses the impact of learning about Indigenous communities in adulthood;

So it's going to take awhile. But you know, definitely like learning about it, as an adult is just as important as learning about anything else to me, really. It's part of who I am. It's part of who this country is. So I think we should all learn a little bit about it. You know, it wouldn't hurt anyone. They [Indigenous people]

have a lot of good [...] philosophy. There's a lot of philosophy I read about; all the symbolism, and being one with Mother Nature, and humility. (Terry)

Finding Thirteen: Complacency or wanting to ignore inequality was identified most often as a barrier to pursuing social change

The participants of this study were able to independently brainstorm a multitude of potential ways that non-Indigenous Winnipeggers could influence society and work towards reconciliation; and yet in practice we know that it's not always so straightforward. The following section explores some of the barriers that individuals may encounter whilst pursuing social change. The most common response to the barrier question related to people wanting to ignore the problem. Participants felt that individuals could fall victim to complacency, or carry a feeling that the pursuit of change was not a worthy enough issue;

We know that Aboriginals are having a hard time getting jobs. Having a hard time supporting themselves, but we just passed the buck onto universities, to governments, so individuals don't really, or citizens don't really have to worry about it, because they think someone else is going to worry about it. (Brett)

They don't want to acknowledge it is a problem because then they, I don't know, will feel the guilt associated with that and they'll want to do something. But if they just turn a blind eye they just deny its existence, then that's in a form being racist itself. I think, I think a lot of people just don't want to have to acknowledge that and deal with that, deal with its consequences or like getting it right. (Taylor)

They think that maybe other things are more pressing, or they don't think it's a real issue. [...] It might tap into something where they are like "oh you know that hurts me a little bit." It taps into something that like maybe they know is wrong, but they just can't help. (Quinn)

Other participants hypothesized that the belief that the disenfranchised cannot impact society, or not having the resources to do so would act as a barrier in itself. Lee describes how those who struggle financially will have a more difficult time influencing society;

I think they [elites] have more power individually, where as yes, you can have people who are, you know financially are in the hole, yeah who aren't in a great position. [...] If they mass together and they have more numbers then their voice can be heard. But that in itself is a greater effort. Way harder to coordinate. The ability to succeed, in that way the cards, you know, are not in their favour. Where as a wealthy person with their money, the money can talk and they can even as one single individual can have influence, instead of having to orchestrate and organize a whole bunch of people. (Lee)

Quinn also talks about the impacts that elites can have and explains that if it is in the best interest of the advantaged group to not promote change, than those fighting for equality will face additional challenges. Taylor and Ashley say similar things and suggest that sometimes people simply don't have the power to evoke change. For those with minimal resources, it is also hard to make social activism a priority. Wynne rationalizes why some individuals may not have the luxury of advocating for equality;

I think basically people who are educated will be the ones who care more about that [issues of equality], as compared to the people who are just trying to get a life. Trying to just make an earning. Trying to just, you know. Just if they're 18 and they're just working a full-time job, sometimes they might not care right? They will just be like "I just have to earn enough to make food or to pay rent." (Wynne)

Kris theorizes that individuals may shy away from pursuing social change because they are unsure what they can do, or what they are permitted to do;

It could be really debilitating, like to sore of say, "What can we take on" and ask those questions. Like what are we allowed to take on? (Kris)

She also suggests that individuals might feel like they do not know enough to contribute to change and they become overwhelmed; and it's possible that individuals might feel like they do not have access to the communities that they want to be in alliance with;

I think that's probably what keeps people is that "I can't possibly know, or help, or how can I? How can I become involved in these communities [when] no one will talk to me. (Kris)

The final barrier is the fear of damaging personal relationships. Ashley suggested that being an advocate can be uncomfortable and people may fear the consequences of speaking up;

You know it's a thing that you'd have to go out of, almost out of your way to do. And it could also just lead into an argument with someone or it can damage your relationship with someone as well. [...] Yeah, every time someone makes a racist comment, if you say something every time, then they're going to probably think differently of you. Or else they're not going to want to be like your friend, or something because you're saying what they think is wrong. (Ashley)

Finding Fourteen: Participants have limited knowledge of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission

In the last section we reviewed various barriers to social change, as identified by the participants. During the course of the interviews, another potential barrier was observed; the majority (5 of 9) of participants knew very little about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). When asked about the Indian Residential

School system, 100% of participants were aware of it and provided this researcher with, at the very least, anecdotal information about the IRS. However with the TRC, many admitted not knowing much.

I have heard about it. Like I didn't read the thing or anything. But...I can't, I honestly don't have, like I don't know much about it. I know it's like the next step. (Lee)

That was established, it was established to assess what happened in colonialism and then to apologize and figure out, or figure out restitutions correct? Is that, did I touch the mark on that? (Brett)

I just read that in an article. It sounds so familiar. Just on the way here, I read and article and that was in it. (Taylor)

I know nothing about it. [...] I know that it is, I don't know much about it. But it was something, it's a movement. It's something produced by the federal government that is actively seeking to aid in the tension between First Nations and Canada. (Ashley)

I know the term reconciliation, but I don't think I know the whole part. No. (Wynne)

Of all the participants, Kris and Quinn offered the most information about the TRC, but even they struggled a little;

So there's 90 something calls to action? I want to say 97, but I don't know if that's right. [...] They're looking into trying to reconcile past differences and inequities and wrongs that have been committed between like the settler community and Indigenous community. That it's on a platform of not trying to do the blame and shame game, but trying to uncover what went wrong, what has

and is going wrong and how to stop that and to right those things in order to move forward in a peaceful and productive manner. (Kris)

I think it has to do with residential schools, for part of it. [...] So I think it was a way of just like acknowledging the wrongs that were done; and then helping [them] to move on. (Quinn)

For the most part Kris was able to identify the purpose of the TRC, but she stumbled on the calls to action; there are 94 (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b). Quinn was able to identify the general purpose of the TRC, but was unable to provide any specifics. Blair was also fairly knowledgeable on the topic of TRC but at the same time, somewhat critical of the initiative.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission is again a very, kind of a formal set up. Not a common man really has any kind of opinion or any kind of information about it. Again it's a structure which may be a person in the North End does not even consider as a kind of an apology because of what has happened to, maybe her daughter has gone missing for several years, never been found. [...] So it has to really trickle down, it has to trickle down to the people who have been wronged. (Blair)

In short, while the participants are at least somewhat aware of the history of the TRC, the origins, objective, and current status of the TRC has eluded them.

Analysis of Findings

Finding Nine: All participants were optimistic about the potential for reconciliation, but the understanding of what reconciliation is varied.

In the ninth finding it was shown that all participants were hopeful for reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Canada. What did vary substantially was what participants considered reconciliation to be, or what

they thought it should look like. One participant suggested that reconciliation was not just a show of countless apologies. She might have been surprised to find that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015b) did not put a focus on apologies in their Calls to Action. In fact, this researcher could only find one action, which referenced apologies (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b). The TRC (2015b) called for the Pope to apologize for the Roman Catholic Church's role in the Indian Residential School system, which Prime Minister Trudeau requested from Pope Francis in May 2017 (Smith, 2017). Instead of apologies, the TRC (2015b) seems more focused on action to heal relationships. The TRC (2015b) has said the following about reconciliation;

...reconciliation, in the context of Indian residential schools, is similar to dealing with a situation of family violence. It's about coming to terms with events of the past in a manner that overcomes conflict and establishes a respectful and healthy relationship among people, going forward. It is in the latter context that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has approached the question of reconciliation. To the Commission, reconciliation is about establishing and maintaining a mutually respectful relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in this country. (p. 6)

This corresponds well with what a few participants identified as a need for mutual agreement and a mutual effort towards reconciliation. It also aligns well with Blair's perception, who believed that healing was an important facet of reconciliation. With this said, the participants' understanding of reconciliation does differ greatly from the understanding of those academics that argue reconciliation in Canada requires decolonization. Rouhana (2018) explains, "Reconciliation between the parties in a settler-colonial conflict should be approached with the intention of decolonization" (p. 657). For Taiaike Alfred (2010), Laroque (2014), and Mackey (2016), this means returning stolen land and making space for Indigenous cultures. Decolonization also implies learning and upholding the promises outlined in the treaties, acting as "treaty people", and dismantling colonial constructs. The participants of this study sug-

gest that reconciliation would imply improving the standard of living and eliminating barriers for Indigenous Peoples. Reconciliation would also require increased social equality and an end to racial segregation. What the majority of participants (Kris being the exception) did not mention was a need for decolonization, or the actions that initiate it. While this researcher cannot conclude that participants would be opposed to decolonization, it can be assumed that decolonization is, at a minimum, not “on their radar”.

A further concern is the reflections from participants that felt reconciliation implied the end of social benefits to Indigenous peoples and a blurring of culture. To this researcher this implies a lack of awareness of the reconciliation process. The Calls to Action do mention several required changes that would necessitate an increase in funding (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b), not less, which likely be looked upon poorly by these few participants. Furthermore, these comments demonstrate that some participants still see compensation as a hand-out and not a form of restitution. Restitution, according to Lederach (Lederach, 1997), is a necessary part of the justice branch of reconciliation. This perception towards compensation will be discussed again in the final findings section, but to this researcher indicates either a misunderstanding of reconciliation or a lack of commitment to the process.

The desire for Indigenous culture to become blurred into mainstream culture is equally concerning. Ashley suspects that with reconciliation Indigenous and non-Indigenous culture will blur together, as he feels younger generations are less culture affected. While he may be well intentioned, he fails to see how this could be yet another example of assimilation. Culture is fluid, and it is very much possible that as Indigenous and non-Indigenous people realize an interdependent and peaceful co-existence that the cultures could meld together. This could be beneficial for both communities, yet this researcher would advocate that space be made for Indigenous cultures. The concern is that Indigenous peoples will be forced to be absorbed into the “mosaic” rather than have their culture respected;

When questions of culture come up, it is still the question of Indigenous people accommodating or adapting to new cultural ideals from within Canadian society, as opposed to having our cultural values, norms, and way of life fundamentally respected. (Taiaiake Alfred, 2010, p. 7)

The goal of the residential schools was to sever children from their Indigenous culture (Regan, 2010) . To this researcher, what Ashley is suggesting appears eerily similar.

In summary, while all participants seemed both supportive and hopeful for successful reconciliation, a further investigation demonstrates that not all participants are on the same page when it comes to the meaning of reconciliation. The perception of reconciliation continues to demonstrate a lack of awareness of the need for decolonization, a rejection of restitution, and possible advocacy for continued assimilation.

Finding Ten: Who should be responsible for increasing equality in Winnipeg?

In her book, Regan (2010) talks about accepting responsibility, and deferring responsibility to our government, “To those who argue that they are not responsible, because they were not directly involved with the residential schools, I say that, as Canadians citizens, we are ultimately responsible for the past and present actions of our government” (Regan, 2010, p. 4). Ironically, although previous findings showed that many participants were unwilling to take on personal responsibility for Indigenous suffering, they did feel that individuals, as opposed to government, were best equipped to address inequality in Winnipeg. Most participants felt that while government could take action, it would only follow direction from an active populace. Participant Blair referred to Lederach’s (1997) model of Conflict Transformation, which actually fits nicely within this analysis.

In Lederach’s (1997) model he describes the three level of actors who participate in international affairs and protracted conflict. The highest level is made up of top leadership, such as highly visible politicians. The middle leadership group con-

sists of recognized and respected leaders from a given geographical area, or an affected community. The lowest leadership group, and the most populated, is made up of grassroots leaders who are directly affected by the issue. (Lederach, 1997)

A bottom up approach to social change certainly has its challenges, namely that members of the grassroots have to think about their own survival while simultaneously pursuing social change. Furthermore it is very difficult to mobilize and organize a massive population. With this said, Lederach (1997) points out that “virtually all of the recent transitions towards peace [...] were driven largely by the pressure for change that was bubbling up from the grassroots” (p. 52). He also identifies that change negotiated by those directly impacted by a given social issue is likely to be more authentic than one negotiated by top-leadership (Lederach, 1997).

With all of this said, the participants of the study might have offered different feedback to this question if they had reviewed the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s 94 Calls to Action, many of which are directed towards government and other medium and large institutions like universities. While individuals can certainly impact these recommended changes, it will require developing influence over these institutions.

Finding Eleven: Participants were able to brainstorm many ways that Individuals could contribute to social change in Winnipeg.

While its not particularly difficult to see that there is a social issue in Winnipeg, that Indigenous people continue to face undue racism and discrimination, finding practical ways to remedy this situation is a significantly larger challenge. Nonetheless, when presented with question, “What could non-Indigenous people do to make Winnipeg a more equitable city?” the participants of this study provided a wealth of ideas. Those ideas, discussed in finding eleven can be broken down into seven recommendations; acknowledgement and awareness, listening to Indigenous voices, using privilege to make change, promoting opportunities for Indigenous peoples, lobbying government, covering basic needs, and finally educational improvements.

Awareness and acknowledgement of the suffering endured by the Indigenous people is very much in line with the literature produced by Settler colonialism reconciliation academics (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015a; Lederach, 1997; Regan, 2010; Rouhana, 2018; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a). The TRC (2015a) identifies both awareness and acknowledgment as the first stepping-stones towards reconciliation;

To the Commission, reconciliation is about establishing and maintaining a mutually respectful relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in this country there has to be awareness of the past acknowledgment of the harm that has been inflicted, atonement for the causes, and action to change behavior. (p. 6–7)

Battell Lowman and Barker (2015a) caution though that awareness and acknowledgement in isolation are not enough. By confessing their own privilege or acknowledging the struggles encountered by others, people may “feel that they are doing something revolutionary”, this runs the risk of “substituting awareness for engagement” (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015b, Chapter 6, para. 7). Fortunately, the participants of the study were also able to identify actionable changes non-Indigenous people could make.

Several participants recommended listening to and seeking out Indigenous voices, which is an important part of conflict transformation. Michelle LeBaron (2002) explains that *being silence* is an intentional state of openness;

The first step is truly listening is silence, not just refraining from speaking but “being silence.” Being silence is not an action or inaction: it is a state that engages our bodies, minds, feelings, and spirits. When we are being silence, we are concentrating, still and calm. Our thoughts are silent. Our attention is in the present. [...] This can lead to many things. One of them is change. (p. 236–237)

LeBaron (2002) says that *being silence* is not an action, however this researcher would argue that seeking out Indigenous voices in the media, during culture events, and in general is an active pursuit of social change. Beyond listening, participants also felt that those who were empowered by society had an obligation to help those in needs. Goodman (2011) explains that using privilege to help others might be a good way to resolve feelings of guilt;

Guilt is a natural feeling but being mired in it serves no one. Instead of feeling guilty about or trying to hide your power and privilege, use it in the service of social justice. Share your knowledge and skills; support and help develop the leadership of people from oppressed groups. Use your access to open doors for others. (p. 165)

Goodman's (2011) recommendation also responds to some participants concern that help from the privileged could be perceived as patronizing. As seen above, rather than adopting the leadership role she encourages that the privilege support leadership from within oppressed groups.

Goodman (2011) also encourages that allies to the oppressed find ways to affect change and use their influence in their immediate surroundings and social circles. Participants picked up on this when they suggested creating opportunities by hiring Indigenous staff and promoting diversity policies within one's own workplace. However participants also mentioned needing to improve educational resources for Indigenous peoples and increase funding for basic needs. While individuals positioned in the right jobs might be able to directly impact change in these areas, the participants were correct in identifying that lobbying government or voting for the policies that they support are also important actions to take. What the participants of this study did not suggest were the more activist actions people could take. While voting for change is great, Goodman (2011) recommends other activities like petitions, boycotts, marches, working on campaigns, demonstrations and law suits to force change of institutional structures. Battell Lowman and Barker (2015a) theorize that many do not participate in social movements against governments and

corporations for “fear of reprisal”. Settlers might support social movements, but are fearful of participating in protests or marches due to police presence and laws that could make mass mobilizations illegal. This researcher also wonders if individuals also shy away from this types of activities for fear of being seen as “too political”.

Finding Twelve: The majority of participants support increased Indigenous curriculum in schools

Regan (2010) explains that a survey conducted in 2008 showed that while Canadians were familiar with the stories of sexual and physical abuse that took place in the residential schools, very few were knowledgeable about the policy that developed and maintained the IRS system. She states, “Clearly, an enormous public education task lies ahead” (p. 42) The participants of this research study did appear to be remarkably well informed when compared to the statistics for 2008. For example, the 2008 survey found that only 37% of respondents were aware that students of the Indian Residential Schools had been abused and/or molested; and 20% were aware that students had been separated from their families (Regan, 2010, p. 42). In this study, 100% of the participants were aware of both. This could be due to the education level of the participants, as they were all post-secondary students. It could also be an indicator that awareness about the IRS system has improved since 2008.

Nonetheless, it seems that there is still a ways to go in the name of education, and many of the participants agreed. Finding twelve showed that when asked, the majority of the study’s participants believed an increase in Indigenous curriculum was needed in the public school system. In addition to wanting more Indigenous content in public school, the participants also suggested a change in pedagogy, one that is more in tune with Indigenous knowledge, and increased education for new Canadians. This aligns with the TRC’s calls to action. Calls to action 62 and 63 address the need for education about the residential schools, treaties, and Indigenous contributions to Canadian society. While there is no call that specifically speaks to bringing Indigenous pedagogy into public schools, the need to see Indigenous knowledge and teaching methods in post-secondary institutions and Indigenous

schools was identified (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b). Lastly, call to action number 93 directly addresses the issue of newcomer education¹⁹;

We call upon the federal government, in collaboration with the national Aboriginal organizations, to revise the information kit for newcomers to Canada and its citizenship test to reflect a more inclusive history of the diverse Aboriginal peoples of Canada, including information about the Treaties and the history of residential schools. (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b, p. 314)

There were two participants who did not see a need for an increase in Indigenous curriculum. One of those participants, Brett, has aspirations to become a doctor. His reflection on education is interesting, not only because he admits not knowing much about Indigenous communities, but also because he makes the assumption that he would be seeing more Indigenous people while working in a hospital emergency room. This researcher wonders if this is prejudicial, and if so whether this outlook that could have been adjusted with increased education. Brett's stance on Indigenous curriculum would likely be concerning, but perhaps not surprising for the members of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015b) who advocated for call to action number 23;

We call upon medical and nursing schools in Canada to require all students to take a course dealing with Aboriginal health issues, including the history and legacy of residential schools, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Treaties and Aboriginal rights, and Indigenous teachings

¹⁹ The Canadian Government drafted a new version of the Canadian citizenship guide in summer of 2017 (after the completion of the research interviews), which includes references to Indigenous communities historically and today. The guide reference the Indian Residential School system, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and provides information surrounding the treaties (The Canadian Press, 2017).

and practices. This will require skills-based training in intercultural competency, conflict resolution, human rights, and anti-racism. (p. 322–323)

Finding Thirteen: Complacency or wanting to ignore inequality was identified most often as a barrier to pursuing social change

Emma Larocque (2014) stated that the responsibility for decolonization rests with the colonizers and that “colonizer sons and daughters need, even more than us [Indigenous peoples] to dismantle their colonial constructs” (p. 162). Many participants reported wanting to contribute toward reconciliation, and yet in practice we know that not all Settlers will actively engage in the reconciliation process. In finding thirteen participants identified the barriers that prevent Settlers from engaging in social change. Those barriers were; complacency and a desire to ignore inequality, lack of resources and additional challenges for the disenfranchised, uncertainty on what action to take and how to access the oppressed, and the fear of damaging relationships.

In her Cycle of Socialization model, Bobbi Harro (2013b) makes reference to many of the barriers identified by the participants;

It is easiest to do nothing, and simply allow the perpetuation of the status quo. We may choose not to makes waves, to stay in our familiar patterns. We may say “Oh well, it’s been that way for hundreds of years. What can I do to change it? It is a huge phenomenon, and my small efforts won’t count much.” Many of us choose to do nothing because it is (for a while) easier to stay with what is familiar. Besides, it is frightening to try to interrupt something so large. “What does it have to do with me anyway?” (p. 50)

Harro (2013b) confirms that Settlers will avoid challenging inequality in part because it is easier to ignore the problem. She also suggests that some may shy away from the pursuit of social change because they feel overwhelmed by the size of the problem and feel that they cannot makes a difference. Goodman (2011) also identi-

fies this as a barrier, “Often, people feel overwhelmed, powerless, or hopeless due to the enormity of the task” (p. 163). Goodman (2011) confirms that fear of having inadequate knowledge, the lack of resources like time and money, and the risk of losing important relationships can also be barriers to social change.

Regrettably, what this researcher failed to do was ask participants how they might overcome some of these barriers. This researcher is genuinely curious what participants might have recommended as potential solutions for the aforementioned barriers.

Finding Fourteen: Participants have limited knowledge of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission

This researcher disagrees with Regan’s (2010) argument that Canadians are not well educated on the history of the IRS system, or at the very least suspects that the level of knowledge has increased among younger people, after the publication of her book. However, given the participants’ responses to question related to the TRC, this research would agree that there is minimal knowledge of the origins, objectives, and current status of the TRC. Regan (2010) stresses the importance of the TRC, but suggests that Canadian will fail to pay attention to it²⁰;

...the TRC provides a rare opportunity for non-Native Canadians to undertake a deeply critical reflective re-examination of history and themselves. [...] Many Canadians may simply tune out, declining to observe or participate in the commission’s activities, all which are voluntary because the TRC is not a public inquiry and has no subpoena powers to compel witness to testify. (p. 8-10)

The lack of awareness amongst the participants seems to confirm Regan’s (2010) prediction, and their level of awareness is likely representative of Settler Canadians on a whole (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015a). This is unfortunate, as alt-

²⁰ Regan’s (2010) book *Unsettling the Settler Within* was published at the beginning of the TRC’s 5 year mandate.

though it is good to have awareness of Canada's violent historical roots, it seems as though participants are aware of the problem, but not the initiatives to create or promote change.

Summary and Conclusion

The objective of this section was to respond to those research questions related to social change. Those questions and corresponding responses are as follows;

Are Settler Canadians willing to pursue change that could benefit the Indigenous community?

Based on the data presented in finding ten, this researcher would say that, yes, the participants of this study are willing to pursue social change. Participants have identified individuals as the actors to carry the burden of pursuing a more equalitarian society, which would benefit the Indigenous community. It does seem that participants are inclined to pursue more making Winnipeg a more hospitable place for Indigenous peoples. Those acts of change include; acknowledgement and awareness, listening to Indigenous voices, using privilege to make change, promoting opportunities for Indigenous peoples, lobbying government, covering basic needs, and finally educational improvements. What is notable about their suggestions, as mentioned above, is that they are all relatively passive actions. While acknowledgement and listening are great, it also demonstrates that the participants are not prepared to be involved in more assertive actions like marches, protests, and petitions. This researcher also explored the possibility of increasing the amount of Indigenous content in public school curriculums, which the majority of participants supported.

What barriers prevent Settler Canadians from pursuing social change?

The participants were able to brainstorm a series of barriers that prevent or discourage Settler Canadians from pursuing social change, they include; complacency and a desire to ignore inequality, lack of resources and additional challenges for the disenfranchised, uncertainty on what action to take and how to access the op-

pressed, and the fear of damaging relationships. A desire to ignore inequality in Winnipeg was the barrier most often presented by participants. In addition to the barriers identified by the participants, this researcher would also add lack of awareness of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

In conclusion while the participants of this study demonstrated a willingness to pursue social change and a desire to make Winnipeg a more equalitarian city for Indigenous people, the lengths to which they are will to go are limited. For the most part, the participants seemed more inclined to participate in passive activities such as acknowledgement of past and current suffering inflicted on the Indigenous peoples and opening up to Indigenous voices. What the participants may not be willing to do is participate in more assertive actions like marches or petitions. This is likely due to barriers, many of which were identified by the participants.

This section concludes the responses to the research questions, however a final section follows that will present two more findings that situate this research within its geographical context.

7.4 Additional Findings

The final findings and analysis section looks at two additional observations; the reoccurring theme of Winnipeg's downtown and some participants' frustration with educational funding made available to Indigenous peoples. These findings and the subsequent analysis do not necessarily respond to the research questions, but they do help to situate the research.

Finding Fifteen: Winnipeg's downtown or North End neighbourhood was a common theme, observable across all participant interviews

Winnipeg's downtown core appeared over and over again during the research study interviews. Almost all participants (7 of 9) referenced the downtown area at least once during their interview, either by directly talking about downtown or by referring to a location or business located in the core.

But in terms of like, the only native people I've seen are some downtown and that's usually just homeless people generally. (Ashley)

Where as our downtown is a very big population centre, but it's also our largest amount of Aboriginal people are in our downtown. So you know, a lot of professionals are going to work downtown and as they're walking down the street there's people, Aboriginal people laying down and asking for change. Where as you don't get that in Vancouver, or Calgary. (Brett)

Well I think that just like how it does pan out and how we will see that the lower socioeconomic class that typically like is centralized. In Winnipeg's downtown I think it's safe to say the majority is probably Indigenous people, and it's a lot of movement, like fluctuation, like influx from reserves and things like that. (Lee)

So when you see the guys that are like, you know like near Siloam Mission it gives the appearance of like "ugh" cuz [...] they're like rough right. Because they're like living out on the streets, right. (Quinn)

But this summer I go to the Siloam Mission to volunteer. I saw lots of Indigenous people. No job and no home. (Sam)

While Ashley, Brett, and Lee make a direct reference to the downtown core, Quinn and Sam refer to the Siloam Mission, which is not-for-profit organization that helps individuals experiencing homelessness and is located in downtown Winnipeg ("Siloam Mission," n.d.). References to homelessness, unemployment and transiency were also observed frequently. For those who did not mention the downtown, they mentioned nearby neighbourhoods, such as the North End.

I grew up in the North End, so you know especially in the late seventies, early eighties there was a lot of Indigenous people, there still is, but new Canadians as well. (Kris)

And the more I started exploring the city towards the northern parts of the city, you see people are around who are like, you know, just street dwellers. Most of them are Indigenous in origin, sitting on the pavement and not doing anything. (Blair)

Several participants remarked that they either feel unsafe downtown or in the North End, or they have been told to feel unsafe.

I think like personally, as a female, I will be, if I'm downtown I don't care what race you are. If you look like you're going to attack me you like you're in need or you know on drugs or whatever and like you could be a white person, you could be whatever, it doesn't [matter] I'm still scared. I'll be wary. (Lee)

And every time I go to the northern part of the city, I'm told that "Oh you have to be careful. And definitely careful from Indigenous people, okay." (Blair)

Downtown and the North End of Winnipeg were brought up frequently in interviews and present an interesting trend that will be discussed later in this section.

Finding Sixteen: For a minority of participants *equality* is synonymous with *fairness*

The final finding that was observed was that of "fairness". While this concerns only a small minority of participants (2 of 9) it still seems worth mentioning. Two participants we're very much occupied with the social benefits that they believe Indigenous peoples in Canada are receiving, particularly as it relates to university;

I'm not saying it's not fair for them to pay their to pay their whole University, but I mean why should my mom and dad have to pay for my whole University? [...] It's like the University is already giving them [Indigenous people] these specific cohorts, the specific, you know things to get them involved, and these subsidies. And I don't know how it works with treaty cards and how tuition is paid, but I'm assuming there's something there too. (Brett)

In general I feel that they kind of are at an advantage compared to the other people. Sometimes, let's say the scholarship thing that they get, right? Like there's some people who get some money and stuff like that from the government, some aids. [...] I still feel that you know they have a little reserved space in every sector, in like the educational sector they have a certain space for "okay this is just for Indigenous people." Or they have seats that are just available to them. They'll have certain spaces that are just available to them. So being, belonging to a minority myself, I feel they're in an advantage. (Wynne)

Both Wynne and Brett express frustration with the financial benefits that they believe their Indigenous peers are receiving. As discussed in previous sections, both participants also believe that discrimination against Indigenous peoples will persist until social benefits are done away with;

That kind of restitution, it puts them, it makes us very unequal, so other people see it as unequal. [...] A lot of the stereotypes that come from people towards Aboriginals are that they get all these free things. [...] So I think that, you know, that there'd be less things for White people to complain about and then they be more on an equal footing. (Brett)

Discrimination develops when you feel someone else is getting something better than I did. And even though they don't really deserve it. They only deserve it because they, they're grandparents or someone in their family have faced discrimination. (Wynne)

Coincidentally, Sam also said that she too had felt this way; that her Indigenous peers received an unfair advantage. Working alongside the marginalized has led her to rethink her position;

I think my first two years in Winnipeg I saw there are lots of the scholarships that are for only Indigenous people. And the government is very good, very kind to the Indigenous people. There are lots of benefits. But this summer I go to the Siloam Mission to volunteer. I saw lots of Indigenous people. No job and no home. [...] I don't feel the same as before. I thought the Indigenous people is easy to get school and get lots of benefits. I don't know, so I saw the relationship is very complicated. (Sam)

Analysis of Findings

Finding Fifteen: Winnipeg's downtown or North End neighbourhood was a common theme, observable across all participant interviews

In finding fifteen quotes are used to illustrate the prevalence of “downtown” as a theme within the amassed interviews. Interestingly, not one of the questions asked by this researcher made reference to downtown, or any geographical location beyond Winnipeg itself. Interviews were conducted individually, so the downtown theme would not have one been influenced from one participant to another. In short, Winnipeg's downtown was a theme that originated organically with the study's participants.

Unfortunately, the perception of Indigenous people living downtown was negative. Many participants made reference to Indigenous people being homeless and suffering from addictions whilst living in the core. While this researcher hoped to disprove this perception with statistical facts, there is truth in the assertion that Indigenous people make up the majority of the homeless population in Winnipeg. In the Winnipeg Street Census conducted in 2015, of the 1,400 people experiencing homelessness, 86.4% identified as Indigenous (Maes Nino & Godoy, 2016). Regardless, it should be remembered that homelessness is a product of a colonial society,

and not a cultural trait of Indigenous people. Dr. Peter Menzies (2009) an Indigenous therapist, explains that homelessness among Indigenous peoples can be directly linked to Intergenerational Trauma. Menzies (2009) shares that the legacy of trauma has made it difficult for some Indigenous people to function in our society, as they are unable to achieve stability within their physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual well-being. Consequently, these individuals inadvertently sever ties with their families and communities, which is the precursor to homelessness. Menzies (2009) suggests that addressing housing alone will not solve Indigenous homelessness and advocates instead invest in "...a holistic approach that reconstructs links between individual, family, community, and aboriginal nation" (p. 21).

This finding does two things in the way of research. The first is that it confirms a very negative perception of Winnipeg's downtown core. For those who live in Winnipeg this is likely not surprising. Many Winnipeggers could likely relate to some of the perceptions shared by the participants, or have heard similar reflections from friends, family, or colleagues. What this finding does do is empirically confirm that this perception exists, perhaps giving more power to those who want to pursue a solution to this negative perception.

The second is that it situates this research study. Given that the participants' responses specifically mention Winnipeg neighbourhoods, this researcher believes that the findings from this study are tied to Winnipeg. Meaning the conclusions drawn from this study could not necessarily be projected onto any other city. If a similar study were to be done in Toronto, or Calgary, it is very possible that the findings would differ.

Finding Sixteen: For a minority of participants *equality* is synonymous with *fairness*

In the concluding finding of this study the opinions of two participants are shared. The participants believe that it is unfair that their Indigenous peers received paid tuition and additional scholarships for which non-Indigenous students are not eligible. While this was a minority opinion amongst the respondents, this demonstrates that myths about Indigenous people in Canada are still a persistent problem. It is true that First Nation and Inuit communities across Canada receive

federal funding to support Indigenous students through the Post-Secondary Student Support Program. However, as the amount of Indigenous students attending post-secondary institution far surpasses the amount of funding available, students are either not funded, or receive minimal funding (Assembly of First Nations, n.d.; Goar, 2012). Furthermore, only students with status can access these funds. Métis and non-status students are not eligible for tuition coverage.

Similar to finding fifteen, this finding also helps to situate the research. It is unlikely that if this research had been done with participants from a different demographic, as opposed to post-secondary students, that issues surrounding tuition would have been as apparent.

Summary and Conclusion

In conclusion, findings fifteen and sixteen seem to suggest the possibility that Settler Canadians continue to hold onto negative perceptions of Indigenous people and associate them with homelessness in the downtown core and the North End of Winnipeg. Furthermore, perceptions of Indigenous people are still tied to myths about handouts and in this case, free tuition. What the findings help to do is situate the research, demonstrating that these findings are directly tied to Winnipeg and that the student status of the participants does have an impact on the findings.

As these findings are the last for this research study, the final task is to discuss the implications of these conclusion and make recommendations for social action and for further research, all of which will be covered in the following section.

8.0 Conclusions and Implications

As Settler Canadians have attempted to grapple with the inequalities facing Indigenous peoples, we have labelled it the *Indian Problem*, all the while neglecting to acknowledge the more concerning *Settler Problem* (Regan, 2010). In analyzing this social issue, we have the option of studying the victims of racism, the Indigenous peoples, and attempting to understand their suffering. However, this method of inquiry only provides us with a list of symptoms; it does not provide us with in-

sight on how to resolve the root causes of racism. To thoroughly understand how to respond to racism we need to shift the focus away from the oppressed. We need to instead study the attitudes and behaviours of Settler Canadians.

The purpose of this study was to better understand the relationship between Settler Canadians and racism in Winnipeg. It was this researcher's hope that by determining the barriers that prevent Settler Canadians from acting out against racism, that we could potentially identify avenues through which those settlers can become allies of the oppressed.

Through the use of personal interviews with University of Manitoba students, this researcher was able produce knowledge concerning racism, settler identity, and the potential for social change in Winnipeg. Using a convenience sampling method, 10 students from the University of Manitoba were chosen to participate in individual interviews. The ten in-person interviews were conducted with participants between December 13th, 2016 and January 12th, 2017. The interviews took place at the University of Manitoba and ranged from 30 minutes to 60 minutes in length. The data collected from the interviews was used to discover themes and core concepts in the areas of racism, settler identity, social change and reconciliation.

On the subject of racism, the collected data demonstrated that overall, the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Winnipeg is not perceived positively. The majority of participants said that Indigenous peoples face racism, and that this racism is either equivalent to, or worse than the racism faced by other minority groups. It was also observed that participants were at least somewhat aware of the daily challenges that Indigenous peoples endure.

Participants were also aware of the exploitation and suffering that Indigenous peoples have faced due to colonialism. Some participants are prepared to associate Canada's violent history with genocide, although few are ready to label it genocide outright. There was, however, some hesitation among participants to accept all historical stories as truth. A few participants seemed critical of the history of the Indian Residential School, indicating a reluctance to accept the account of history that has been provided to them. In short, the participants are aware of Canada's colonial and violent history, but some participants are reluctant to accept this account of his-

tory as truth. In an addition to a violent history, the participants of this study agreed that colonialism is an ongoing phenomenon in Canada. Participants looked at resource exploitation, continued oppression of Indigenous cultures, and governmental systems as indicators of an enduring colonialism. Through the findings, it was observed that stereotyping of Indigenous peoples continues to contribute to ongoing racism in Winnipeg. The daily successes of average Indigenous peoples are often overlooked and the perception that Indigenous people cannot be *normal*, contributing members of society persists. The belief that Indigenous peoples are responsible for the challenges they face was also observed, and continues to be a prevalent problem.

In conclusion, the findings demonstrated a strong sense of awareness amongst participants, occasionally hampered by a reluctance to accept an unfavourable history. The findings also demonstrated the continuation of damaging stereotypes that fuel racism in Winnipeg and at times, misplaced blame upon the Indigenous peoples.

In regards to settler identity, most participants of the research study did not take issue with the term and the concept of a Settler Canadian, however the majority were unwilling to self identify as a Settler. Some participants declined the identity because they saw it as incompatible with their Indigenous or Métis identities. Others questioned, once generations removed from their colonizer ancestors, when the Settler label could be abandoned. This perception indicated that these participants are assessing their potential identities as Settlers based on the act of arriving in Canada, and not on the act of benefiting from the continued exploitation of the Indigenous peoples. Fear of becoming *rootless* or not belonging anywhere was another barrier to accepting the Settler identity. For those participants who have recently immigrated to Canada, there was a hesitation to accept the identity for fear that it would negate all the hard work they, or their families, had done to establish themselves here. Finally, accepting the Settler Canadian identity implies acceptance of some personal culpability for the suffering of Indigenous people. While the participants seemed willing to recognize that society has disadvantaged the Indigenous people, they were much more reluctant to accept personal responsibility.

Regrettably, this researcher was unable to detect any trends amongst participant interviews to build a list of advantages or disadvantages experienced by Settler Canadians. What was observed were the frustrations that come with belonging to the dominant group in society, and the theme that a person can never be entirely disadvantaged or advantaged by their identities.

In conclusion, the participants were reluctant to take on the Settler Canadian identity. This effectively communicates a continued discomfort with the identity and the implications that come with it.

In spite of not wanting to accept the responsibility that comes with being a Settler, the participants did demonstrate a desire to see social change. The participants identified individuals as the actors responsible for carrying the burden of pursuing a more equalitarian society. It appears that participants are inclined to pursue acts aimed at making Winnipeg a more hospitable place for Indigenous peoples. Those acts of change included; acknowledgement and awareness, listening to Indigenous voices, using privilege to make change, promoting opportunities for Indigenous peoples, lobbying government, covering basic needs, and finally educational improvements. What is notable about this list is that these are all relatively passive actions. While acknowledgement and listening are great, it also demonstrates that the participants were not prepared to be involved in more assertive actions like marches, protests, and petitions. This researcher also explored the possibility of increasing the amount of Indigenous content in public school curriculums, which the majority of participants supported.

The participants were able to brainstorm a series of barriers that could prevent or discourage Settler Canadians from pursuing the aforementioned social change, they included; complacency and a desire to ignore inequality, lack of resources and additional challenges for the disenfranchised, uncertainty on what action to take and how to access the oppressed, and the fear of damaging relationships. A desire to ignore inequality in Winnipeg was the barrier most often presented by participants. In addition to the barriers identified by the participants, this researcher would also add lack of awareness of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Through the final two findings, it considered that there is a possibility that Settler Canadians continue to hold onto negative perceptions of Indigenous people. It was also noted that participants commonly associated Indigenous peoples with homelessness in the downtown core and the North End of Winnipeg. Furthermore, it appears that perceptions of Indigenous people are still tied to myths about handouts and in this case, free tuition. These last two findings helped to situate the research, demonstrating that these findings are directly tied to Winnipeg and that the student status of the participants does have an impact on conclusions made.

8.1 Research Limitations

As previously stated in the methodology section, a potential limitation of this research study is the inability to apply the conclusions drawn from a group of student participants to the general Settler Canadian population. This is in part because the sampling method was not randomized, and in part because University of Manitoba students are not truly representative of the Settler population. It is unlikely that if this study were to be replicated with the general population that it would produce the exact same conclusions, however this researcher would not be surprised if many of the major themes and concepts were observed again. This research is also tied tightly to the city of Winnipeg, demonstrated by the reoccurring theme of Winnipeg's downtown and North End neighbourhood. Because the research is situated within Winnipeg, this researcher would not presume that a replication study completed in another city would have the same results.

This research study could be looked at as a "snap-shot" of the issues of racism against Indigenous peoples and the relationship between them and their non-Indigenous neighbours. Its purpose was to look at rich qualitative data and to discover core themes and concepts that could be further explored through future research.

8.2 Implications for Action and Future Research

In reflecting upon settler colonial and decolonization literature, Emma Larocque (2014) said;

...it is debatable to what extent anti-colonial material was every truly anti-colonial. Even those who spoke against European cruelties or European thefts did not call for abandonment of colonial projects. (p. 6)

It is this researcher's fear that after having completed this study on racism, the settler identity, and the relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous relationships, that the knowledge produced will not be used to help support decolonization in Winnipeg. It is for this reason that this researcher has made recommendations both for future research, but also social action.

The first recommendation for action, inspired by participant Kris, is to increase awareness of Canada's colonial past and present by making important documents, such as the relevant treaties, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's final report, and the Calls to Action readily available, and by *readily available*, I do not mean upon the shelves of a University library. Documents should be posted in schools, hospitals, and in easily accessible booklets at schools and universities. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015a) has said;

Too many Canadians know little or nothing about the deep historical roots of these conflicts. This lack of historical knowledge has serious consequences for First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples, and for Canada as a whole. In government circles, it makes for poor public policy decisions. In the public realm, it reinforces racist attitudes and fuels civic distrust between Aboriginal peoples and other Canadians. (p. 114)

The consequences for remaining ignorant to how ongoing colonization has impacted Indigenous communities are dire. Until awareness is increased amongst the settler population, it seems unlikely that decolonization, not alone reconciliation will be very effective.

In terms of future research, this researcher would recommend a similar study, that included the general settler population in Winnipeg, be carried out. Within this larger study, it would be beneficial to see where settlers stand on what Indigenous leaders are requesting in terms of decolonization, for example return of land to Indigenous communities and upholding the promises outlined in the treaties. The fear of this researcher is that while Settler Canadians might be prepared for reconciliation in theory, they are not prepared for the uncertainty and discomfort that would be required of true decolonization.

9.0 Appendices

Appendix A- Recruitment Poster



Ph.D. Program in
Peace and Conflict Studies

Arthur V. Mauro Centre
for Peace and Justice
at St. Paul's College
252-70 Dysart Road
Winnipeg, Manitoba
Canada R3T 2N2
Telephone: (204) 474-6052
Fax: (204) 474-8828

Are you a University of Manitoba Student?

Participants needed for study concerning relationships between Indigenous and non-indigenous people in Winnipeg

We are looking for 8 to 10 volunteers to take part in a one-on-one interview discussing the relationships between Indigenous and non-indigenous people living in Winnipeg. The lone interview would last between 30 and 60 minutes and will take place in St. Paul's College at the University of Manitoba's Fort Garry Campus. Volunteers must be 18 years of age or older

You will receive compensation in appreciation for your time and travel.

**This study has been reviewed by and received ethics clearance from the
University of Manitoba Research Ethics Board (Protocol # J2016:082)**

For more information about this study, or to volunteer for this study, please
contact:

*Kassandra Webster
Master of Arts Candidate*

umanitoba.ca/mauro_centre



Appendix B- Personal Interview Schedule

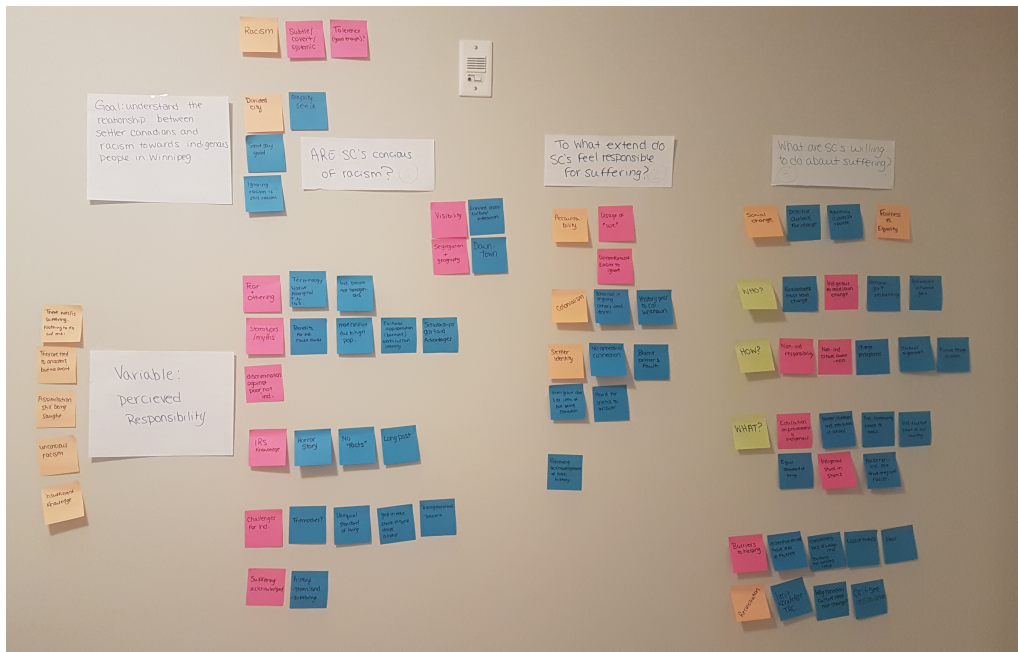
1. How would you describe yourself to a new acquaintance?
 - a. What do you consider to be the most significant parts of your identity?
2. How would you describe the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Winnipeg?
3. In 2015 a Maclean's article, written by Nancy Macdonald, implied Winnipeg was the most racist city in Canada. What do you think of this label?
 - a. What have you observed or experienced in your own lifetime that would lead you to agree or disagree with this charge?
 - b. Do you think Indigenous people in Winnipeg face racial discrimination?
 - c. Is the discrimination they face greater or different than that faced by other minority groups?
4. What challenges, in your opinion, are Indigenous people in Winnipeg currently facing?
 - a. Who or what do you think is the biggest obstacle to Indigenous people reaching economic and social equality?
 - b. Who or what is responsible for these obstacles?
5. Is it possible for individuals or communities to be prejudiced without being conscious of it?
 - a. Are Winnipeggers deliberately turning a blind eye to racism?
6. Who benefits from discrimination against Indigenous People?
7. What do you know about the history and culture of Indigenous people in Canada?
 - a. Where have you learned about Indigenous history and culture?
 - b. What do you know about the Indian Residential School System?

- c. To what extent are the challenges facing Indigenous people today related to the IRS system?
- 8. What more would you like to learn about Indigenous people?
 - a. Do you see value in increasing the amount of curriculum concerning Indigenous people in the public school system?
- 9. What can you tell me about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission?
 - a. How optimistic are you that the relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Canada can be reconciled?
 - b. What would reconciliation between these two groups look like?
- 10. What role should non-Indigenous people play in making society more equitable?
 - a. Should the responsibility to make society more equal fall upon governments, or do individuals have a role to play?
 - b. What could non-Indigenous people do to make Winnipeg a more equitable city?
- 11. What barriers make it difficult for individuals working towards an equitable society?
 - a. Who should take responsibility to make society more equal?
- 12. Are you familiar with the term “Colonialism”?
 - b. If yes, how would you respond to the argument that colonialism is still occurring in Canada?
- 13. A Settler Canadian could be understood as someone who has benefitted from colonialism and the suffering of Indigenous people (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015a)
 - a. To what degree do you agree with this definition?
 - b. Would you self-identify as a Settler Canadian? Why or why not?

14. Demographic questions

- a. Which age category best describes you?
 - i. 18-21
 - ii. 22-25
 - iii. 26-30
 - iv. 31 or older
- b. With what gender do you identify?
- c. Please describe your area of study.
 - ie. Faculty of arts, Faculty of science, undecided, etc.
- d. How many years of post-secondary education have you completed?
 - i. Less than 1
 - ii. 1
 - iii. 2
 - iv. 3
 - v. 4
 - vi. More than 4

Appendix C- Big Ideas



Appendix D- Coding Scheme

November 28th, 2017

Colour Code	Categories	Short Code	Description
Yellow	Racism	F/O	Fear & Othering, Myths
		CH/ING	Challenges for Ind.
		S/G	Segregation & Geography, Population
		RAC	Racism General (include covert)
Green	Relationship	GOOD/BAD	Good/Bad
Blue	Accountability	S/ACK	Willingness to Accept
		S/IND	Settler Identity
Pink	Social Change	F/E	Fairness vs. Equality
		NONIND	What should non-ind. do
		BARR	Barriers to non-ind. helping
		REC	Reconciliation/social change occurring
		IND/E	
Red	Knowledge	IRS	Knowledge of IRS
		TRC	Knowledge of TRC
		CUL/HIS	Knowledge Ind. history & culture & community
		EDUC	Ind. curriculum in school/ other knowledge sources
Purple	Colonialism	HIST	History of Colonialism
		OG	Ongoing colonialism (Include Assimilation)

Appendix E- Data Summary Table Example

Question 1		How would you describe the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Winnipeg?		
Number	Identifier	Good	Bad	Unsure/Neutral
1	12-13-16		X Contentious	
2	12-14-16		X Strained	
3	12-15-16		X Two different groups/ could be better	
4	01-10-17A		X A divide	
5	01-10-17B	X Pretty good		
6	01-12-17A		X It hurts	
7	01-12-17B		X From posts online, worse in rural areas	
8	01-12-17C		X Hostile	
9	12-20-16B			Question could not be asked due to language barrier
10	12-20-16A	X Pretty good		
Total		2/9	7/9	

Appendix F-Findings Chart Example

Section	Question	Findings
Racism	<p>Are settler Canadians conscious of the racism Indigenous people endure?</p> <p>yes</p>	<p>Participants have acknowledged a contentious relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people.</p> <p>7/9 described the relationship negatively, only 2 described it positively. Of those who described the relationship positively, one identified as Indigenous and the other immigrated to Canada</p> <p>The majority 8/9 agreed that Indigenous people endure racism</p> <p>The majority 7/9 said that the discrimination experienced by Indigenous people is worse or different than that experienced by other minority groups. 2 said that it was the same. No participants said that the discrimination was less than that experienced by other minority groups</p> <p>Participants have said that Indigenous people face additional challenges; stigma, lack of employment opportunities, stereotypes, lack of educational opportunities, visibility, inherited inferiority complex, and segregation. All of which can be tied to racism</p>

Appendix G- Participant Consent Form



Ph.D. Program in Peace and Conflict Studies

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Consent Form- Relationships between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous People in Winnipeg

Principal Investigator and contact information:
Kassandra Webster, M.A. Candidate

Research Supervisor and contact information:
Dr. Neil Funk-Urau

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

The purpose of this study is to better understand the relationship between Settler Canadians and racism in Winnipeg. Through personal interviews with University of Manitoba students, I hope to produce knowledge concerning racism, settler identity, and the potential for social change in Winnipeg. The study will be conducted through individual interviews... Participants for the personal interview will be chosen randomly from a pool of volunteers. The personal interview will consist of a number of open-ended questions and should take between 30 and 60 minutes to complete. As a participant, you will be given the opportunity to respond to each of the questions, and if needed, further clarifying questions will be asked. The interviews will take place at the University of Manitoba and audio-recording equipment will be used so that dialogue can later be transcribed. Copies of the transcription will be made available to the participant upon completion. The participant has the right to request that inaccuracies be deleted from the transcript. Participation is completely voluntary and participants can choose to skip any question they like. If at any point a participant no longer wants to participate, you can simply say so and the interview will end and no explanation will be requested. Your right to stop participating in the study extends beyond the interview itself. As a participant you have the right to withdraw the data collected from your interview, provided that this request is communicated to the researcher (either verbally or in writing) prior to August 1st, 2017. Once a request has been made, the interview audio recordings and transcriptions will be promptly destroyed.

Some potential benefits of participating in this study:

Participating in the study allows participants to directly comment on social issues they may encounter regularly, without the fear of repercussion. The experience will also be beneficial for those with an interest in conducting their own research at a later date.

Potential risks of participating in the study:

The risks associated with participating in the study are minimal. There are no known physical risks associated with this study; however there is a potential for psychological and social discomfort. Racism is a topic of conversation that could evoke uncomfortable feelings of depression, guilt, or anger, among others. Participants who encounter these emotions will be encouraged to reach out to the University of Manitoba student counseling services (<http://umanitoba.ca/student/counselling/index.html>).

Confidentiality:

Participants may voice opinions or attitudes that they do not and would not want to share publicly, but several measures will be taken to ensure confidentiality. Personal identifiers during the interview will be omitted from the

umanitoba.ca/mauro_centre



Appendix G- Participant Consent Form (continued)

Consent Form- Relationships between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous People in Winnipeg 2

transcript and pseudonyms will replace the names of participants. Participants will also have the opportunity to review transcripts and request the deletion of any details that risk exposing their identity. All data will be stored on an external hard drive and will be password encrypted. Only the principal researcher and her research supervisor will have access to the confidential data. Confidential data will be electronic stored until September of 2020, when it will be destroyed.

This study will be used for a Master's thesis. Upon completion of the study there will be a public presentation of the findings, and the final product could be published in an academic journal. It will be available also on nspace through the University of Manitoba library system. The thesis is expected to be complete in spring of 2017. Findings will be presented in a way that will continue to ensure anonymity and confidentiality. No names or identifying characteristics will be published in the final report. Participants can request (at the bottom of this page) to have data collection summaries and final reports mailed or emailed to them.

The University of Manitoba may look at these research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

This research has been approved by the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator at 204-474-7122. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Participant's Name (Printed) _____

Participant's Signature _____ Date _____

Researcher's Signature _____ Date _____

I would like copies of the data collection summaries and final reports to be emailed to me (circle one)

Yes No

If yes, please provide either an email or mailing address:

Email: _____

Mailing Address: Street Address: _____

City: _____ Prov.: _____

Postal Code: _____

Appendix H- Research Findings

Finding One: When referring to the First Peoples, research participants used *Aboriginal* or *Indigenous* more often than *Indian* or *Native*.

Finding Two: Participants are conscious of the racism endured by Indigenous peoples in Winnipeg

Finding Three: Participants are willing to acknowledge Canada's violent and colonial past.

Finding Four: Participants are willing to acknowledge Canada's colonial present

Finding Five: Negative stereotyping and a limited perception of what is be Indigenous allows racism to endure in Winnipeg

Finding Six: Indigenous peoples are still being blamed for their misfortune

Finding Seven: The majority of participants agree with the term *Settler Canadian* but would not self identify as a *Settler Canadian*

Finding Eight: This study was unable to gain a full perspective of what the advantages and disadvantages are to being a "Settler Canadian"

Finding Nine: All participants were optimistic about the potential for reconciliation, but the understanding of what reconciliation is varied.

Finding Ten: Who should be responsible for increasing equality in Winnipeg?

Finding Eleven: Participants were able to brainstorm many ways that individuals could contribute to social change in Winnipeg.

Finding Twelve: The majority of participants support increased Indigenous curriculum in schools

Finding Thirteen: Complacency or wanting to ignore inequality was identified most often as a barrier to pursuing social change

Finding Fourteen: Participants have limited knowledge of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Finding Fifteen: Winnipeg's downtown or North End neighbourhood was a common theme, observable across all participant interviews

Finding Sixteen: For a minority of participants *equality* is synonymous with *fairness*

10.0 References

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