J Environ Stud Sci (2012) 2:331–340
DOI 10.1007/s13412-012-0086-8

Two-Eyed Seeing and other lessons learned within a co-learning journey of bringing together indigenous and mainstream knowledges and ways of knowing

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Published online: 16 August 2012

Abstract This is a process article for weaving indigenous and mainstream knowledges within science educational curricula and other science arenas, assuming participants include recognized holders of traditional ecological knowledge (we prefer "Indigenous Knowledge" or "Traditional Knowledge") and others with expertise in mainstream science. It is based on the "Integrative Science" undergraduate program created at Cape Breton University to bring together indigenous and mainstream sciences and ways of knowing, as well as related Integrative Science endeavors in science research, application, and outreach. A brief historical outline for that experiential journey is provided and eight "Lessons Learned" listed. The first, namely "acknowledge that we need each other and must engage in a co-learning journey" is explained as key for the success of weaving efforts. The second, namely "be guided by Two-Eyed Seeing", is considered the most profound because it is central to the whole of a co-learning journey and the article's discussion is focussed through it. The eighth lesson, "develop an advisory council of willing, knowledgeable stakeholders", is considered critical for sustaining success over the long-term given that institutional and community politics profoundly influence the resourcing and recruitment of any academic program and thus can help foster success, or sabotage it. The scope of relevance for Two-Eyed Seeing is broad and its uptake across Canada is sketched; the article also places it in the context of emerging theory for transdisciplinary research. The article concludes with thoughts on why "Two-Eyed Seeing" may seem to be desired or resisted as a label in different settings.

> *Traditional Indian education is an expression of environmental education par excellence*. It is an environmental education process that can have a profound meaning for the kind of modern education required to face the challenges of living in the world of the twenty-first century (Cajete (2010), p. 1128, emphasis as in original).
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> As two-eyed seeing implies, people familiar with both knowledge systems can uniquely combine the two in various ways to meet a challenge or task at hand. In the context of environmental crises alone, a combination of both seems essential (Aikenhead and Michell (2011), p. 114).

Keywords Indigenous knowledge · Traditional knowledge · Two-eyed seeing · Integrative Science · Transdisciplinary · Cross-cultural education

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Introduction

Two of the three co-authors of this article are aboriginal elders from the Mi'kmaw Nation. Murdena is the clan mother of the Muin (Bear) Clan, wife to Albert, mother of 6, grandmother of 14, great grandmother of 5, and godmother of 8. She is also a spiritual leader for the Mi'kmaw Nation and a retired Associate Professor of Mi'kmaw Studies at Cape Breton University (CBU) in Sydney, NS, Canada. Albert is from the Moose Clan, husband to Murdena, and (as for Murdena) a father, grandfather, and great grandfather. He is the designated voice on environmental matters for Mi'kmaw Elders in Unama'ki-Cape Breton and the person

who, in 2004, brought forward the guiding principle of "Two-Eyed Seeing" featured in this article. The third co-author, Cheryl, is a biologist at CBU and close friend of Murdena and Albert. She has worked collaboratively and professionally with them for almost two decades to weave indigenous and mainstream knowledges within science curricula and related research projects. Her expertise in science began in wildlife parasitology. Through many years and for diverse audiences, we three have presented on Two-Eyed Seeing, sometimes together, most often as two, and occasionally alone.

Our introductory statement of relationship follows Mi'kmaw tradition, a custom shared with many other Indigenous cultures. The "we" voice employed throughout this article denotes the authors' common understandings and/or achievements although the words are those of Cheryl. In strategic places, the direct words or paraphrased thoughts of Elders Murdena and Albert are provided.

We stand with and in support of individuals who encourage efforts to weave indigenous ways of knowing and knowledge systems into today's post-secondary educational curricula for environmental studies/sciences and sustainability studies, as per the above quoted statement of Cajete (2010, p. 1128), the above quoted encouragement from Aikenhead and Michell (2011, p. 114), and this special issue of the Journal of Environmental Studies and Sciences. We also concur with the cogent appeal of Kimmerer (2002) for doing so within biological education. Her article figured prominently in the call for papers for this special issue and she also provides excellent synoptic information on Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK).

We believe an important question must be asked when encouraging or attempting to weave indigenous and mainstream knowledges together within today's educational curricula, namely: what can curriculum developers do to ensure that efforts remain true to the ways of knowing and knowledge systems of indigenous peoples? This is exceedingly important because, as Elder Albert points out, there is great temptation today for some people to "just make it up" and so "validation, by recognized community Elders and Knowledge Holders, of that which is brought forward is exceedingly important."

And thus, this article is our contribution to the larger goal of weaving curricula—it is about process in which participants include recognized Elders or Knowledge Holders for TEK (recognizing the holistic nature of the latter we prefer IK for indigenous knowledge, or TK for traditional knowledge, and use them herein equivalently) as well as individuals with expertise in mainstream knowledges. The insights we share herein, configured as "Lessons Learned", draw upon almost two decades of effort to weave IK and mainstream science within a collaborative, co-learning journey called "Integrative Science". We provide a brief historical overview of this journey, a list of our lessons, and then focus discussion through lesson learned #2, namely two-eyed seeing. Two-eyed seeing is the overarching guiding principle for our collaborative work and has been picked up by diverse others across Canada.

In curricular weaving efforts, we need to acknowledge that today's mainstream knowledges and educational approaches are products of decades of diligent efforts to scrub spirituality and religion out of ways of knowing and out of curricula—and keep it that way. Words from both Elders Murdena and Albert provide, therefore, a glimpse into the challenge presented for weaving IK into modern curricula. Murdena says: "Possessing knowledge which is traditional or tribal, is a mirror image of your own spirituality. There is nothing that we cannot understand this way. Science can explain many things, but in the tribal world, there is another realm. Yet we value knowledge and we combine it with assistance we seek from the spirit world. One should not be afraid to seek assistance to develop a thought. In our world, you are a physical being and you are a spiritual being" (Marshall 2011, p. 175). Albert says: "So this is what we truly believe. This is what reinforces our spiritualities: that no one being is greater than the next, that we are part and parcel of the whole, we are equal, and that each one of us has a responsibility to the balance of the system" (Hipwell 2001, p. 253, based on an interview in 1997).

Experiential background for developing "Lessons Learned": yearnings, vision, history, and accomplishments of the Integrative Science academic program

Elders Murdena and Albert have deeply pondered the traditional understandings of their Mi'kmaw people and how such living knowledge might find a place in today's educational efforts, although Murdena has been on that road much longer than Albert. As the granddaughter of the Grand Chief, she was trained in traditional ways at home and attended an off reserve public school. Later, she attended Harvard University, then became a community school teacher, and later a professor at CBU. In regards the latter, Murdena was instrumental in establishing the university's Mi'kmaw Studies program. Albert, on the other hand, was an inmate of the Canadian residential school system throughout most of his youth and thus was denied opportunities to learn traditional ways until later in life. Over the past two decades, Murdena and Albert have worked closely together for the preservation and promotion of the Mi'kmaw culture including its language, knowledge, and spirituality. They were awarded Honorary Doctors of Letters by CBU in 2009 in recognition of this work in conjunction with their passion in encouraging cross-cultural dialog, understanding, and healing. Both have been key participants in the Integrative Science co-learning journey at CBU and beyond.

An ability to identify meaningful "Lessons Learned" requires lived experience. Indeed, placing one's past actions "in front of ourselves, like an object, for examination and discussion" is an enactment of our "Lesson Learned #5" identified later. Moreover, "Mi'kmaw teachings of indirect teaching and non-interference suggest that the best we can do is offer up our experience to those who will listen" (Iwama et al. 2009, p. 8). It is within the spirit of these understandings that we provide the historical background below.

Our journey began as a grass roots effort by a few individuals from the Mi'kmaw community of Eskasoni First Nation and a few scientists from CBU. Our overall goal was twofold: (1) to reverse the situation at CBU (also broadly existent across North America) whereby there was an almost total absence of aboriginal students in science and science-related programs by (2) making science curricula more appealing to aboriginal students in the region by including Mi'kmaw and other IK and ways of knowing side-by-side with mainstream knowledge and ways of knowing in post-secondary science curricula (see Bartlett et al. 2012; Institute for Integrative Science & Health (IISH) website, http://www.integrativescience.ca). The vehicle we created to move towards this goal was a suite of new science courses called MSIT (Mi'kmaw for "everything together") and these as a component within a new, 4-year undergraduate science program that we called Integrative Science (in Mi'kmaw, *Toqwa'tu'kl Kjijitaqnn* for "bringing our knowledges together"), which itself was a concentration within an established, 4-year Bachelor of Science Community Studies (BScCS) degree at CBU (Bartlett 2011; Bartlett et al. 2012; IISH website, http://www.integrativescience.ca). The MSIT courses provided 24 of the degree's 120 required credits, which can also be stated as four of the degree's 20 required courses. The original vision for the Integrative Science academic program also allowed for additional mainstream science and/or Indigenous knowledge content by way of compulsory courses in the degree's core and concentration, elective courses that students could select, and mandatory work placements (see IISH website, http://www.integrativescience.ca). It is important to note that although the Integrative Science academic program was intended as a general science degree (for our view of "science" see Bartlett et al. 2012 and also "Lesson Learned #3"), it was never targeted towards a broad base of interested science students; rather, our intended audience was Mi'kmaw aboriginal students, for the reason indicated above, although students of any ethnicity were welcome and a few non-native students did elect to take courses at various levels.

We were the key conceptual and tending parents for the new Integrative Science academic program, having envisioned it in the early–mid 1990s, proposed it in a formal document in 1997, and worked diligently to ensure its final approval by CBU in June 1999, its implementation (as a pilot) in Fall 1999, its definitive approval by the Maritime Provinces Higher Education Commission in February 2001, and then its operation as an accredited university degree program beginning in Fall 2001. From conception to definitive approval and beyond. We were the "core journey participants" within efforts for the academic program; beginning in 2002 our team expanded a little and we began to undertake additional collaborative research that sought to nourish, expand, and promote the existence of Integrative Science. We were the proud teachers (Bartlett completely and Marshalls occasionally) within the early 5–6 years of the academic program after which time our focus became the expanding research dimension of the initiative, as we moved Integrative Science into the arenas of science research, application, and outreach to youth and community. Other people became the in-class instructors; unrelated to the latter development, the program began to experience various new challenges along with others present from the outset. We voiced, to no avail, concerns in 2005–2008 about the academic program's viability and its shifting nature within the challenging environment of institutional politics ("including inconsistencies and insufficiencies at the administrative, faculty, budgetary and recruitment levels" (Bartlett 2012)). However, the academic program floundered and no students have enrolled since 2007. In 2008, its first year courses were disarticulated from their larger context of program and degree, and taught within access programming for aboriginal students indicating interests in a BA degree, rather than science. Concurrently, curricula in these disarticulated deliveries increasingly shifted to the fundamentals of mainstream science. Such curricula are meritorious in their own right but not congruent with the original vision for the MSIT courses as vehicles wherein weaving of IK and mainstream scientific knowledge could occur. As of July 2010, we three were no longer associated with the academic program of Integrative Science; however, we have continued our local to national work as researchers and promoters for Integrative Science in ways other than its past existence as a functional science undergraduate program at CBU. Information about our presentations, workshops, gatherings, projects, and other activities over many years is available on the website for the IISH website, http://www.integrativescience.ca.

Of further note is the fact that the Integrative Science academic program was controversial within CBU throughout the whole of the time period above. And, although one of us (Bartlett) attempted to steward it from within the Department of Biology, it was never assigned a formal academic home department (or budget) until it became the responsibility of CBU's new Department of Indigenous Studies in July 2010.

The achievements of the Integrative Science academic program—while still functioning within its original vision—were remarkable. Twenty-seven Mi'kmaw First Nations students, all with some relationship to Integrative Science, have

graduated with a science or science-related degree at CBU (fewer than five without Integrative Science affiliation had/have ever graduated before or during this same time period). Thirteen of the 27 graduates are from the BScCS degree's Integrative Science concentration. Most now hold key positions (e.g., school principal, research scientist or assistant, job coach, natural resource management, nurse, teacher) in their communities. Many other Mi'kmaw students who started university indicating interest in science and who took Integrative Science's first year MSIT courses during 1999–2005 later switched degrees and graduated with a BA or BACS (BA Community Studies) degree. And others left university, a few indicating intent to return. Mi'kmaw Integrative Science undergraduates have presented at academic conferences in Canada and internationally. Thirteen prestigious Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada undergraduate summer research awards went to Mi'kmaw Integrative Science students. Up to 2007 and in total, about 100 Mi'kmaw students experienced first-year Integrative Science's MSIT courses, many recruited by the Mi'kmaw Science Advantage Program run by CBU's then Mi'kmaw College Institute. And yet we realize that, beyond a numbers perspective for framing success/failure, we need also to find ways to welcome Elder Albert's perspective that "seeds germinate when the environment is right", i.e., that many of these 100+ students could awaken later in life to traditional teachings even from such short exposure to IK/TK and/or in ways we will likely never know.

The above illustrates that we worked collaboratively for almost two decades within the Integrative Science co-learning journey in all its arenas: science education, research, application, and outreach. Moreover, it shows that the understandings we draw in order to identify "Lessons Learned" in the next section are both as insiders (emic view) and outsiders (etic view) for the Integrative Science post-secondary program, even as we recognize that many of our perceptions are richly entangled between the two and also with understandings gleaned during related work in non-educational arenas. Our small working group has always included aboriginal elders as living sources of IK/TK, even as we have also made use of the growing literature about TEK/IK/TK.

"Lessons Learned" for weaving IK and mainstream science

Over the years, we have frequently spoken about "Lessons Learned" towards "facilitating the 'talking and walking together' of indigenous and mainstream sciences". We list these below for the first time, drawing upon our presentation at an international science conference in 2008 (Bartlett et al. 2008). We also add herein, for the first time, an eighth. Earlier versions can be found in Bartlett (2006), Bartlett et al. (2007), and Bartlett (2011, for a conference in 2005).

1. Acknowledge that we need each other and must engage in a co-learning journey
2. Be guided by Two-Eyed Seeing
3. View "science" in an inclusive way
4. Do things (rather than "just talk") in a creative, grow forward way
5. Become able to put our values and actions and knowledges in front of us, like an object, for examination and discussion
6. Use visuals
7. Weave back and forth between our worldviews
8. Develop an advisory council of willing, knowledgeable stakeholders, drawing upon individuals both from within the educational institution(s) and within Aboriginal communities

We believe Lesson Learned #1 is key for the successful weaving of indigenous and mainstream ways of knowing and knowledges in all arenas. Nonetheless, we suggest that Two-Eyed Seeing (Lesson Learned #2) is the most profound of our eight lessons because it is central to the whole of the co-learning journey and, thus, Two-Eyed Seeing is the lead phrase in this article's title. It is also the focus of the entire next section.

In further regards to Lesson Learned #1, we believe that if participants do not or cannot acknowledge that they need each other and that they need to engage in meaningful co-learning, then an attempt to weave IK and mainstream knowledges and ways of knowing is destined to evolve into mere show, the only question being how long that might take. Iwama et al. (2009, p. 7) indicates that "as we learn together, the journey offers the sacred gift of humility" and that "once new members realize what Integrative Science requires of them, the number of willing participants can shrink." Moreover, Elder Albert has commented many times about the tendency for the mainstream to assign IK holders a role akin to Hollywood Indians whereby someone else writes your script or relegates you to entertainment status. No wonder he indicates there is great temptation for some people to "just make it up". Especially when there is payment for services.

Lesson Learned #8 emerges from our reflections on the collapse of the Integrative Science academic program. Collapse occurred in spite of the apparent success the program initially realized in achieving the first part of its twofold goal, namely, to attract and retain aboriginal students into/in post-secondary science. We recognize that this intent for our weaving efforts means that part of our goal differs from what Kimmerer (2002) envisioned. Collapse additionally

occurred in spite of substantial achievement towards the second part of our goal, namely to weave curricula and, finally, also in spite of raising our concerns at an early juncture. Although obvious in hindsight, we suggest that environmental (institutional and community) politics can and do profoundly influence the resourcing and recruitment of an academic program and can help foster success, or sabotage it. We suggest, therefore, that strategies to acknowledge and influence environmental politics are exceedingly important for those working to weave Indigenous ways of knowing and knowledge systems into any post-secondary educational curricula.

Bartlett (2012) states the case for the eighth Lesson Learned (although not calling it such): "I believe it essential to find better ways to enable collective stewardship and participation by interested Elders, educators and others from the Aboriginal community, alongside constructive and critical institutional input. Consultation with Elders, wherever traditional aboriginal knowledge has a role, is congruent with formal recommendations made by Elders from Mi'kmaw, Wolastoqiyik, Innu, and Inuit communities in Atlantic Canada and approved by the Atlantic Chiefs in September [2011]." These Elders stated: "Post-secondary institutions should be compelled to seek guidance from the Elders Council to develop appropriate curriculums related to Traditional Knowledge for relevant post-secondary programming". Their statement is a subpart of formal recommendation #7 within the 2009–2011 research project entitled "Honouring Traditional Knowledge" (see APCFNC, Atlantic Policy Congress of First Nation Chiefs (Canada) website, http://www.apcfnc.ca/en/resources/HonouringTraditionalKnowledgeFinal.pdf). Our Lesson Learned #8 is succinctly stated in the list above. Later, we return briefly to it within the context of transdisciplinary research.

Additional discussion about the contextual evolution and the conceptual, experiential, and theoretical significance of these lessons within Integrative Science as a whole is found in Bartlett et al. (2012) although Bartlett (2011) is the better reference for discussion about Lesson Learned #4.

Two-eyed seeing (lesson learned #2)—highlighting the fundamental lesson with enriched discussion

As mentioned above, we suggest that Two-Eyed Seeing (Lesson Learned #2) is the most profound of our eight lessons. Indeed, it has become our major guiding principle and, as we indicate later, has now been picked up by diverse others across Canada. Two-Eyed Seeing was first brought forward in Fall 2004 by Elder Albert when he felt that participants within the Integrative Science co-learning journey could benefit from more encouragement towards the "it's us, together" consciousness (Lesson Learned #1) needed for meaningful collaboration (Bartlett et al. 2012). Albert indicates that Two-Eyed Seeing is the gift of multiple perspective treasured by many aboriginal peoples and explains that it refers to learning to see from one eye with the *strengths* of Indigenous knowledges and ways of knowing, and from the other eye with the *strengths* of Western knowledges and ways of knowing, and to using both these eyes together, for the benefit of all (Bartlett 2006, 2011, 2012; Bartlett et al. 2012; Hatcher et al. 2009; Iwama et al. 2009; Hatcher and Bartlett 2010; Marshall et al. 2010; IISH website, http://www.integrativescience.ca). Two-Eyed Seeing further enables recognition of IK as a distinct and whole knowledge system side by side with the same for mainstream (Western) science (Iwama et al. 2009; Bartlett et al. 2012).

Elder Albert additionally indicates that we need to learn to weave back and forth between our knowledges (Lesson Learned #7) because in a particular set of circumstances, it may be that one has more applicable strengths than the other, yet with changing circumstances this can easily switch (Bartlett et al. 2012). The ability to identify and discuss strengths within contextual circumstances draws upon Lesson Learned #5 which, in turn, draws upon our understandings of knowledge as being a system and also of knowledge systems as having ontology, epistemology, methodology, and axiology. Some or all of the latter four words often emerge in academic discussions and appear frequently in the rapidly growing literature for TEK/IK/TK as it interfaces with other knowledge systems and/or research methodologies. Selecting just ontology and epistemology and using books, four examples include Brown and Strega (2005), Arbon (2008), Denzin et al. (2008), and Wilson (2008). Sometimes, the words do not appear in a relevant book's index, e.g., Berkes (1999), Menzies (2006), Geniusz (2009), and Smith (1999). And, curiously new (to minds and consciousnesses conditioned with only mainstream philosophy) words such as Coyote, Raven, and Trickster appear in others, e.g., Cajete (2000), Cole (2006), Archibald (2008), and Absolon (Minogiizhigokwe) (2011). Guided by Two-Eyed Seeing, we (Bartlett et al. 2012) have chosen to render in simple text and visual (Lesson Learned #6) form some basics for ontology, epistemology, methodology, and knowledge objectives (visuals are available in Bartlett et al. 2012 as well as the IISH website, http://www.integrativescience.ca). These "big pictures" help enable placing our knowledges in front, like an object, for examination and discussion (Lesson Learned #5). Their richer use is as mind tools that can help us weave back and forth between knowledge systems and, furthermore, help us bring IK/TK into the present.

Elder Murdena is passionately firm in saying that IK/TK "was never meant to be static and stay in the past; rather, it must be brought into the present so that everything becomes

meaningful in our lives and in our communities". To facilitate understandings towards such, but using an approach dramatically different than outlined above for terms that configure discussions in mainstream philosophy, she explains the *system* that is IK/TK with the aid of a visual model consisting of four concentric circles and an unnamed medicinal plant. She labels the circles, outermost to inner, as physical knowledge of the medicine, personal connection to the medicine, respect for the medicine, and sacred nature of the medicine (visual available in Marshall 2008 on IISH website, http://www.integrativescience.ca). Murdena indicates that mainstream science and IK/TK are able to share, without problem, understandings at the level of the outermost circle, since such are largely empirical. The middle two circles require personal relationship and respect for the plant, something not included in mainstream science which as a way of knowing has maximally diminished the role of the subjective. These two middle levels likely are familiar to and comfortable for any scientist whose passions include natural history, however. The innermost circle, wherein sacred knowledge resides, can only truly be understood within the language of the particular aboriginal or indigenous peoples of the area; it is not possible to translate this knowledge into another language. Once the genius of Murdena's model is grasped and used in conjunction with the "big picture" understandings for TEK/IK/TK and mainstream science, the pathway becomes much clearer for a Two-Eyed Seeing effort to weave back and forth between knowledges (Lesson Learned #7).

It is the innermost circle of her model that Elder Murdena has in mind when she indicates she is not overly concerned about intellectual property rights in regards Mi'kmaw TK, because the knowledge at its core, its heart, cannot be translated out of Mi'kmaw. Elder Albert further indicates that "knowledge is spirit", not a property or a commodity … and that elders have a responsibility to pass their knowledge along (indeed, the health of the community's children depends upon such, see Blackstock 2007). He encourages that these additional points also be considered when discussion turns to intellectual property rights. We respect the concern of Kimmerer (2002, p. 437), concurring strongly that "The identity of the practitioners, informants, and the community should always be fully referenced and acknowledged …". The latter is additionally important (beyond the issue of intellectual property rights) because some aspects of understandings can and do vary among individuals and communities, given the intimate interconnectiveness (Murdena's word) of land, language, and people (Marshall et al. 2010; Sable and Francis 2012), to say nothing about the detrimental impact on TEK/IK/TK caused by language loss. Moreover, the importance of the particular, traditionally occupied ecosystem (the land) must be recognized because there exists an ecology of the sacred among the human and more-than-human consciousness in a particular territory, as Sheridan et al. (2006) explain within the environmental philosophies of the Haudenosaunee.

Elder Albert further indicates that "Two-Eyed Seeing adamantly, respectfully, and passionately asks that we bring together our different ways of knowing to motivate people, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal alike, to use all our understandings so we can leave the world a better place and not compromise the opportunities for our youth (in the sense of Seven Generations) through our own inaction". More recently, on the basis of several years experience in explaining the principle, Albert adds: "Two-Eyed Seeing is hard to convey to academics as it does not fit into any particular subject area or discipline. Rather, it is about life: what you do, what kind of responsibilities you have, how you should live while on Earth … i.e., a guiding principle that covers all aspects of our lives: social, economic, environmental, etc. The advantage of Two-Eyed Seeing is that you are always fine tuning your mind into different places at once, you are always looking for another perspective and better way of doing things" (Bartlett et al. 2012).

In putting forward Two-Eyed Seeing, Elder Albert has passionate concerns for the well-being and future of aboriginal peoples and their traditional knowledges, as is evident when he states what happens in its absence: "When you force people to abandon their ways of knowing, their ways of seeing the world, you literally destroy their spirit and once that spirit is destroyed it is very, very difficult to embrace anything—academically or through sports or through arts or through anything—because that person is never complete. But to create a complete picture of a person, their spirit, their physical being, their emotions, and their intellectual being … all have to be intact and work in a very harmonious way" (Bartlett et al. 2012).

In explaining Two-Eyed Seeing, we use a visual (drawing upon Lesson Learned #6) in which two eyes are positioned behind two connected pieces of a jig-saw puzzle (visual available on IISH website, http://www.integrativescience.ca). This followed Elder Albert's encouragement that we emphasize that Mi'kmaw understandings are but one view in a multitude of aboriginal and indigenous views … and similarly that of the mainstream/western sciences … and that all of the world's cultures (which we take to include mainstream/western science) have understandings to contribute in addressing the local to global challenges faced in efforts to promote healthy communities. Thus, one might wish to talk about Four-Eyed Seeing, or Ten-Eyed Seeing, etc. Furthermore, Albert indicates "the two jig-saw puzzle pieces help remind us that, with respect to TK, no one person ever has more than one small piece of the knowledge." Thus, there is a need to recognize that TK draws upon the community of elders and other knowledge holders, as well as the collective consciousness of the people. So, here too, one might wish to talk about multiple-eyed seeing (Bartlett et al. 2012).

In line with the question we posed in the "Introduction", Elder Albert's additional thoughts about the challenges for TK within weaving efforts guided by Two-Eyed Seeing are provided below. He particularly sees the need to create appropriate joint aboriginal community and institutional mechanisms to ensure ongoing attention to them as more and more efforts pop up towards inclusion of TEK/IK/TK within educational curricula at all levels.

1. *Authenticity of TK.* We need to recognize the great temptation for some people to "just make it up". Validation, by recognized community elders and knowledge holders, of that which is brought forward is exceedingly important.
2. *Appropriate sources for particular topics within TK.* We need to acknowledge that elders and knowledge holders … each one of us … has certain expertise, yes, but none of us knows everything. This is also why TK is collective knowledge.
3. *Nourishment of the living relationships within TK.* We need to recognize that stories, songs, crafts, practices, family, community, language, ceremonies, and connectivity with the land are important in the transmission of TK. It is not a book-based process of learning. Most importantly, TK is *living* knowledge.
4. *The lifelong learning journey for TK.* We need to instill in all learners the understanding that TK is acquired over the whole of a person's life journey; it is not a 3–4 year process akin to a university degree.

Two-Eyed Seeing and other lessons learned: fit with emerging theory for transdisciplinary research

Our efforts and research for Integrative Science fit the outline of Pohl (2011, p. 620) for "Concept B" transdisciplinary (TD) research. He suggests three characterizing *features*: (1) it relates to socially relevant issues PLUS (2) transcends and integrates disciplinary paradigms PLUS (3) includes non-academic actors (i.e., includes participatory research). Concept A has only the first two features while Concept C omits the third and adds the feature (4) of searching for a unity of knowledge. However, Pohl (2011) indicates that features are not necessarily helpful for TD researchers per se; more benefit for them can be had with articulated *purposes* for TD research. He says (p. 621) "in order to be relevant and useful for societal problem handling, TD researchers have to frame, analyze and process an issue in such a manner that: (1) they grasp the complexity of the issue; (2) they take the diverse perspectives on the issue into account; (3) they link abstract and case-specific knowledge; and (4) they develop descriptive, normative, and practical knowledge that promotes what is perceived to be the common good." He further indicates that the fourth purpose "means that one of the specific challenges for TD researchers is to ensure that value systems do not operate in the shadows and instead are clarified by jointly developing the meaning of [specific topics or concepts] for the research project's context."

The originating intent for the Integrative Science academic program that it try to "reverse the situation whereby there was an almost total absence of Aboriginal students in science and science-related programs" matches the first feature above by Pohl (2011). The additional originating intent that the academic program bring together indigenous and Western scientific knowledges and ways of knowing matches the second feature, while the composition of the integrative science team matches the third. The nature of the different knowledge backgrounds of the three core participants on our journey maps to the first, second, and third purposes of Pohl (2011). Our abilities to take on those purposes were enriched through the participation of other Mi'kmaw elders and educators, additional university-based researchers including students, and various individuals in the numerous community workshops and various research projects that Integrative Science undertook (see IISH website, http://www.integrativescience.ca). And, in that we have long indicated that Two-Eyed Seeing intends that individuals learn to "use both eyes together, for the benefit of all", it also maps to the fourth purpose identified by Pohl (2011). Our Lessons Learned similarly match understandings embedded in the features and purposes of Pohl (2011): Two-Eyed Seeing (Lesson Learned #2) and Lessons Learned #5 and #7 fit Pohl's second purpose and Lesson Learned #4 the fourth purpose. Lesson Learned #5 ensures that "value systems do not operate in the shadows", which Pohl indicated is a specific challenge for TD research.

Pohl (2011, p. 621) goes on to suggest that Ludwik Fleck's concept of "thought styles" (dating to the first half of the last century) is a particularly suitable starting point (much more so than Kuhn's paradigms) for TD research as it enables participants to be seen and to engage "as experienced in their perspective" and "to be keen to learn about the different thought-styles and their underlying assumptions. In doing so a solid basis is laid for understanding different knowledge claims, for making informed evaluations of knowledge and for integrating knowledge". We suggest that our great emphasis over many years on "co-learning" and within such our repeated efforts to promote (for diverse audiences) "big picture" understandings of four basic aspects in our different ways of knowing, in both text and visual format (as mentioned above, also see Bartlett et al. 2012 and IISH website, http://www.integrativescience.ca), is congruent with Pohl's (2011, 621) pointing to Fleck's thought styles as an approach more useful for TD research than "the idea that philosophers of science should primarily provide intellectual foundations of science". As Pohl (2011,

p. 621) further emphasizes, it is people who are interacting and "Fleck's approach frames knowledge production as a collective process of historically and socially embedded thought-collectives." Elder Murdena's words in the "Introduction" section, along with her model for IK as a system, speak directly to this understanding of the person and of the collective.

Pohl (2011) clearly indicates that a thought-style approach is not an effort "to democratize science". This might cause initial disfavor in regards our Lesson Learned #5 (view science in an inclusive manner). We suggest that disfavor or fear can be allayed by reading our exploration for a broadened view in Bartlett et al. (2012).

We are formally suggesting Lesson Learned #8 for the first time with this paper, given the flounder and falter of the Integrative Science academic program. At the td-net conference in Bern, Switzerland, in September 2011 (see td-net website, http://www.transdisciplinarity.ch/e/conference/international/2011/), the one of us (Bartlett) who attended noted the striking resonance with that lesson as different keynote speakers emphasized the importance, for the successful and ongoing conduct of TD research, of having supportive and informed institutional administration.

We suggest that TD research approaches might be useful considerations for those involved in efforts to weave IK into curricula for environmental studies/sciences and sustainability studies. Williams et al. (2012, p. 3) point to the challenges faced when "the predominant and implicit conceptualizations" of the relationships between humans and their natural, social and created environments remain "grounded in Cartesian ontology wherein humanity is not seen as an implicit part of biodiversity embedded in a vast web of mutual and symbiotic interrelations".

Two-Eyed Seeing: uptake across Canada

We have explained Two-Eyed Seeing many times and across Canada, having now delivered close to a hundred presentations (IISH website, http://www.integrativescience.ca). We have witnessed its immediate resonance, in particular, with Elders from diverse Aboriginal nations and Two-Eyed Seeing, by that name, is gaining traction across the country. Significantly, Two-Eyed Seeing was adopted by King (2011) for the business case prepared in 2011 by the Canadian Institutes of Health Research–Institute of Aboriginal Peoples' Health for programming in its next 5-year plan. Moreover, Two-Eyed Seeing is/has been part of the collaborative environmental planning in Cape Breton, the Government of the Province of Nova Scotia's 10-year strategic plan for natural resources, land-based summer camps in Nunavut, Mi'kmaw band-operated schools in Cape Breton, species-at-risk draft policy in Ontario, salmon commission submissions in British Columbia, and global celebrations during the International Year of Astronomy 2009 (see IISH website, http://www.integrativescience.ca). In our awareness, one academic thesis at Dalhousie University (Martin 2009) and another at Royal Roads University (Collier 2012) have featured it. In addition, the First Nations Lifelong Learning Model developed in 2007 by the Aboriginal Learning Knowledge Centre within the Canadian Council of Learning placed IK and Western Knowledge side-by-side at the model's core (see CCL website, http://www.ccl-cca.ca/CCL/Reports/RedefiningSuccessInAboriginalLearning/RedefiningSuccessModels.html), congruent with "Two-Eyed Seeing" although not using the phrase.

Two-Eyed Seeing: some like the phrase while others resist

Elder Albert indicates that Two-Eyed Seeing is the gift of multiple perspectives treasured by many aboriginal peoples; we suspect this may be why (at least in part) the phrase, once explained, seems so readily embraced by aboriginal elders. We have also experienced open acceptance of the phrase among other people (aboriginal and other) and yet at other times an awkward resistance even when the merit of the guiding principle per se is acknowledged. An exploration of such reluctance, while beyond the scope of this paper, invites a few thoughts. Marshall et al. (2010) explain how mainstream discourse about the natural world has come to favor metaphors that represent a language of containment and separation whereas Mi'kmaw stories collapse the distance between human and animal. Williams et al. (2012) note the pervasive tendency of academic knowledge to overlook our interrelations within the web of life while Stewart-Harawira (2012, p. 80) mentions the understanding that "biologically-derived methods and assumptions have … fallen out of favor among sociologists". It may be that reawakening comfort with the close up, biologically-derived phrase Two-Eyed Seeing will require exploring or undertaking decolonizing work (regardless of one's cultural background) such as Geniusz (2009) describes for botanical Anishinaabe teachings or, another option, experiencing increased exposure to the radical approaches for human ecology proposed in Williams et al. (2012).

Acknowledgments We acknowledge and thank Cape Breton University for being the academic home for Integrative Science for many years. We also extend our sincere appreciation and thanks to the various other organizations that have provided support and to the many individuals who have been or continue to be participants within (or, in other ways, supporters of) the co-learning journey of Integrative Science guided by Two-Eyed Seeing. This includes numerous Elders, community members, university science students, school students, educators, scientists, and others from Mi'kmaw First Nations and organizations in Atlantic Canada, plus key people from other aboriginal communities and organizations elsewhere in Canada. Similarly, there have been many non-aboriginal elders and other people: research scientists, professors, students, research assistants, associates and

fellows, and individuals in government and elsewhere outside academia. We are grateful to our various funders: Sable Offshore Energy, Inc., the Canada Research Chairs program, SSHRC, CIHR–IAPH, NSERC, IWK Health Centre Foundation, Nova Scotia Health Research Foundation, Atlantic Aboriginal Health Research Program, Mounted Police Foundation, Canadian Foundation for Innovation and Nova Scotia Research Innovation Trust Fund. We offer thanks to our Earth Mother and all our relations. Msit No'kmaq.

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First Peoples Child & Family Review
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Indigenous Wholistic Theory: A Knowledge Set for Practice

Kathy Absolon

Volume 5, Number 2, 2010

URI: https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1068933ar
DOI: https://doi.org/10.7202/1068933ar

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Publisher(s)

First Nations Child and Family Caring Society of Canada

ISSN

1708-489X (print)
2293-6610 (digital)

Explore this journal

Cite this article

Absolon, K. (2010). Indigenous Wholistic Theory: A Knowledge Set for Practice. *First Peoples Child & Family Review*, *5*(2), 74–87. https://doi.org/10.7202/1068933ar

Article abstract

In this article, the author, establishes a knowledge set for Indigenous social work practice based on Indigenous wholistic theory. An overall framework using the circle is proposed and introduced followed by a more detailed and elaborated illustration using the four directions. The article identifies the need to articulate Indigenous wholistic theory and does so by employing a wholistic framework of the four directional circle. It then systematically moves around each direction, beginning in the east where a discussion of Spirit and Vision occurs. In the south a discussion of relationships, community and heart emerge. The western direction brings forth a discussion of the spirit of the ancestors and importance of Indigenous knowledge and Indigenous knowledge production. The northern direction articulates ideas surrounding healing and movements and actions that guide practice. Finally, the article begins with a discussion on all four directions together with a final examination of the center fire where all elements interconnect and intersect. Lastly, the article proclaims the existence of Indigenous wholistic theory as a necessary knowledge set for practice.

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Volume 5, Number 2, 2010, pp. 74-87

Indigenous Wholistic Theory: A Knowledge Set for Practice

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Abstract

In this article, the author, establishes a knowledge set for Indigenous social work practice based on Indigenous wholistic theory. An overall framework using the circle is proposed and introduced followed by a more detailed and elaborated illustration using the four directions. The article identifies the need to articulate Indigenous wholistic theory and does so by employing a wholistic framework of the four directional circle. It then systematically moves around each direction, beginning in the east where a discussion of Spirit and Vision occurs. In the south a discussion of relationships, community and heart emerge. The western direction brings forth a discussion of the spirit of the ancestors and importance of Indigenous knowledge and Indigenous knowledge production. The northern direction articulates ideas surrounding healing and movements and actions that guide practice. Finally, the article begins with a discussion on all four directions together with a final examination of the center fire where all elements interconnect and intersect. Lastly, the article proclaims the existence of Indigenous wholistic theory as a necessary knowledge set for practice.

Keywords: Indigenous wholistic theory, social work practice, theory, four directional circle, relationships, community, healing.

Introduction

This article joins other recent and worthy publications where authors advance Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing (Graveline, 2004; Hart, 2002; Nabigon, 2006; Poonwassie & Charter, 2005; Sinclair, Hart, & Bruyere, 2009; Solomon & Wane, 2005). As Indigenous practice increasingly becomes asserted and expressed, we need to continue to articulate elements of Indigenous wholistic theory that guides Indigenous based social work practice.

Indigenous peoples have worldviews and means of relating to the world. Stemming from this worldview comes the understanding that 'we are all related'. Indigenous theory is rooted intimately within Indigenous epistemologies, worldviews, cultures and traditions. Indigenous wholistic theory is wholistic and multi-layered, which encompasses the spiritual, emotional, mental and physical elements of being. We also acknowledge our past, present and future. By that very nature, we must look at the past and into our future and Indigenous theory factors in seven generations past and the seven generations into the future.

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It forms a framework to 'indigenize' our thoughts and actions into active healing processes that simultaneously decolonize and indigenize. And finally but not exclusively, I know that Indigenous theory is earth based and derived from the teachings of the land, sun, water, sky and all of Creation. Its' methodologies of practice integrate the natural teachers and elements of the earth. Indigenous wholistic theory is an ancestral concept to Indigenous people where,

> *Aboriginal people in Canada have ancient culture specific philosophical foundations and practices, which continue to provide them with guidance in everyday life. In their healing process these imperatives provide guidance to those who experience physical, psychological, emotional, or spiritual distress – individually, in a family, or in a community* (Poonwassie & Charter, 2001, p. 63).

Our work as wholistic practitioners is to remember and reconnect with wholistic knowledges, pick up our bundles and activate them again. Picking up our bundles means to relearn, reclaim, pick up and own the teachings and practices that emanate from wholistic theory and knowedge. It means to live and practice minobimaadsiwin (a good life). In this article, a wholistic framework organizes and presents the knowledge set for Indigenous wholistic theory in Indigenous social work practice.

This article, in fact, stems from an earlier article I wrote in 1993 called Healing as practice: *Teachings from the Medicine Wheel*[1], which I never formally published but was widely requested and used. Within this article I use the terms Indigenous and Anishinaabek as inclusive to all Aboriginal, First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples. My use of the spelling wholism indicates 'whole' as in wholistic, complete, balanced and circular. First I present an overview. Second, I identify who I am. Lastly I present initial tenets of Indigenous wholism with a wholistic model and discussion.

Overview

This article is written for those that seek to understand a wholistic perspective of practice from an Indigenous lens and is organized using a wholistic paradigm of the four directions circle which encompasses concepts such as cyclical, circular and relational. Wholistic theory includes an intermixing and consideration of time and space: the past, present, future; directions and doorways of life; the ecology of creation such as earth, sun, water and air and all their occupants; and values that retain the balance and harmony of all of the above. My goal is to highlight a knowledge set that informs Indigenous wholistic theory for practice. This knowledge is based in oral traditions, is sacred and can take years to understand and know. I feel limited to fully and adequately articulate a complete portrait of the elements of Indigenous theory. However, I encourage readers to embrace opportunities to learn and follow-up with references cited to develop their own knowledge set. The presented framework does not delve into the specifics of each area of knowledge because specific knowledge sets can be learning processes in themselves. This knowledge set can be used to guide practice and further practice lenses can be developed for purposes of wholistic assessment, evaluation and treatment and change; and may be applied at levels of self, individual, family, community, organization and institution.

Who am I?

During my contemplations of writing this article I wondered: Who am I to write such an article? An Indigenous worldview seeks that you identify yourself to the Spirit, the people and the Spirit of the work you intend on doing and this act establishes the beginning of respectful practice. As I send out these words I can only do so from where I sit and from where I am located (Monture-Angus, 1995). Through my sharing of who I am I establish the parameters of what I may know and not know. In doing so, readers can determine what fits for them and what doesn't. Before I send out this knowledge, I need to share a bit on where this knowing comes from and who I am to honor its' source and to be accountable. We arrive at our place of knowing because of our families, communities, Elders and many other helpers. Our knowledge bundles develop over time with experience, teachings, and reflections. Our genealogy of knowledge is significant and we acknowledge who our teachers are and where we received our teachings (Marsden, 2005). What follows is a brief introduction to who I am as a prelude and this is how we would traditionally begin.

First, in my language I announce my name, acknowledge my nation, relatives and family because they taught me about living on the land and life in the bush. Minogiizhigokwe n'dizhnakauz (I am Shining Day Woman). Anishinaabekwe n'dow (I am an Anishinaabe woman). Waubzhizhii n'dodem (I am Marten clan), and Flying Post n'doonjibaaam (I come from Flying Post First Nation). I am also Midewiwin and receive many of my teachings from the Three Fires Society Midewiwin Lodge. For the past twenty years I have a blended background of Indigenous based wholistic healing practices along with some western social work practice methods. Over the years many traditional mentors have appeared on my path and at the community level. My Anishinaabe relatives, Midewiwin and clan family continue to teach me to walk in the beauty of our culture and ways. Consequently, my knowledge bundle is both cultural Anishinaabe and western where I strive to balance both worlds. However, I have been actively focusing on my Anishinaabe culture and language which means learning my language, teachings, songs, ceremonies, medicines and many other aspects that our knowledge bundles entail. In part, my knowledge is a summation of those who have crossed my path and took pity on me enough to share their knowledge and wisdom. Finally, I am grateful for all the spirits that guide and walk with me. They provide the signs that let me know I am on the right path. Currently, I teach at Wilfrid Laurier University in an MSW Aboriginal Field of Study program where we employ wholistic knowledge and teachings on a daily basis. We[2] call this process Indigegogy whereby we teach Indigenous theory and worldview using Indigenous pedagogy. Lester Rigney (1999) called an Indigenous methodology Indigenist, however in our Indigenous social work education context we call it Indigegogy. Finally, I come from the land and frequently return there as reference points for my work as

1 Absolon, Kathy (1993). Healing as Practice: Teachings from the Medicine Wheel. A commissioned paper for the WUNSKA network, Canadian Schools of Social Work. Unpublished manuscript.

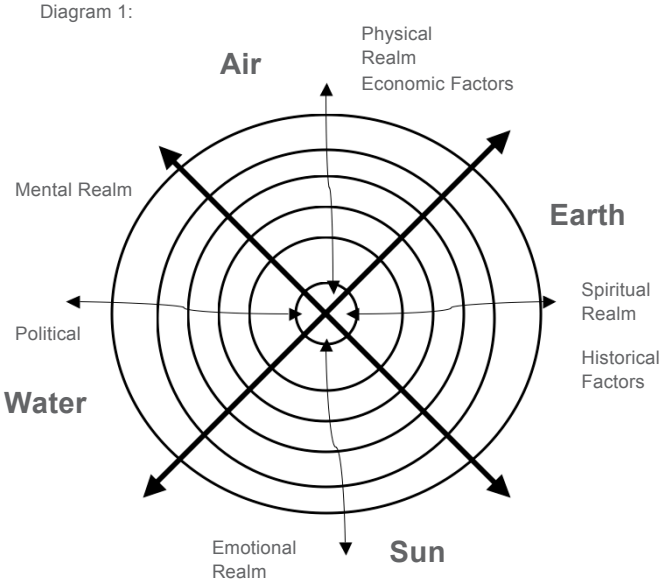
2 My colleague Malcolm Saulis tell us that the term was given to us by Stan Wilson who coined what we do as Indigegogy.

an educator, researcher and practitioner. The teachings of the Anishinaabe inform my worldview.

Indigenous wholistic theoretical orientation

Indigenous wholistic theory is whole, ecological, cyclical and relational. The Medicine Wheel, Four Directions and Circles have been used as an effective and appropriate means and tools for develop healing strategies. They offer a multilevel strategy that is circular in nature which has been practised for thousands of years by our ancestors (Absolon, 1993; Graveline, 2004; Hart, 1996, 2002; Little Bear, 2000; Nabigon, 2006). The following diagram of concentric circles represents a level of being and illustrates the reciprocal interconnections of self, individual, family, community, nation, society and creation. At the centre is a tiny circle representing the Self. The next circle represents family, then the community, then the nation, society and outward to the ecology of creation. Inclusive to all the levels are the infants, youth, young adults, adults and Elders. Each level of being is affected by the historical, social, political and economic and each layer has a spiritual, emotional, mental and physical element. Indigenous wholism considers the connections and the

Diagram 1:



concept "we are all related" begins to make sense as we perceive each aspect in relation to the whole. The dynamics of our realities are created because of the relationships and experiences of these interrelationships and interconnections. I use the Medicine Wheel as a tool to depict Indigenous wholistic theory, which helps us to understand our realities and experiences by considering the influences of all elements of the whole on our individual and collective being. This is just a beginning.

Understanding Indigenous peoples experiences can initially be understood within such a wholistic framework. The above illustration illuminates that Indigenous peoples experiences can be framed and contextualized within a historical, social, political and economic framework. Such a wholistic framework provides a concrete tool toward understanding the nature of balance, harmony and 'Bimaadisiwin' – living a good life. It acknowledges the factors that contribute toward achieving that sense of peace and balance.

Imbalance is then determined to occur in the symptoms that people identify which are typically called presenting problems or issues. These presenting issues are initially identified by people, families or communities who desire a change toward peace and balance. Upon further consideration of the elements of Indigenous wholism in problem definition we need to consider factors that fuel imbalances among Indigenous peoples' lives. If Indigenous worldviews, traditions, values and beliefs are foundational to living a good life, then the absence or attack of Indigenous worldviews, traditions and identity has created imbalance and dis-ease. Colonizing agents and mechanisms of colonization such as residential schools, child welfare authorities, social welfare traps, land dispossessions etc… have all contributed to personal and familial imbalance in many areas of functioning (Duran & Duran, 1995; Graveline, 2004; Hart, 2002; LaRoque, 1991; Nabigon, 2006). The attempted domestication[3] of Indigenous peoples via Indian Act policies has contributed to disease and illness among the people. Now the internalization of colonialism contributes to internal violence and lateral oppression. As earth based and earth centred peoples, a forced disconnection from our land would naturally create imbalance and disease among the people. Our reactions to these conditions are then understandable. Indigenous peoples have been living and breathing oppressive conditions for centuries now and undoubtedly the internalization of racism and the need for community healing is apparent when,

> *Some of the greatest resistors to the recovery of Indigenous knowledge are our own Native people who have internalized the racism and now uncritically accept ideologies of the dominant culture… Because of the extent to which colonization has taken root, any efforts to restore our traditional ways would have to be matched with a strong community decolonization agenda. While developing a critical consciousness aimed at understanding precisely how colonialism has affected our health and mindset, and thus how we might meaningfully challenge that oppression, we can begin to reaffirm the richness and*

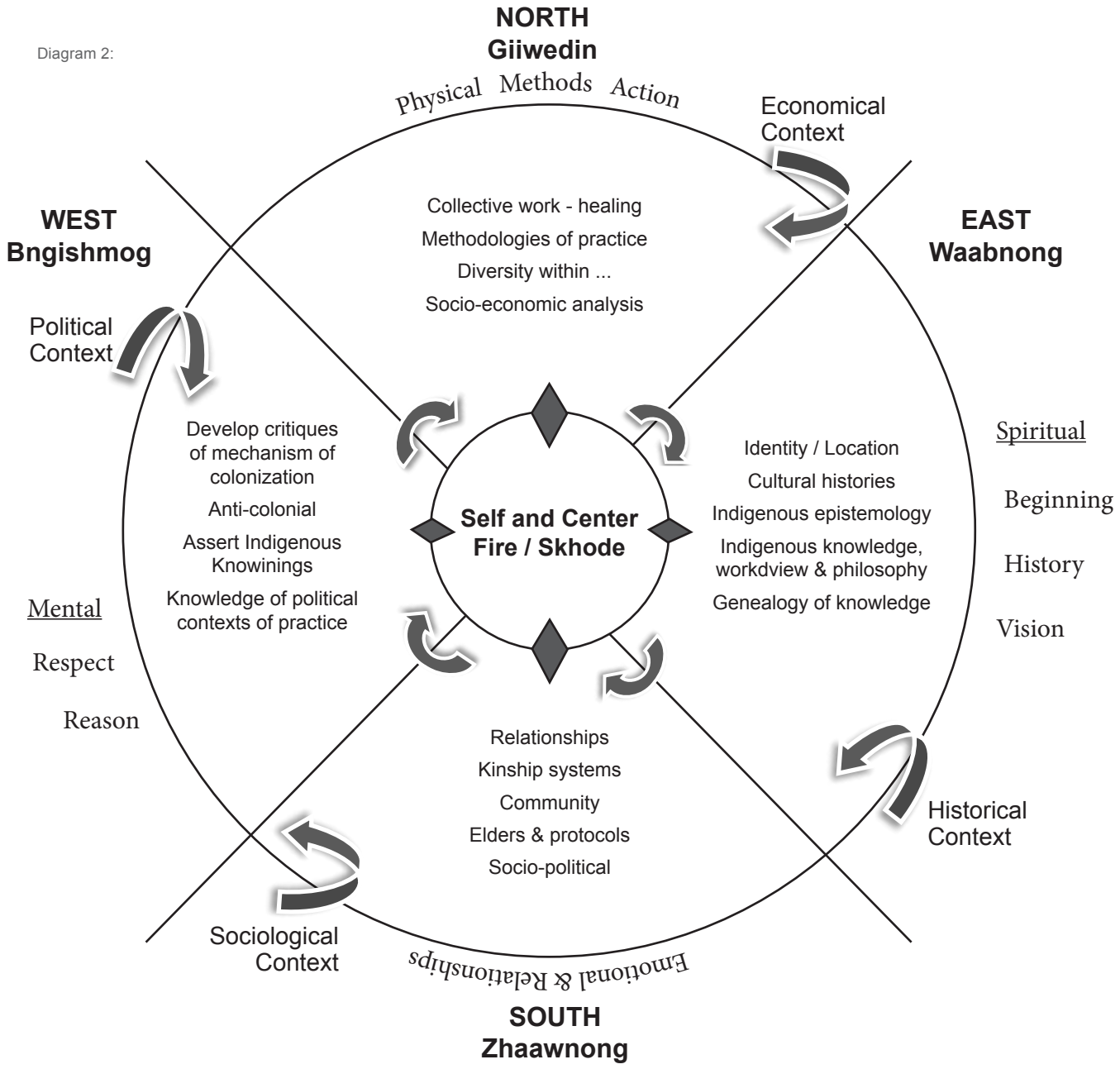
3 I use the term domestication to coin what Paulo Freire in Pedagogy of the Oppressed describes when colonizing forces attempt to acculturate or assimilate Indigenous peoples. The treatment of Indigenous peoples by the colonizer with the goal of acculturation is akin to the domestication of animals.

wisdom inherent in our traditional ways (Cavender Wilson, 2004, p. 72).

I agree with Angela Cavender Wilson in that using and applying Indigenous theory to practice requires a knowledge set of the social and political policies and practices. At this juncture, I become more specific in my presentation of Indigenous wholistic theory.

The following diagram is a more specific representation illustrating theoretical underpinnings using the four directions and spiritual, emotional, mental and physical elements. Within each element are some specific theoretical factors that warrant consideration in Indigenous based practice. There are many more elements and this representation is by no means exhaustive. Circle teachings are diverse and representations of such can look different depending on the context, teacher and Nation. With

Diagram 2:



that being said, the proposed theoretical framework requires a dual knowledge set of Indigenous knowledge and anti-colonial knowledge. Current theory must tackle colonial constructs while asserting the power and role of Indigenous knowledge. The chapter is now organized using the following circle as a guide. Each direction is briefly introduced with teachings of the nature of that doorway or direction as given to me by my traditional teachers whom I am grateful to acknowledge (Herb Nabigon, Bawdwayidung, Obaunisay, Medwayaushii and many others). Grandfather Sun rises in the east and so we enter into this discussion through the eastern door and follow the directions to the south, west and north doorways. Each section will discuss components of Indigenous wholistic theory relative to each doorway. These directions are not mutually exclusive; in fact, they interrelate, interconnect and are interdependent. Any change or movement in one area will affect the whole. The arrows in the diagram illustrate the interrelationships and interdependence between all the components.

The discussion of each of the doorways is meant to guide a wholistic knowledge set. The goal of this article is to present an Indigenous wholistic theory for social work practice. It does not present the specifics of Indigenous issues or concerns, but presents a framework from which issues can be understood and practice guided. This article advocates a knowledge set that is based on the collective doorways of the whole circle – that is the knowledge set that an Indigenous wholistic theory commands.

WAABINONG: In the East

The teachings from the sacred direction of the eastern doorway, Waabinong, speak to us about new beginnings. The sun rises in the east presenting us with a new day of life. With each day we have new life and new gifts. Waabinong represents Springtime and rebirth. The Eastern doorway brings forth teachings of visioning, beginning and rebirth. Here is where I present literature that deals with foundational principles and issues. Visioning requires one to be able to see the past, the present, and envision the future. Visioning denotes the theoretical underpinnings and principles from which searching for knowledge begins. Beginning denotes recognition that Indigenous people are in a state of resurgence and revitalization and at this time in our long history we are recovering, re-emerging, and reclaiming our knowledge base. The context of our past has vastly changed, yet we remain: We are Indigenous and we carry our ancestors' stories, teachings and knowledge. Renewal of this doorway gifts us with the ability to experience rebirth of the old into the new. In processes of renewal and rebirth change is inevitable.

Aspects of Indigenous wholism that proceed through the eastern doorway are spirit, identity and history. The role of spirituality must be considered within healing practices and processes (McCormick, 2005). Each and every being is a spirit being and acknowledging one's spirit begins with acknowledging oneself. Spiritual knowledge entails awareness and understanding of Aboriginal epistemology and a respectful consciousness of the sacred world to Indigenous peoples. Indigenous wholism implies a balance within all aspects and elements of the whole, which is achieved through interconnections, interdependence and interrelationships (Marsden, 2006). As Dawn Marsden states, "If we know who we are, that all life is connected through spirit, and if we learn how to live good lives, then by extension we will act responsibly toward the creation of harmonious and sustainable (healthy) relationships in this world" (Marsden, 2006).

Indigenous epistemologies, worldviews, methodologies and frameworks must form the basis for our knowledge quests and practice (Bishop, 1998; Cole, 2002; Duran & Duran, 2000; Ermine, 1995; Fitznor, 2002; Kenny, 2000; Simpson, 2001; Sinclair, 2003; Wilson, 2001). Within the essence of Indigenous epistemology is spirituality and as Indigenous peoples our responsibilities include: To honor our relations with all of Creation; to follow our original instructions as orally passed on; to continually relearn ceremonies, rituals, daily protocols; to regenerate mutual relationships and not to replicate western paradigms (Cole, 2002; Ermine, 1995). Spiritual considerations occur within the guidelines and frameworks of our Creator and we are to honor the knowledge we have. Spirituality is inherent in Indigenous epistemology, which sees everything in relation to Creation, the earth and recognizes that all life has spirit and is sacred. Willie Ermine (1995) talks about the inner space and inner knowing within Aboriginal epistemology. He identifies the ways inner knowing is inherent in Aboriginal epistemology in the following quote.

> *Those who seek to understand the reality of existence and harmony with the environment by turning inward have a different, incorporeal knowledge paradigm that might be termed Aboriginal epistemology. Aboriginal people have the responsibility and birthright to take and develop an epistemology congruent with holism and the beneficial transformation of total human knowledge. The way to this affirmation is through our own Aboriginal sources* (Ermine, 1995, p. 103).

The doorway to the inner space, where the ancestral knowledge sits, is through other realms via dreams, ceremonies, vision quests and rituals. The ancestors are there waiting to share their knowledge. The map to get there is in Indigenous knowledge and more specifically within Aboriginal epistemology. The published work of Indigenous scholars reveals that Indigenous worldviews and ancestral knowledge are being carried forward

into our future by asserting the role of Indigenous cultural knowledge and history and second by critiquing and dismantling colonizing knowledge and mechanisms of oppression. These actions set the stage for visioning, beginning and renewal. Out of renewal emerges a duality of knowledge, characterizing a cultural discourse and a colonial discourse. Both must necessarily be addressed.

Within an Indigenous worldview, we believe we are Spirit beings. As such, identifying who we are is the first protocol we do before we begin any ceremony, speak or act. Some people announce their Spirit names as they address the Spirit. Some people announce their English name, clan and Nation. We speak from our location and announce who we are, where we come from and what our intentions are. In doing so, we are also announcing who we are not and where we do not speak from. Accountability and ethics of oral tradition is thus established and the people now have the power and choice to receive your words or actions. Within this specific doorway Indigenous wholism implies that we attend to our positionality and locate ourselves (Absolon & Willett, 2005; Monture-Angus, 1995). Inclusive to location and positionality is identifying who you are, where you come from and what your motives or intentions.

Waabinong, in the east, also implies knowing our history: cultural and colonial. It calls upon a knowledge base of: the history of colonization of Indigenous peoples in Canada and its impact on Indigenous peoples' cultures and traditions; the oppression of Indigenous spirituality, ceremonies, songs, dances, gatherings, naming and death ceremonies, and life teachings. It calls for us to know that the suppression of Indigenous people's bundles and their "traditional Elders, keepers of knowledge were deliberately murdered" (Colorado, 1988, p. 51). Sacred birch bark scrolls, knowledge bundles and ceremonial objects were confiscated, destroyed and outlawed. To understand the extent of Indigenous peoples anger, grief, depression and loss one must develop an awareness and understanding of the impact of having ones culture, family, children, language and way of life attacked over and over.

Indigenous scholars are calling for an ongoing critique and deconstruction of colonial motives, theories and methods (Absolon & Herbert, 1997; Duran & Duran, 1995, 2000; Henderson, 2000b; LaRocque, 1991; Ross, 2005; Smith, 2000; Talbot, 2002). Critical reflections and discourse set a pathway for decolonization and for freedom to be attained without replicating or empowering colonialism and Eurocentric hegemony (Alfred, 2005). Decolonization presupposes a commitment to a critical analysis of the existing unequal power structures, a rejection of hegemonic belittling, and a commitment to consciousness raising and politicization. Clearing the mind of colonial constructs alone is not enough. Decolonization is the common descriptor for unlearning out of racism and colonization (Calliou, 2001; Fitznor, 2002; Graveline, 2004; Simpson, 2001; Wa Thiong'o, 1986).

In summary, the theoretical elements of Indigenous wholistic theory of Waabinong, the Eastern doorway are Spirit, beginnings and history. Some key points from this doorway are:

- Beginning and rebirth
- Inclusion and respectful acknowledgement of Spirit
- Spirituality is connected to healing
- Establish your location and position yourself within your practice as such
- Acknowledge your genealogy of knowledge
- Recognize the legitimacy of Indigenous epistemologies, worldviews and knowledge
- Understand that Indigenous peoples have a culture history that predates colonization.
- Identity: Understand the diversity within families, individuals & communities
- Develop a knowledge set about the history of colonization and the mechanisms of oppression.

ZHAAWNONG: In the South

The Southern doorway, Zhaawnong, encompasses the emotional and relational realms. It brings forth teachings of life, relationships, people and growth and will cover literature relating to principles of reciprocity and relationships. Zhaawnong brings the summer and renewal. This doorway addresses issues of relationships, protocols, accountability, reciprocity and community. Relationships can extend to humans, the natural and spiritual world. For example, "Indigenous peoples the world over follow the rhythm of the cosmos with distinct relationships to the sun, moon, stars, animals, plants, sound, wind, water, electrical and vibrational energy, thunder, lightning, rain, all creatures of the land and water, the air, and the rhythm of the land itself" (Solomon & Wane, 2005, p. 55). In Indigenous contexts building and nurturing quality relations is integral to living in a good way.

Kinship systems and their relationship connections are recognized in the southern doorway. Leroy Little Bear (2000) identifies the value of knowing that totality and wholeness exist within the circle of kinship. He uses an analogy of four flower petals to symbolize strength, sharing, honesty and kindness in kinship relations. Further, he states that "the function of Aboriginal values is to maintain the relationships that hold creation together. If creation manifests itself in terms of cyclical patterns and repetitions, then the maintenance and renewal of those patterns is all-important" (Little Bear, 2000, p. 81).

Kinship systems serve to connect threads between individuals, families and communities and extend beyond biology. For example, kinship systems can be based on the clan system where relationships and roles are determined by clan identity and function (Benton-Banai, 1988). Families have tendencies to adopt people and community members can relate to each other as aunties, uncles, nieces, nephews, brothers or sisters without the genetic basis for such ties. Our Cocomish and Shaumish can be other Elders other than our biological ones. Families and communities are broadly defined and are not limited to genealogy or genetics.

Indigenous communities have immense strength and resources from which kinship ties, healing and recovery, wellness, survival and collectivity exist. The viability of community relationships in social work practice cannot be underestimated. Identifying community strengths in all areas of prevention, intervention, rehabilitation, support and postvention approaches will contribute to the development of grass roots, community strengths approaches (Gone, 2004). Principles of collaboration and empowerment ought to guide relationships with community members such as engaging with local community members in the planning and delivery of service. From an Indigenous perspective the culture of a community is where the heartbeat of that nation resides. Communities are suffering in the colonial aftermath, hence their heartbeats may be weak. Nevertheless, the heartbeat of a community is in the people, which ought to influence methods of practice. Community interests ought to be considered essential elements of practice and community involvement fostered at all levels of service delivery such as planning, visioning, brainstorming, designing, creating, evaluating, assessing, intervening and treating. In this sense, methodologies of practice will diversify as community contexts vary from one community to the next. Training for work with Indigenous communities ought to be interdisciplinary and diverse community based methodologies encouraged. Methods that foster community relationships and collaborative processes include the teachings of the Medicine Wheel, storytelling, sharing and teaching circles, community participation and role modeling (Poonwassie & Charter, 2001). Methods of practice ought to attend to supporting and fostering healing relationships within self, family and community.

Elders are another cornerstone of Indigenous knowledge, culture and heritage. Oral traditions, languages and historical accounts would be lost without the wisdom, knowledge and experience of Elders. Ethics of practice exist in the protocols in working with the Elders and with traditional knowledge. Elder protocols are varied depending on the nation and territory and identifying reliable Elders will occur in consultation and communication with community resource people. For example, some people will offer tobacco, cloth or a small gift as a gesture of reciprocity and gratitude. Elders are essential to learning and teaching through mechanisms such as storytelling, ceremony, songs, dances, and passing on teachings. Healing and wellness programs often employ Elders to work with children, youth and families. Community initiatives in Ontario such as Enaahtig Healing Lodge and Learning Centre, Kii-Kee-Wan-Nii-Kaan Southwest Regional Healing Lodge, Anishinaabe Health in Toronto, Shawanaga Healing Centre, and Skaagamakwe Healing Centre work with Elders in the delivery of programs and services. There are many other examples across the country of programs and services that recognize the role and contribution that Elders can make to healing and wellness initiatives.

This doorway also calls for the development of a critical understanding of the social context and conditions of issues such as an understanding of family violence and abuse, alcoholism, addictions, depression, grief and loss, disempowerment, suicide, intergenerational trauma, lateral violence, and multigenerational trauma. Angela Cavender Wilson states that:

> *When considering the phlethora of social problems facing Indigenous communities today (including poverty, chemical dependency, depression, suicide, family violence, and disease), it is profoundly clear that these are the devastating consequences of conquest and colonization. For Indigenous nations, these problems were largely absent prior to European and American invasion and destruction of everything to us. A reaffirmation of Indigenous epistemological and ontological foundations, then, in contemporary times offers a central form of resistance to the colonial forces that have consistently and methodically denigrated and silenced them* (Cavender Wilson, 2004, p. 70).

I believe that when practitioners continue to apply psychotherapeutic approaches to practice that omit the social and political contexts of Indigenous peoples realities than their practice continues to pathologize, diminish and problematize Indigenous peoples. I agree with Eduardo and Bonnie Duran (1995) that the DSM ought to have a category recognizing the post trauma affects of colonization and genocide. Further, "those negative influences have resulted in the marginalization and clientization of these groups in contemporary society" (Poonwassie & Charter, 2001, p. 64). We must be careful to not adopt theories and methods of practice that only pathologize and problematize Indigenous clients without regard for the broader socio-political issues and historical context.

In summary, the theoretical elements of Indigenous wholistic theory of Zhaawnong, the Southern doorway acknowledge the emotional aspects of the whole where relationships and sociological contexts are understood. This doorway specifically:

- Calls for renewal at relational levels
- Attends to relationships
- Integrates understandings of diverse relationships
- Understands kinship systems as moving beyond genetics
- Identifies community strengths and resources,
- Collaborates with community to foster healing relationships
- Utilizes methods that support healthy relationship building
- Acknowledges the role and contribution of Elders and protocols and
- Contextualizes issues within a socio-political analysis of social problems facing Indigenous peoples today.

NIINGAABII'ONG: In the West

The Western doorway, Niingaabii'ong, brings forth teachings of the ancestors, the mind and respect. It relates to respect of knowledge and knowledge of creation. Niingaabii'ong brings the Autumn and cleansing. It also calls for mental strength and reason. Operationalizing respect in practice requires one to step back and think wholistically and consider how all the doorways specify and articulate the value of respect. Asserting Indigenous knowledge as a tool for recovery from colonial trauma and all its manifestations is acknowledged in this doorway. It is evident that in Indigenous communities across the land, a re-emergence of knowledge is occurring. Decolonizing our minds in addition to establishing a critical discourse, theory and practice based on Indigenous knowledge are acknowledged by Niingaabii'ong.

Respect is a core principle from which Indigenous methodologies ought to emerge (Absolon & Willett, 2004; Archibald, 1993; Battiste & Henderson, 2000a; Fitznor, 1998; Graveline, 2000; Gross, 2002; Kenny, 2000; McPherson & Rabb, 2001; Sinclair, 2003; Wilson, 2003). Respect is a wholistic value and can be applied and operationalized at all levels of social work practice. To acknowledge and validate Indigenous philosophies and worldviews is to practice respect. Gross (2002) states that respect is in the Anishinaabe teachings of Bimaadziwin, which loosely translates to mean 'a good life'. The life goal of the old Anishinaabe was to follow the Anishinaabe teachings of Bimaadziwin, hence to strive toward living a good life. We need to learn our teachings and apply these teachings today to rebuild and recover from colonial trauma. I have heard over and over how Indigenous people have been helped through our own cultural mechanisms such as sweat lodge ceremonies, healing ceremonies, sharing and talking circles, dances, songs and other cultural pathways to wellness. Indigenous ways of health and recovery remind people of the beauty of who we are, where we come from and what we know. It builds healthy esteem and confidence in our identity. It instills good feelings about being Indigenous again and reconnects people to the power of their identity. We must respect who we are, what we know and where we come from. Our recovery and rediscovery is imperative to our healing as a peoples.

The recovery of traditional knowledge is deeply intertwined with the process of decolonization because for many of us it is only through a consciously critical assessment of how the historical process of colonization has systemically devalued our Indigenous ways that we can begin to reverse the damage wrought from those assaults. (Cavender Wilson, 2004, p. 72)

Respect calls upon us to look again, speculate, consider and operationalize Indigenous knowledge as a source of healing and recovery. In itself, though, Indigenous knowledge is massive, complex and dynamic. Many of Indigenous scholars share commonalities across the diversity of their nations regarding Indigenous knowledge (Absolon, 1993; Battiste & Henderson, 2000b; Benton-Banai, 1988; Brant Castellano, 2000; Cajete, 2000; Colorado, 1988; Fitznor, 1998; Graveline, 2000; Gunn Allen, 1986, 1991; Hart, 2002; Henderson, 2000a; Holmes, 2000; Kovach, 2005; Martin, 2002; Nabigon, 2006; Thomas, 2005). "There is a communal ideology and unique worldview between and among the Indigenous peoples of the world. This common thread is inherent in most indigenous cultures despite the severity and sustained duration of the colonial impact …" (Solomon & Wane, 2005, p. 54). For example, Indigenous knowledge is consistently referred to as wholistic. That is a given. Additionally, "most Aboriginal worldviews and languages are formulated by experiencing an ecosystem" (Henderson, 2000a, p. 259). Indigenous worldviews teach people to see themselves humbly within a larger web or circle of life. It is both feminine and masculine and acknowledges the roles of both men and women. The Earth is feminine and the Sun is masculine – both are necessary for life to exist. Men's work and women's work may be different, but they are interdependent and contribute to a healthy whole. Interrelationships and interdependence within this circle create a consciousness of relationality within all of creation.

Indigenous knowledge comes from ancestral teachings that are spiritual and sacred in origin (Ermine, 1995). It exists in our visions, dreams, ceremonies, songs, dances, and prayers. It is not knowledge that comes solely from books. It is lived knowledge, experiential knowledge and enacted knowledge. It is cyclical and circular, and follows the natural laws of creation. Indigenous knowledge is earth centered with ecology-based philosophies derived out of respect for the harmony and balance within all living beings of creation. Indigenous knowledge occupied itself with the past, present and future. The past guides our present and in our present we must consider the generations to come. Indigenous

knowledge lies in our stories and narratives and within our oral traditions. It exists in our relationships to one another and to all of creation. Indigenous knowledge exists in the animals, birds, land, plants, trees and creation. Relationships among family and kinship systems exist within human, spiritual, plant, and animal realms. Indigenous knowledge systems consider all directions of life: east, south, west, north, beneath, above and ground levels. Life is considered sacred and all life forms are considered to have a spirit. We manifest this knowledge in our humility in offering thanks for life and in seeking life's direction. Indigenous knowledge has enabled Indigenous nations to live in harmony and balance with the earth, without harm. Our ancestors have used their knowledge to respect the laws of creation, while subsisting on the land, since time immemorial. Thus, practice that is derived from Indigenous knowledge would certainly entail methods that demonstrate respect and reverence within these understandings. Healing centers today, for example, have programs and services reconnecting people to the land, plants, medicines and elements. Youth programs venture outdoors where the natural world fosters and participates in the healing and recovery needs of young adults. Sitting by a fire is peaceful and water fosters a sense of serenity and calmness. Earth's elements are healing elements too.

Our ancestors sit in the Western doorway and when we use spiritual protocols in our practices we are sending our thoughts into the spirit world. The significance of ancestors cannot be ignored. Many Indigenous people pay homage to the ancestors and turn to sacred ceremonies to tap into and seek out ancestral knowledge. Healers and medicine keepers work with healing ceremonies and invoke the ancestors and use of sacred medicines to facilitate healing practices. Recognition of the ancestors implies an acknowledgement of the cycles of life and death as natural life cycles. Funerals and burials involve teachings of life and death, which facilitates the grieving process for family and community. Indigenous communities have high incidences of death and loss and our capacity to cope and survive such tremendous losses is fostered through our ceremonies and cultural understandings of life and death. Death and dying, grief and loss are among common issues that confront Indigenous people. Higher mortality rates plague Indigenous communities and depression is often connected to unresolved grief and trauma. Loss has been felt with loss of people and family members, loss of language, culture, land, freedom, movement, subsistence and livelihood. The losses are many and are vitally important when considering issues of unresolved grief and loss. Importantly though, Indigenous theory has teachings which reflect understandings of life and death.

In contextualizing the loss of culture, language, traditions, community, land, and family this doorway casts our attention toward the political arena to further develop an understanding of the politics of colonization and its impact on Indigeniety, governance, livelihood, subsistence, freedom, land bases, and living an Indigenous way of life. The extent to which assimilation policies and oppressive tactics diminished Indigenous peoples good life cannot be underestimated historically and currently. We need to have a political analysis to understand why families do not know their life cycle ceremonies or why children were forced to attend residential schools. We need to understand the lack of choice and free will and forced erosion of the culture and language so that we do not perpetuate a 'blaming the victim' stance in our practice. For example, while working at the community level, I recall people blaming members in their own community and negatively labeling them 'Bill C-31ers'. Their remarks indicated that they thought 'Bill C-31ers' were undeserving of their membership, housing and treaty entitlements. Consequently, I engaged them in critical education about the nature of Bill C-31 (an Indian Act amendment) and the history of the Indian Act and sexism instituted in it. Many of our people don't have this knowledge set and so Indigenous wholistic theory calls for practitioners to become critically literate and critical educators to their clients to begin teaching individuals, families and communities about the colonization of Indigenous peoples on their own land. We must develop anti-colonial practices and consider issues of power and oppression in areas of health, social welfare, child welfare, justice, mental health, family and community services. In this sense, this doorway calls for a power analysis and an understanding of power and social constructions of health and illness.

In summary, the theoretical elements of Indigenous wholistic theory of Niingaabii'ong, the Western doorway acknowledge the mental aspects of the whole where reason and respect are addressed. This doorway specifically:

- Recognizes ancestors, ancestral knowledge and power
- Acknowledge the mental aspects and power of knowledge
- Asserts and respects Indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing
- Applies a critical analysis and knowledge of the political contexts of practice
- Develops critiques of the mechanisms of colonialism and engages in critical literacy and critical education with Indigenous communities
- Is anti-colonial in practice and works to counter colonial ideologies
- Acknowledges the ancestors and cycles of life and death

GIIWEDINONG: In the North

The Northern doorway, Giiwedinong, brings forth teachings of healing, doing and movement. In this realm the

physical elements are acknowledged and physical action and movement are located. Giiwedinong brings the Winter and healing. When all the other three directions are in place, the teachings of the Northern doorway are operationalized and it is with consciousness of all the doorways that action occurs in a conscious and healing way. Methods of practice are recognized in this doorway as 'doing'. As an example, I suggest the reader locate a recent publication edited by Raven Sinclair, Michael Hart and Gord Bruyere entitled Wicihitowin *Aboriginal Social Work in Canada* (2009), which provides many excellent contextual chapters on Indigenous based social work practice. What we do is addressed in the northern doorway and winds of change gift us with opportunities to heal. In practice, the following quote poses good questions for consideration when bringing forth healing practices.

> *In many Indigenous societies some of the questions they are constantly asking are, How much of the sacred healing practices can they share? Would these practices work out of context? Is it possible to re-create rituals of healing outside of the healers' community? Each healing practice is unique to the individual requiring healing and to the healer.* (Solomon & Wane, 2005, p. 53)

Some people will not discuss or share sacred healing practices, but there are now common practices among Indigenous peoples that are readily identified. Indigenous based practices ought to recognize the disconnection that colonial mechanism created and engage to reconnect people through collective processes. Circle processes or circle talk was named as a viable methods for working with Indigenous groups and communities (Graveline, 2000; Hart, 1996; Steinhauser, 2001; TeHennepe, 1997; Weenie, 1998). I agree that, "[m]any indigenes have growing interest in returning to their sacred teachings and ceremonies and will continue to follow their traditions to sustain themselves and to help the generations to come" (Solomon & Wane, 2005, p. 53). 'Protocols', 'circles', and 'sharing' are common Indigenous practices that bring people together for sharing, learning and healing. Circles processes counter the isolation and alienation that many Indigenous people experience in relation to the issues and concerns they face. Sometimes we don't know what we don't know until exposed to knowledge and experiences of others. Only when fed with accurate information can we develop in our understanding and knowledge. The following story was told to me by one of my mentors and has helped create an understanding of patience and care within the healing journey:

> *Once there was a starving human without food or water, alone on a raft for a long, long time – salt water surrounded the raft and was undrinkable. More time passed and this person is one day discovered by another human who is able to recognize the thirst and hunger and not be afraid of it. This human offers the diseased, sickly and starving person a dropper of water - not a whole meal but only a slight drop of water. Slowly the human absorbs the drop and then is given another drop. A few drops of water turn into a dropper of water over time. The dropper of water is tolerable and digestible; a full meal would not be. In time, that dehydrated person is able to drink more and more and more. And over time this human begins to acquire an appetite and over time develops an incredible hunger and yearning to be fed: the dropper is no longer enough. The hunger and yearning become the drive for more food… and is ready to digest food…*

Learning about our truths and sharing collective pains is a process that occurs in time. Sitting in many sacred circles (women's circles and mixed gender circles), through listening and listening, and sharing and dialoguing as we fed each other droppers of water taught me about patience and acceptance. Our thirst and yearning for knowledge is quenched through the listening to others' stories and experiences and drawing on our collective strengths. Acquiring the knowledge and understanding is a life long journey and circle processes provide a culturally congruent means. Our feast therefore is a series of "droppers of water" through conversations and dialogues, and not the eating of one large meal. Healing is fostered, friendships develop and relationships between the people are restored. Within the circle process many formats have been shared in terms of amount of people and length. Michael Hart (2002) has researched and worked with circles for many years and his book *Seeking Mino-pimatisiwin* is a good resource. Additionally, I would add that methods of gathering people together are varied, but one thing for sure is that food is central to any successful gathering. Feeding people in a loving and good way will fuel a positive environment and nurture optimistic feelings. Rod McCormick (2005) presents a worthy chapter where Indigenous practices toward a healing path are summarized. He identifies the healing path and outlines the role of "spirituality in healing, the role of nature, the role of cleansing, the role of culture in healing, the model of the circle and Medicine Wheel, the concept of balance, the role of connection, and the role of ceremony in healing" (p. 293-294). It explains healing approaches and practices that utilize Indigenous methods while integrating concepts such as connection, balance, nature and wholism. His chapter is useful because he links these approaches to counselling and therapy with individuals, groups and communities. Indigenous healing processes are identified as wholistic, multifaceted and diverse where sharing is facilitated in through a variety of paths.

I had the privilege, at a young age, of being a student of traditional teachers and was given teachings to live, practice

and share. I also had the privilege of growing up in the bush. I acknowledge these privileges because of the institutional racism that severed many First Nations' from their inherent right to the traditions and values of our many cultures. All Indigenous people, I believe should have their teachings with them. My responsibility has been to internalize the teachings into who I am and honour them in the way I live. I cannot lose them or have them stolen - they exist as a part of me - in my mind, my body and my spirit and heart. For these tremendous gifts I am most grateful. Relearning the cultural teachings, worldview and philosophies of my people has been my personal and professional methodology of practice. Committing to relearning our culture and language as a methodology for emancipatory and liberating practice is now essential to my life and work. If I am able to offer Indigenous people something, I want it to be based within Anishinaabe epistemology.

Diversity is another concept of this doorway and actions of practice ought to reflect the diverse manifestations of colonialism and internalized colonialism. People have diverse experiences and not all Indigenous people aspire to be traditional or have traditional knowledge. Indigenous people are also Christian and traditional or neither. Some people are assimilated into Canadian society and like it that way. Indigenous people are diverse in their linguistics, lifestyles, culture and way of life. Families are diverse and communities are diverse. Community governance structures can be diverse and the operations of programs may reflect cultural and organizational diversity. Communities may vary in their priorities, goals and objectives. Land bases are diverse and livelihoods will also be diverse. Nations across Canada are very diverse as are the linguistic groupings. Programming that might work in one community may not be appropriate for another because of the unique conditions and situations that exist within communities. Distinct community based strategies will require specific considerations relative to each community.

Additionally, economic conditions among Indigenous people are diverse, though there is a prevalence of poverty and low socio-economic status. The high incidences of unemployment and the poor housing conditions continue (Wesley-Esquimaux & Smolewski, 2004). Some communities struggle with poor qualities of drinking water and sewage systems. The physical conditions under which some Indigenous people exist are deplorable. A socio economic analysis of poverty, unemployment, housing, homelessness and other consequences of the economic marginalization of a peoples in a colonial and racist society is required to refute any notion that Indigenous people are poor because of stereotypical notions of being lazy, drunk or stupid. One need only look at the peasant farming policies in the prairies in the late 1800's to realize the governments agenda was to maintain Indigenous people as the working poor and did so by creating glass ceilings on profit margins in farming (Carter, 1990). Because of racism, oppressive Federal policies, fiscal erosions, and reneging on fiduciary responsibilities, Indigenous people have retained sub-standard economic status. Understanding the economics of Indigenous peoples lives requires a structural economic analysis. This understanding will foster a compassionate lens from which you perceive the people and their conditions. I believe this analysis prevents a blaming the victim and redirects the problem to the institutions and structures.

In summary, the theoretical elements of Indigenous wholistic theory of Giiwedinong, the Northern doorway acknowledge the physical aspects of the whole where methods of practice and action are. This doorway specifically:

- Recognizes the healing in being and doing
- Calls for action and movement
- Acknowledges the collective work
- Addresses methodologies of practice from Indigenous frameworks such as sharing or teaching circles, ceremonies, use of nature, and process oriented action
- Healing as a restoration of balance using tools such as the Medicine Wheel
- The diversity within Indigenous contexts
- Encourages a socio-economic analysis to contemporary conditions

CENTER SHKODE

The center shkode (fire) is where the fire exists and where all four doorways intersect and interrelate. The center is where balance and harmony exist when all aspects are living in harmony and balance. The center fire could also represent Self in relation to all else. It is the essence of self and the manifestation of the whole. In summary, the Center Fire represents a coming together of all four directions and Willie Ermine (1995) tells us more about this center fire of the Self:

> *Aboriginal epistemology is grounded in the self, the spirit, the unknown. Understanding of the universe must be grounded in the spirit. Knowledge must be sought through the stream of the inner space in unison with all instruments of knowing and conditions that make individuals receptive to knowing. Ultimately it was in the self that Aboriginal people discovered great resources for coming to grips with life's mysteries. It was in the self that the richest source of information could be found by delving into the metaphysical and the nature and origin of knowledge. Aboriginal epistemology speaks of pondering great mysteries that lie not further than the self.* (p. 108)

The center represents the fire of life where all directions meet and locates the teachings of integration, balance, interconnections, and holism. The center also represents the Self - the essence of the cumulative aspects of self: the spirit, heart, mind and body. Utilizing a wholistic analysis enables practitioners to better understand people in their whole context as the center really represents the cumulative aspects of all four doorways.

Each doorway in isolation from the others is insufficient. All doorways are interdependent, interconnected and make up the collective whole. An Indigenous wholistic theory of practice considers all four doorways and their elements. For example, an Indigenous worldview effects how people see themselves in relation to their community and themselves. Recognizing cultural knowledge implies the existence of methods of healing and practice that have been exercised and applied in Indigenous contexts. Wholistic practice means to honour the balance and respect all the directions in programming, policy and practice. For example: create programs that feed the spirit (using medicines of sweetgrass, sage, tobacco and cedar; ceremonies and circle format), the emotions (the internalized inferiority, fear, shame, anger, pain and self-hate), the mind (educating First Nations workers and shareholders[4] about the authentic history, the nature of their own experience, decolonizing our minds and unlearning racism, and dealing with our internalized racism and inferiority), and the body (addressing the symptoms of racism that First Nations people, workers and leaders carry with them as baggage that result in low self-esteem, substance and personal abuse, family violence and suicide).

Indigenous knowledge is a lived knowledge meaning that you must practice what you know and be what you do. There is no distinction between living and working. Indigenous knowledge is a way of life. For Indigenous helpers to continue to develop their knowledge and understanding into practice they must be provided with opportunities to learn. Professional development for Indigenous helpers means those helpers need to be supported to attend ceremonies and traditional venues so they can learn how to pick up their knowledge bundles. Traditional knowledge is transmitted and passed on at ceremonies and that is where we learn the teachings and protocols.

Workers need to be aware of Indigenous peoples' contexts and within Indigenous contexts is where capacity is developed. Community based education directed at capacity building and critical education fosters peoples' abilities to control their own needs and program directions. Building a solid foundation for any initiative is paramount to its success. Any community based initiative ought to have an anti-colonial agenda coupled with an affirmation and presence of Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing. Staff education will, in part, address an authentic movement of healing and will begin to truly reflect Indigenous wholism in practice. Professional development is also about cultural development and a commitment to providing cultural teachings and language lessons empowers helpers in their own identity and knowledge set. In essence, practice and programming based on Indigenous theory ought to support workers to be strong and healthy in terms of clear minds, strong spirits, healthy bodies and healing hearts. A genuine and real movement addresses and deals with the internalized oppression of First Nations peoples. It also includes and addresses symbolic components of culture and spirituality in a complementary fashion and in way that strengthens and heals our spirit, bodies, and heart.

This article was set forth to present an Indigenous wholistic theory as a knowledge set for practice. I utilized the concepts of concentric circles and four directions. As I travelled around the circle I discussed some elements related to each direction eventually leading to the place where all components intersect. Indigenous wholistic theory is cyclical, circular and wholistic. Oral traditions were typically the venue for transmitting such knowledge. Utilizing visuals is one method to try to lift the words and concepts off the page. Ironically, Indigenous theory is not something one can acquire vicariously or by reading a book. It is a living phenomenon. This representation of Indigenous wholistic theory can be elaborated upon much further. My hope is to convey a theory that is based on the culture and traditions of Indigenous worldviews; is anti-colonial in its perspective; is wholistic and cyclical; and is ecologically derived. Spiritual and natural laws direct the protocols from which these methodologies are derived. Understanding and learning Indigenous wholistic theory is simultaneously simple and complex. It is both fluid and concrete. B'maadisiwin is the good life we strive for and the Creator gave us all that we need to heal ourselves wholistically. Indigenous ways of knowing, being and doing have worked for our ancestors and can be translated into contemporary contexts. Our nations are not bankrupt. We have the spirit of our ancestors and strength of knowledge and theory that has a capability to heal ourselves, our families, our communities, nations and the earth. Indigenous wholistic theory is a theory for balance, harmony and B'maadisiwin. *Chi'miigwech. All my relations!*

4 I learnt of this term at Kii-Kee-Wan-Nii-Kaan Healing Lodge where the term shareholder was used in lieu of client as shareholders indicated that people have a stake & investment in their own wellness where their wellness journey is a mutual process. I liked the application of the term shareholder.

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Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society
Vol. 1, No. 1, 2012, pp. 1-40

Decolonization is not a metaphor

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Abstract
Our goal in this article is to remind readers what is unsettling about decolonization. Decolonization brings about the repatriation of Indigenous land and life; it is not a metaphor for other things we want to do to improve our societies and schools. The easy adoption of decolonizing discourse by educational advocacy and scholarship, evidenced by the increasing number of calls to "decolonize our schools," or use "decolonizing methods," or, "decolonize student thinking", turns decolonization into a metaphor. As important as their goals may be, social justice, critical methodologies, or approaches that decenter settler perspectives have objectives that may be incommensurable with decolonization. Because settler colonialism is built upon an entangled triad structure of settler-native-slave, the decolonial desires of white, non-white, immigrant, postcolonial, and oppressed people, can similarly be entangled in resettlement, reoccupation, and reinhabitation that actually further settler colonialism. The metaphorization of decolonization makes possible a set of evasions, or "settler moves to innocence", that problematically attempt to reconcile settler guilt and complicity, and rescue settler futurity. In this article, we analyze multiple settler moves towards innocence in order to forward "an ethic of incommensurability" that recognizes what is distinct and what is sovereign for project(s) of decolonization in relation to human and civil rights based social justice projects. We also point to unsettling themes within transnational/Third World decolonizations, abolition, and critical space-place pedagogies, which challenge the coalescence of social justice endeavors, making room for more meaningful potential alliances.

Keywords: *decolonization, settler colonialism, settler moves to innocence, incommensurability, Indigenous land, decolonizing education*

> Decolonization, which sets out to change the order of the world, is, obviously, a program of complete disorder. But it cannot come as a result of magical practices, nor of a natural shock, nor of a friendly understanding. Decolonization, as we know, is a historical process: that is to say it cannot be understood, it cannot become intelligible nor clear to itself except in the exact measure that we can discern the movements which give it historical form and content.
>
> *-Franz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, 1963, p. 36*

> Let us admit it, the settler knows perfectly well that no phraseology can be a substitute for reality.
>
> *-Franz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, 1963, p. 45*

Introduction

For the past several years we have been working, in our writing and teaching, to bring attention to how settler colonialism has shaped schooling and educational research in the United States and other settler colonial nation-states. These are two distinct but overlapping tasks, the first concerned with how the invisibilized dynamics of settler colonialism mark the organization, governance, curricula, and assessment of compulsory learning, the other concerned with how settler perspectives and worldviews get to count as knowledge and research and how these perspectives - repackaged as data and findings - are activated in order to rationalize and maintain unfair social structures. We are doing this work alongside many others who - somewhat relentlessly, in writings, meetings, courses, and activism - don't allow the real and symbolic violences of settler colonialism to be overlooked.

Alongside this work, we have been thinking about what decolonization means, what it wants and requires. One trend we have noticed, with growing apprehension, is the ease with which the language of decolonization has been superficially adopted into education and other social sciences, supplanting prior ways of talking about social justice, critical methodologies, or approaches which decenter settler perspectives. Decolonization, which we assert is a distinct project from other civil and human rights-based social justice projects, is far too often subsumed into the directives of these projects, with no regard for how decolonization wants something different than those forms of justice. Settler scholars swap out prior civil and human rights based terms, seemingly to signal both an awareness of the significance of Indigenous and decolonizing theorizations of schooling and educational research, and to include Indigenous peoples on the list of considerations - as an additional special (ethnic) group or class. At a conference on educational research, it is not uncommon to hear speakers refer, almost casually, to the need to "decolonize our schools," or use "decolonizing methods," or "decolonize student thinking." Yet, we have observed a startling number of these discussions make no mention of Indigenous

peoples, our/their[1] struggles for the recognition of our/their sovereignty, or the contributions of Indigenous intellectuals and activists to theories and frameworks of decolonization. Further, there is often little recognition given to the immediate context of settler colonialism on the North American lands where many of these conferences take place.

Of course, dressing up in the language of decolonization is not as offensive as "Navajo print" underwear sold at a clothing chain store (Gaynor, 2012) and other appropriations of Indigenous cultures and materials that occur so frequently. Yet, this kind of inclusion is a form of enclosure, dangerous in how it domesticates decolonization. It is also a foreclosure, limiting in how it recapitulates dominant theories of social change. On the occasion of the inaugural issue of *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, & Society*, we want to be sure to clarify that decolonization is not a metaphor. When metaphor invades decolonization, it kills the very possibility of decolonization; it recenters whiteness, it resettles theory, it extends innocence to the settler, it entertains a settler future. Decolonize (a verb) and decolonization (a noun) cannot easily be grafted onto pre-existing discourses/frameworks, even if they are critical, even if they are anti-racist, even if they are justice frameworks. The easy absorption, adoption, and transposing of decolonization is yet another form of settler appropriation. When we write about decolonization, we are not offering it as a metaphor; it is not an approximation of other experiences of oppression. Decolonization is not a swappable term for other things we want to do to improve our societies and schools. Decolonization doesn't have a synonym.

Our goal in this essay is to remind readers what is unsettling about decolonization - what is unsettling and what should be unsettling. Clearly, we are advocates for the analysis of settler colonialism within education and education research and we position the work of Indigenous thinkers as central in unlocking the confounding aspects of public schooling. We, at least in part, want others to join us in these efforts, so that settler colonial structuring and Indigenous critiques of that structuring are no longer rendered invisible. Yet, this joining cannot be too easy, too open, too settled. Solidarity is an uneasy, reserved, and unsettled matter that neither reconciles present grievances nor forecloses future conflict. There are parts of the decolonization project that are not easily absorbed by human rights or civil rights based approaches to educational equity. In this essay, we think about what decolonization wants.

There is a long and bumbled history of non-Indigenous peoples making moves to alleviate the impacts of colonization. The too-easy adoption of decolonizing discourse (making decolonization a metaphor) is just one part of that history and it taps into pre-existing tropes that get in the way of more meaningful potential alliances. We think of the enactment of these tropes as a series of *moves to innocence* (Malwhinney, 1998), which problematically attempt to reconcile settler guilt and complicity, and rescue settler futurity. Here, to explain why decolonization is and requires more than a metaphor, we discuss some of these moves to innocence:

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[1] As an Indigenous scholar and a settler/trespasser/scholar writing together, we have used forward slashes to reflect our discrepant positionings in our pronouns throughout this essay.

i. Settler nativism
ii. Fantasizing adoption
iii. Colonial equivocation
iv. Conscientization
v. At risk-ing / Asterisk-ing Indigenous peoples
vi. Re-occupation and urban homesteading

Such moves ultimately represent settler fantasies of easier paths to reconciliation. Actually, we argue, attending to what is irreconcilable within settler colonial relations and what is incommensurable between decolonizing projects and other social justice projects will help to reduce the frustration of attempts at solidarity; but the attention won't get anyone off the hook from the hard, unsettling work of decolonization. Thus, we also include a discussion of interruptions that unsettle innocence and recognize incommensurability.

The set of settler colonial relations

Generally speaking, postcolonial theories and theories of coloniality attend to two forms of colonialism[2]. *External colonialism* (also called exogenous or exploitation colonization) denotes the expropriation of fragments of Indigenous worlds, animals, plants and human beings, extracting them in order to transport them to - and build the wealth, the privilege, or feed the appetites of - the colonizers, who get marked as the first world. This includes so-thought 'historic' examples such as opium, spices, tea, sugar, and tobacco, the extraction of which continues to fuel colonial efforts. This form of colonialism also includes the feeding of contemporary appetites for diamonds, fish, water, oil, humans turned workers, genetic material, cadmium and other essential minerals for high tech devices. External colonialism often requires a subset of activities properly called military colonialism - the creation of war fronts/frontiers against enemies to be conquered, and the enlistment of foreign land, resources, and people into military operations. In external colonialism, all things Native become recast as 'natural resources' - bodies and earth for war, bodies and earth for chattel.

The other form of colonialism that is attended to by postcolonial theories and theories of coloniality is *internal colonialism*, the biopolitical and geopolitical management of people, land, flora and fauna within the "domestic" borders of the imperial nation. This involves the use of

[2] Colonialism is not just a symptom of capitalism. Socialist and communist empires have also been settler empires (e.g. Chinese colonialism in Tibet). "In other words," writes Sandy Grande, "both Marxists and capitalists view land and natural resources as commodities to be exploited, in the first instance, by capitalists for personal gain, and in the second by Marxists for the good of all" (2004, p.27). Capitalism and the state are technologies of colonialism, developed over time to further colonial projects. Racism is an invention of colonialism (Silva, 2007). The current colonial era goes back to 1492, when colonial imaginary goes global.

particularized modes of control - prisons, ghettos, minoritizing, schooling, policing - to ensure the ascendancy of a nation and its white[3] elite. These modes of control, imprisonment, and involuntary transport of the human beings across borders - ghettos, their policing, their economic divestiture, and their dislocatability - are at work to authorize the metropole and conscribe her periphery. Strategies of internal colonialism, such as segregation, divestment, surveillance, and criminalization, are both structural and interpersonal.

Our intention in this descriptive exercise is not be exhaustive, or even inarguable; instead, we wish to emphasize that (a) decolonization will take a different shape in each of these contexts - though they can overlap[4] - and that (b) neither external nor internal colonialism adequately describe the form of colonialism which operates in the United States or other nation-states in which the colonizer comes to stay. *Settler colonialism* operates through internal/external colonial modes simultaneously because there is no spatial separation between metropole and colony. For example, in the United States, many Indigenous peoples have been forcibly removed from their homelands onto reservations, indentured, and abducted into state custody, signaling the form of colonization as simultaneously internal (via boarding schools and other biopolitical modes of control) and external (via uranium mining on Indigenous land in the US Southwest and oil extraction on Indigenous land in Alaska) with a frontier (the US military still nicknames all enemy territory "Indian Country"). The horizons of the settler colonial nation-state are total and require a mode of total appropriation of Indigenous life and land, rather than the selective expropriation of profit-producing fragments.

Settler colonialism is different from other forms of colonialism in that settlers come with the intention of making a new home on the land, a homemaking that insists on settler sovereignty over all things in their new domain. Thus, relying solely on postcolonial literatures or theories of coloniality that ignore settler colonialism will not help to envision the shape that decolonization must take in settler colonial contexts. Within settler colonialism, the most important concern is land/water/air/subterranean earth (land, for shorthand, in this article.) Land is what is most valuable, contested, required. This is both because the settlers make Indigenous land their new home and source of capital, and also because the disruption of Indigenous relationships to land represents a profound epistemic, ontological, cosmological violence. This violence is not temporally contained in the arrival of the settler but is reasserted each day of occupation. This is why Patrick Wolfe (1999) emphasizes that settler colonialism is a structure and not an event. In the process of settler colonialism, land is remade into property and human relationships to land are restricted to the relationship of the owner to his property. Epistemological, ontological, and cosmological relationships to land are interred, indeed made pre-modern and backward. Made savage.

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[3] In using terms as "white" and "whiteness", we are acknowledging that whiteness extends beyond phenotype.

[4] We don't treat internal/external as a taxonomy of colonialisms. They describe two operative modes of colonialism. The modes can overlap, reinforce, and contradict one another, and do so through particular legal, social, economic and political processes that are context specific.

In order for the settlers to make a place their home, they must destroy and disappear the Indigenous peoples that live there. Indigenous peoples are those who have creation stories, not colonization stories, about how we/they came to be in a particular place - indeed how we/they came to *be a place*. Our/their relationships to land comprise our/their epistemologies, ontologies, and cosmologies. For the settlers, Indigenous peoples are in the way and, in the destruction of Indigenous peoples, Indigenous communities, and over time and through law and policy, Indigenous peoples' claims to land under settler regimes, land is recast as property and as a resource. Indigenous peoples must be erased, must be made into ghosts (Tuck and Ree, forthcoming).

At the same time, settler colonialism involves the subjugation and forced labor of chattel slaves[5], whose bodies and lives become the property, and who are kept landless. Slavery in settler colonial contexts is distinct from other forms of indenture whereby *excess labor* is extracted from persons. First, chattels are commodities of labor and therefore it is the slave's *person* that is the excess. Second, unlike workers who may aspire to own land, the slave's very presence on the land is already an excess that must be dis-located. Thus, the slave is a desirable commodity but the person underneath is imprisonable, punishable, and murderable. The violence of keeping/killing the chattel slave makes them deathlike monsters in the settler imagination; they are reconfigured/disfigured as the threat, the razor's edge of safety and terror.

The settler, if known by his actions and how he justifies them, sees himself as holding dominion over the earth and its flora and fauna, as the anthropocentric normal, and as more developed, more human, more deserving than other groups or species. The settler is making a new "home" and that home is rooted in a homesteading worldview where the wild land and wild people were made for his benefit. He can only make his identity as a settler by making the land produce, and produce excessively, because "civilization" is defined as production in excess of the "natural" world (i.e. in excess of the sustainable production already present in the Indigenous world). In order for excess production, he needs excess labor, which he cannot provide himself. The chattel slave serves as that excess labor, labor that can never be paid because payment would have to be in the form of property (land). The settler's wealth is land, or a fungible version of it, and so payment for labor is impossible.[6] The settler positions himself as both superior and normal; the settler is natural, whereas the Indigenous inhabitant and the chattel slave are unnatural, even supernatural.

Settlers are not immigrants. Immigrants are beholden to the Indigenous laws and epistemologies of the lands they migrate to. Settlers become the law, supplanting Indigenous

[5] As observed by Erica Neeganagwedgin (2012), these two groups are not always distinct. Neeganagwedgin presents a history of the enslavement of Indigenous peoples in Canada as chattel slaves. In California, Mexico, and the U.S. Southwest under the Spanish mission system, Indigenous people were removed from their land and also made into chattel slaves. Under U.S. colonization, California law stipulated that Indians could be murdered and/or indentured by any "person" (white, propertied, citizen). These laws remained in effect until 1937.

[6] See Kate McCoy (forthcoming) on settler crises in early Jamestown, Virginia to pay indentured European labor with land.

laws and epistemologies. Therefore, settler nations are not immigrant nations (See also A.J. Barker, 2009).

Not unique, the United States, as a settler colonial nation-state, also operates as an empire - utilizing external forms and internal forms of colonization simultaneous to the settler colonial project. This means, and this is perplexing to some, that dispossessed people are brought onto seized Indigenous land through other colonial projects. Other colonial projects include enslavement, as discussed, but also military recruitment, low-wage and high-wage labor recruitment (such as agricultural workers and overseas-trained engineers), and displacement/migration (such as the coerced immigration from nations torn by U.S. wars or devastated by U.S. economic policy). In this set of settler colonial relations, colonial subjects who are displaced by external colonialism, as well as racialized and minoritized by internal colonialism, still occupy and settle stolen Indigenous land. Settlers are diverse, not just of white European descent, and include people of color, even from other colonial contexts. This tightly wound set of conditions and racialized, globalized relations exponentially complicates what is meant by decolonization, and by solidarity, against settler colonial forces.

Decolonization in exploitative colonial situations could involve the seizing of imperial wealth by the postcolonial subject. In settler colonial situations, seizing imperial wealth is inextricably tied to settlement and re-invasion. Likewise, the promise of integration and civil rights is predicated on securing a share of a settler-appropriated wealth (as well as expropriated 'third-world' wealth). Decolonization in a settler context is fraught because empire, settlement, and internal colony have no spatial separation. Each of these features of settler colonialism in the US context - empire, settlement, and internal colony - make it a site of contradictory decolonial desires[7].

Decolonization as metaphor allows people to equivocate these contradictory decolonial desires because it turns decolonization into an empty signifier to be filled by any track towards liberation. In reality, the tracks walk all over land/people in settler contexts. Though the details are not fixed or agreed upon, in our view, decolonization in the settler colonial context must involve the repatriation of land simultaneous to the recognition of how land and relations to land have always already been differently understood and enacted; that is, *all* of the land, and not just symbolically. This is precisely why decolonization is necessarily unsettling, especially across lines of solidarity. "Decolonization never takes place unnoticed" (Fanon, 1963, p. 36). Settler colonialism and its decolonization implicates and unsettles everyone.

[7] Decolonization is further fraught because, although the setter-native-slave triad structures settler colonialism, this does not mean that settler, native, and slave are analogs that can be used to describe corresponding identities, structural locations, worldviews, and behaviors. Nor do they mutually constitute one another. For example, Indigenous is an identity independent of the triad, and also an ascribed structural location within the triad. Chattel slave is an ascribed structural position, but not an identity. Settler describes a set of behaviors, as well as a structural location, but is eschewed as an identity.

Playing Indian and the erasure of Indigenous peoples

Recently in a symposium on the significance of Liberal Arts education in the United States, Eve presented an argument that Liberal Arts education has historically excluded any attention to or analysis of settler colonialism. This, Eve posited, makes Liberal Arts education complicit in the project of settler colonialism and, more so, has rendered the truer project of Liberal Arts education something like trying to make the settler indigenous to the land he occupies. The attendees were titillated by this idea, nodding and murmuring in approval and it was then that Eve realized that she was trying to say something incommensurable with what they expected her to say. She was completely misunderstood. Many in the audience heard this observation: that the work of Liberal Arts education is in part to teach settlers to be indigenous, as something admirable, worthwhile, something wholesome, not as a problematic point of evidence about the reach of the settler colonial erasure.

Philip Deloria (1998) explores how and why the settler wants to be made indigenous, even if only through disguise, or other forms of *playing Indian*. Playing Indian is a powerful U.S. pastime, from the Boston Tea Party, to fraternal organizations, to new age trends, to even those aforementioned Native print underwear. Deloria maintains that, "From the colonial period to the present, the Indian has skulked in and out of the most important stories various Americans have told about themselves" (p. 5).

> The indeterminacy of American identities stems, in part, from the nation's inability to deal with Indian people. Americans wanted to feel a natural affinity with the continent, and it was Indians who could teach them such aboriginal closeness. Yet, in order to control the landscape they had to destroy the original inhabitants. (Deloria, 1998, p.5)

L. Frank Baum (author of *The Wizard of Oz*) famously asserted in 1890 that the safety of white settlers was only guaranteed by the "total annihilation of the few remaining Indians" (as quoted in Hastings, 2007). D.H. Lawrence, reading James Fenimore Cooper (discussed at length later in this article), Nathaniel Hawthorne, Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, Henry David Thoreau, Herman Melville, Walt Whitman and others for his *Studies in Classic American Literature* (1924), describes Americans' fascination with Indigeneity as one of simultaneous desire and repulsion (Deloria, 1998).

> "No place," Lawrence observed, "exerts its full influence upon a newcomer until the old inhabitant is dead or absorbed." Lawrence argued that in order to meet the "demon of the continent" head on and this finalize the "unexpressed spirit of America," white Americans needed either to destroy Indians of assimilate them into a white American world...both aimed at making Indians vanish from the landscape. (Lawrence, as quoted in Deloria, 1998, p. 4).

Everything within a settler colonial society strains to destroy or assimilate the Native in order to disappear them from the land - this is how a society can have multiple simultaneous and conflicting messages about Indigenous peoples, such as all Indians are dead, located in faraway reservations, that contemporary Indigenous people are less indigenous than prior generations, and that all Americans are a "little bit Indian." These desires to erase - to let time do its thing and wait for the older form of living to die out, or to even help speed things along (euthanize) because the death of pre-modern ways of life is thought to be inevitable - these are all desires for another kind of resolve to the colonial situation, resolved through the absolute and total destruction or assimilation of original inhabitants.

Numerous scholars have observed that Indigeneity prompts multiple forms of settler anxiety, even if only because the presence of Indigenous peoples - who make *a priori* claims to land and ways of being - is a constant reminder that the settler colonial project is incomplete (Fanon, 1963; Vine Deloria, 1988; Grande, 2004; Bruyneel, 2007). The easy adoption of decolonization as a metaphor (and nothing else) is a form of this anxiety, because it is a premature attempt at reconciliation. The absorption of decolonization by settler social justice frameworks is one way the settler, disturbed by her own settler status, tries to escape or contain the unbearable searchlight of complicity, of having harmed others just by being one's self. The desire to reconcile is just as relentless as the desire to disappear the Native; it is a desire to not have to deal with this (Indian) problem anymore.

Settler moves to innocence

We observe that another component of a desire to play Indian is a settler desire to be made innocent, to find some mercy or relief in face of the relentlessness of settler guilt and haunting (see Tuck and Ree, forthcoming, on mercy and haunting). Directly and indirectly benefitting from the erasure and assimilation of Indigenous peoples is a difficult reality for settlers to accept. The weight of this reality is uncomfortable; the misery of guilt makes one hurry toward any reprieve. In her 1998 Master's thesis, Janet Mawhinney analyzed the ways in which white people maintained and (re)produced white privilege in self-defined anti-racist settings and organizations.[8] She examined the role of storytelling and self-confession - which serves to equate stories of personal exclusion with stories of structural racism and exclusion - and what she terms 'moves to innocence,' or "strategies to remove involvement in and culpability for systems of domination" (p. 17). Mawhinney builds upon Mary Louise Fellows and Sherene Razack's (1998) conceptualization of, 'the race to innocence', "the process through which a woman comes to believe her own claim of subordination is the most urgent, and that she is unimplicated in the subordination of other women" (p. 335).

Mawhinney's thesis theorizes the self-positioning of white people as simultaneously the oppressed and never an oppressor, and as having an *absence of experience* of oppressive power

[8] Thank you to Neoma Mullens for introducing Eve to Mawhinney's concept of moves to innocence.

relations (p. 100). This simultaneous self-positioning afforded white people in various purportedly anti-racist settings to say to people of color, "I don't experience the problems you do, so I don't think about it," and "tell me what to do, you're the experts here" (p. 103). "The commonsense appeal of such statements," Malwhinney observes, enables white speakers to "utter them sanguine in [their] appearance of equanimity, is rooted in the normalization of a liberal analysis of power relations" (ibid.).

In the discussion that follows, we will do some work to identify and argue against a series of what we call 'settler moves to innocence'. Settler moves to innocence are those strategies or positionings that attempt to relieve the settler of feelings of guilt or responsibility without giving up land or power or privilege, without having to change much at all. In fact, settler scholars may gain professional kudos or a boost in their reputations for being so sensitive or self-aware. Yet settler moves to innocence are hollow, they only serve the settler. This discussion will likely cause discomfort in our settler readers, may embarrass you/us or make us/you feel implicated. Because of the racialized flights and flows of settler colonial empire described above, settlers are diverse - there are white settlers and brown settlers, and peoples in both groups make moves to innocence that attempt to deny and deflect their own complicity in settler colonialism. When it makes sense to do so, we attend to moves to innocence enacted differently by white people and by brown and Black people.

In describing settler moves to innocence, our goal is to provide a framework of excuses, distractions, and diversions from decolonization. We discuss some of the moves to innocence at greater length than others, mostly because some require less explanation and because others are more central to our initial argument for the demetaphorization of decolonization. We provide this framework so that we can be more impatient with each other, less likely to accept gestures and half-steps, and more willing to press for acts which unsettle innocence, which we discuss in the final section of this article.

Moves to innocence I: Settler nativism

In this move to innocence, settlers locate or invent a long-lost ancestor who is rumored to have had "Indian blood," and they use this claim to mark themselves as blameless in the attempted eradications of Indigenous peoples. There are numerous examples of public figures in the United States who "remember" a distant Native ancestor, including Nancy Reagan (who is said to be a descendant of Pocahontas) and, more recently, Elizabeth Warren[9] and many others, illustrating how commonplace settler nativism is. Vine Deloria Jr. discusses what he calls the Indian-grandmother complex in the following account from *Custer Died for Your Sins*:

[9] See Francie Latour's interview (June 1 2012) with Kim Tallbear for more information on the Elizabeth Warren example. In the interview, Tallbear asserts that Warren's romanticized claims and the accusations of fraud are evidence of ways in which people in the U.S. misunderstand Native American identity. Tallbear insists that to understand Native American identity, "you need to get outside of that binary, one-drop framework."

> During my three years as Executive Director of the National Congress of American Indians it was a rare day when some white [person] didn't visit my office and proudly proclaim that he or she was of Indian descent...
>
> At times I became quite defensive about being a Sioux when these white people had a pedigree that was so much more respectable than mine. But eventually I came to understand their need to identify as partially Indian and did not resent them. I would confirm their wildest stories about their Indian ancestry and would add a few tales of my own hoping that they would be able to accept themselves someday and leave us alone.
>
> Whites claiming Indian blood generally tend to reinforce mythical beliefs about Indians. All but one person I met who claimed Indian blood claimed it on their grandmother's side. I once did a projection backward and discovered that evidently most tribes were entirely female for the first three hundred years of white occupation. No one, it seemed, wanted to claim a male Indian as a forebear.
>
> It doesn't take much insight into racial attitudes to understand the real meaning of the Indian-grandmother complex that plagues certain white [people]. A male ancestor has too much of the aura of the savage warrior, the unknown primitive, the instinctive animal, to make him a respectable member of the family tree. But a young Indian princess? Ah, there was royalty for the taking. Somehow the white was linked with a noble house of gentility and culture if his grandmother was an Indian princess who ran away with an intrepid pioneer...
>
> While a real Indian grandmother is probably the nicest thing that could happen to a child, why is a remote Indian princess grandmother so necessary for many white [people]? Is it because they are afraid of being classed as foreigners? Do they need some blood tie with the frontier and its dangers in order to experience what it means to be an American? Or is it an attempt to avoid facing the guilt they bear for the treatment of the Indians? (1988, p. 2-4)

Settler nativism, or what Vine Deloria Jr. calls the Indian-grandmother complex, is a settler move to innocence because it is an attempt to deflect a settler identity, while continuing to enjoy settler privilege and occupying stolen land. Deloria observes that settler nativism is gendered and considers the reasons a storied Indian grandmother might have more appeal than an Indian grandfather. On one level, it can be expected that many settlers have an ancestor who was Indigenous and/or who was a chattel slave. This is precisely the habit of settler colonialism, which pushes humans into other human communities; strategies of rape and sexual violence, and also the ordinary attractions of human relationships, ensure that settlers have Indigenous and chattel slave ancestors.

Further, though race is a social construct, Indigenous peoples and chattel slaves, particularly slaves from the continent of Africa, were/are racialized differently in ways that support/ed the logics and aims of settler colonialism (the erasure of the Indigenous person and

the capture and containment of the slave). "Indians and Black people in the US have been racialized in opposing ways that reflect their antithetical roles in the formation of US society," Patrick Wolfe (2006) explains:

> Black people's enslavement produced an inclusive taxonomy that automatically enslaved the offspring of a slave and any other parent. In the wake of slavery, this taxonomy became fully racialized in the "one-drop rule," whereby any amount of African ancestry, no matter how remote, and regardless of phenotypical appearance, makes a person Black. (p. 387)

Kim Tallbear argues that the one-drop rule dominates understandings of race in the United States and, so, most people in the US have not been able to understand Indigenous identity (Latour, 2012). Through the one-drop rule, blackness in settler colonial contexts is *expansive*, ensuring that a slave/criminal status will be *inherited* by an expanding number of 'black' descendants. Yet, Indigenous peoples have been racialized in a profoundly different way. Native American-ness[10] is *subtractive*: Native Americans are constructed to become fewer in number and *less* Native, but never exactly white, over time. Our/their status as Indigenous peoples/first inhabitants is the basis of our/their land claims and the goal of settler colonialism is to diminish claims to land over generations (or sooner, if possible). That is, Native American is a racialization that portrays contemporary Indigenous generations to be less authentic, less Indigenous than every prior generation in order to ultimately phase out Indigenous claims to land and usher in settler claims to property. This is primarily done through blood quantum registries and policies, which were forced on Indigenous nations and communities and, in some cases, have overshadowed former ways of determining tribal membership.

Wolfe (2006) explains:

> For Indians, in stark contrast, non-Indian ancestry compromised their indigeneity, producing "half-breeds," a regime that persists in the form of blood quantum regulations. As opposed to enslaved people, whose reproduction augmented their owners' wealth, Indigenous people obstructed settlers' access to land, so their increase was counterproductive. In this way, the restrictive racial classification of Indians straightforwardly furthered the logic of elimination. (p. 387)

The racializations of Indigenous people and Black people in the US settler colonial nation-state are geared to ensure the ascendancy of white settlers as the true and rightful owners and occupiers of the land.

> In the national mythologies of such societies, it is believed that white people came first and that it is they who principally developed the land; Aboriginal peoples are presumed to be mostly dead or assimilated. European settlers thus *become* the

[10] Native American, then, can be a signifier for how Indigenous peoples (over 500 federally recognized tribes and nations in the U.S. alone) are racialized into one vanishing race in the U.S. settler-colonial context.

> original inhabitants and the group most entitled to the fruits of citizenship." (Razack, 2002, p. 1-2; emphasis original.)

In the racialization of whiteness, blood quantum rules are reversed so that white people can stay white, yet claim descendance from an Indian grandmother. In 1924, the Virginia legislature passed the Racial Integrity Act, which enforced the one-drop rule *except* for white people who claimed a distant Indian grandmother - the result of strong lobbying from the aristocratic "First Families of Virginia" who all claim to have descended from Pocahontas (including Nancy Reagan, born in 1921). Known as the Pocahontas Exception, this loophole allowed thousands of white people to claim Indian ancestry, while actual Indigenous people were reclassified as "colored" and disappeared off the public record[11].

Settler nativism, through the claiming of a long-lost ancestor, invests in these specific racializations of Indigenous people and Black people, and disbelieves the sovereign authority of Indigenous nations to determine tribal membership. Dakota scholar Kim Tallbear (in an interview on the recent Elizabeth Warren example), provides an account that echoes and updates Deloria's account. Speaking to the many versions of settler nativism she has encountered, in which people say,

> "My great-great grandmother was an Indian princess." [or] "I'm descended from Pocohantas." What Elizabeth Warren said about the high cheekbones, I've had so many people from across the political spectrum say things that strange or stranger. And my point is, maybe you do have some remote ancestor. So what? You don't just get to decide you're Cherokee if the community does not recognize you as such (as quoted in Latour, 2012).

Ancestry is different from tribal membership; Indigenous identity and tribal membership are questions that Indigenous communities alone have the right to struggle over and define, not DNA tests, heritage websites, and certainly not the settler state. Settler nativism is about imagining an Indian past and a settler future; in contrast, tribal sovereignty has provided for an Indigenous present and various Indigenous intellectuals theorize decolonization as Native futures without a settler state.

Moves to innocence II: Settler adoption fantasies

Describing acts of passing, Sara Ahmed (2000) asserts the importance of being able to replace "the stranger", or take the place of the other, in the consolidation and (re)affirmation of white identity. To "become without becoming," is to reproduce "the other as 'not-I' *within* rather than *beyond* the structure of the 'I'" (p. 132). Sherene Razack, reading Ahmed, tells us that

[11] The 1940 Census only recorded 198 Indians in the State of Virginia. 6 out of 8 tribes in Virginia are currently unable to obtain federal recognition because of the racial erasure under the Racial Integrity Act (Fiske, 2004).

appropriating the other's pain occurs when, "we think we are recognizing not only the other's pain but his or her difference. Difference becomes the conduit of identification in much the same way as pain does" (Razack, 2007, p. 379). Discussing the film *Dances with Wolves* (a cinematic fiction of a Union soldier in the post-bellum Civil War era who befriends and protects the Lakota Sioux, who are represented as a noble, dying race), Ahmed critically engages the narrative, in which a white man (played by Kevin Costner) comes to respect the Sioux,

> to the point of being able to dance their dances...the white man in this example is able to 'to become without becoming' (Ahmed, 2000, p. 32)...He alone is transformed through his encounter with the Sioux, while they remain the mechanism for his transformation. He becomes the authentic knower while they remain what is to be known and consumed, and spit out again, as good Indians who confirm the white man's position as hero of the story...the Sioux remain objects, while Kevin Costner is able to go anywhere and be anything. (Ahmed's analysis, as discussed by Razack, 2007, p. 379).

For the purposes of this article, we locate the desire to *become without becoming [Indian]* within settler adoption fantasies. These fantasies can mean the adoption of Indigenous practices and knowledge, but more, refer to those narratives in the settler colonial imagination in which the Native (understanding that he is becoming extinct) hands over his land, his claim to the land, his very Indian-ness to the settler for safe-keeping. This is a fantasy that is invested in a settler futurity and dependent on the foreclosure of an Indigenous futurity.

Settler adoption fantasies are longstanding narratives in the United States, fueled by rare instances of ceremonial "adoptions", from John Smith's adoption in 1607 by Powhatan (Pocahontas' father), to Lewis Henry Morgan's adoption in 1847 by Seneca member Jimmy Johnson, to the recent adoption of actor Johnny Depp by the family of LaDonna Harris, a Comanche woman and social activist. As sovereign nations, tribes make decisions about who is considered a member, so our interest is not in whether adoptions are appropriate or legitimate. Rather, because the prevalence of the adoption narrative in American literature, film, television, holidays and history books far exceeds the actual occurrences of adoptions, we are interested in how this narrative spins a fantasy that an individual settler can become innocent, indeed heroic and indigenized, against a backdrop of national guilt. The adoption fantasy is the mythical trump card desired by critical settlers who feel remorse about settler colonialism, one that absolves them from the inheritance of settler crimes and that bequeaths a new inheritance of Native-ness *and claims to land* (which is a reaffirmation of what the settler project has been all along).

To more fully explain, we turn to perhaps the most influential version of the adoption narrative, penned by James Fenimore Cooper in 1823-1841. James Fenimore, son of "that genius in land speculation William Cooper" (Butterfield, 1954, p. 374), grew up in Six Nations territory that his father had grabbed and named after himself as Cooperstown, New York. In these Iroquois lakes, forests, and hills, James Fenimore, and later his daughter, Susan, imagined for themselves frontier romances full of tragic Indians, inventive and compassionate settlers, and virginal white/Indian women in virgin wilderness. Cooper's five-book series, collectively called

the *Leatherstocking Tales*, are foundational in the emergence of American literature. Melville called Cooper "our national author" and it was no exaggeration. His were the most widely read novels of the time and, in the age of the printing press, this meant they were the most circulated books in a U.S. print-based popular culture. Mass print established national language and identity, an "imagined community" (Anderson, 1991) from which emerges 'America' as a nation as opposed to just an assortment of former colonies. The *Tales* are credited with the constructions of the vanishing Indian, the resourceful Frontiersman, and the degenerate Negro: the pivotal triad of archetypes that forms the basis for an American national literature.

The Last of Mohicans is undoubtedly the most famous among the *Tales* and has been remade[12] into three separate television series in 1957, 1971, and 2004; an opera in 1977; a BBC radio adaptation in 1995; a 2007 Marvel comic book series; a stage drama in performance since 2010; and eleven separate films spanning 1912 to 1992. In a sense, *Last of the Mohicans* is a national narrative that has never stopped being remade[13].

Across all five books, Cooper's epic hero is Natty Bumppo, a white man 'gone native', at home in nature, praised for his wisdom and ways that are both Indian and white. In *Last of the Mohicans,* this hero becomes the adopted son of Chingachgook, fictional chief of the fictional tribe "Mohicans", who renames Natty, Nathaniel Hawkeye - thus legitimating and completing his Indigeneity. At the same time, Chingachgook conveniently fades into extinction. In a critical symbolic gesture, Chingachgook hands over his son Uncas - the last of the Mohicans - to the adopted, Indigenized white man, Hawkeye. When Uncas dies, the ramification is obvious: Hawkeye becomes without becoming the last of the Mohicans. *You are now one of us, you are now Native.* "The pale-faces are masters of the earth, and the time of the red-men has not yet come again" (Cooper 2000, p.407).

Cooper's books fantasize the founding and expansion of the U.S. settler nation by fictionalizing the period of 1740-1804, distilled into the single narrative of one man. The arc of his life stands in for the narrative of national development: the heroic settler Natty Bumppo transitions from British trapper to 'native' American, to prairie pioneer in the new Western frontier. Interestingly, the books themselves were written in reverse chronological order, starting with the pioneer, going backwards in time. Through such historical hypnosis, settler literature fabricates past lives, all the way back to an Indian past. 'I am American' becomes 'I was frontiersman, was British, was Indian'.

In this fantasy, Hawkeye is both adopter and adoptee. The act of adopting indigenous ways makes him 'deserving' to be adopted by the Indigenous. Settler fantasies of adoption alleviate the anxiety of settler un-belonging. He adopts the love of land and therefore thinks he belongs to the land. He is a first environmentalist and sentimentalist, nostalgic for vanishing

[12] Tellingly, these remakes were produced in Canada, Britain, Germany and the United States.

[13] To include all the 'remakes' of the story in its different forms (e.g. the post 9/11 historical fiction G*angs of New York*, the 2009 film *Avatar*, or the 2011 film *The Descendants* - also discussed in this article), would require an exhaustive and exhausting account well beyond the scope of this article.

Native ways. In today's jargon, he could be thought of as an eco-activist, naturalist, and Indian sympathizer. At the same time, his cultural hybridity is what makes him more 'fit' to survive - the ultimate social Darwinism - better than both British and Indian; he is the mythical American. Hawkeye, hybrid white and Indian, becomes the reluctant but nonetheless rightful inheritor of the land and warden of its vanishing people.

Similarly, the settler intellectual who hybridizes decolonial thought with Western critical traditions (metaphorizing decolonization), emerges superior to both Native intellectuals and continental theorists simultaneously. With his critical hawk-eye, he again sees the critique better than anyone and sees the world from a loftier station[14]. It is a fiction, just as Cooper's Hawkeye, just as the adoption, just as the belonging.

In addition to fabricating historical memory, the *Tales* serve to generate historical amnesia. The books were published between 1823-1841, at the height of the Jacksonian period with the Indian Removal Act of 1830 and subsequent Trail of Tears 1831-1837. During this time, 46,000 Native Americans were removed from their homelands, opening 25 million acres of land for re-settlement. The *Tales* are not only silent on Indian Removal but narrate the Indian as vanishing in an earlier time frame, and thus Indigenous people are already dead prior to removal.

Performing sympathy is critical to Cooper's project of settler innocence. It is no accident that he is often read as a sympathizer to the Indians (despite the fact that he didn't know any) in contrast to Jackson's policies of removal and genocide. Cooper is cast as the 'innocent' father of U.S. ideology, in contrast to the 'bad white men' of history.

Performing suffering is also critical to Cooper's project of settler innocence. Hawkeye takes on the (imagined) demeanor of the vanishing Native - brooding, vengeful, protecting a dying way of life, and unsuccessful in finding a mate and producing offspring. Thus sympathy and suffering are the tokens used to absorb the Native Other's difference, coded as pain, the 'not-I' into the 'I'.

The settler's personal suffering feeds his fantasy of mutuality. The 2011 film, *The Descendants,* is a modern remake of the adoption fantasy (blended with a healthy dose of settler nativism). George Clooney's character, "King" is a haole hypo-descendant of the last surviving princess of Hawai'i and reluctant inheritor of a massive expanse of land, the last wilderness on the Island of Kauai. In contrast to his obnoxious settler cousins, he earns his privilege as an overworked lawyer rather than relying on his unearned inheritance. Furthermore, Clooney's character suffers - he is a dysfunctional father, heading a dysfunctional family, watching his wife wither away in a coma, learning that she cheated on him - and so he is somehow Hawaiian at heart. Because pain is the token for oppression, claims to pain then equate to claims of being an innocent non-oppressor. By the film's end, King goes against the wishes of his profiteering settler cousins and chooses to "keep" the land, reluctantly accepting that his is the steward of the land, a responsibility bequeathed upon him as an accident of birth. This is the denouement of

[14] His lament is that no one else can see what he sees, just as Hawkeye laments his failed attempts to rescue white people from bad Indians, and good Indians from ignorant white people. He is the escapee from Plato's Cave. The rest of us are stuck in the dark.

reconciliation between the settler-I and the interiorized native-not-I within the settler. Sympathy and suffering are profoundly satisfying for settler cinema: *The Descendants* was nominated for 5 Academy Awards and won for Best Adapted Screenplay in 2012.

The beauty of this settler fantasy is that it adopts decolonization and aborts it in one gesture. Hawkeye adopts Uncas, who then conveniently dies. King adopts Hawai'i and negates the necessity for *ea*, Kanaka Maoli sovereignty. Decolonization is stillborn - rendered irrelevant because decolonization is already completed by the indigenized consciousness of the settler. Now 'we' are all Indian, all Hawaiian, and decolonization is no longer an issue. 'Our' only recourse is to move forward, however regretfully, with 'our' settler future.

In the unwritten decolonial version of Cooper's story, Hawkeye would lose his land back to the Mohawk - the real people upon whose land Cooperstown was built and whose rivers, lakes, and forests Cooper mined for his frontier romances. Hawkeye would shoot his last arrow, or his last long-rifle shot, return his eagle feather, and would be renamed Natty Bumppo, settler on Native land. The story would end with the moment of this recognition. Unresolved are the questions: Would a conversation follow after that between Native and the last settler? Would the settler leave or just vanish? Would he ask to stay, and if he did, who would say yes? These are questions that will be addressed at decolonization, and not a priori in order to appease anxieties for a settler future.

Moves to innocence III: Colonial equivocation

A more nuanced move to innocence is the homogenizing of various experiences of oppression as colonization. Calling different groups 'colonized' without describing their relationship to settler colonialism is an equivocation, "the fallacy of using a word in different senses at different stages of the reasoning" (Etymonline, 2001). In particular, describing all struggles against imperialism as 'decolonizing' creates a convenient ambiguity between decolonization and social justice work, especially among people of color, queer people, and other groups minoritized by the settler nation-state. 'We are all colonized,' may be a true statement but is deceptively embracive and vague, its inference: 'None of us are settlers.' Equivocation, or calling everything by the same name, is a move towards innocence that is especially vogue in coalition politics among people of color.

People of color who enter/are brought into the settler colonial nation-state also enter the triad of relations between settler-native-slave. We are referring here to the colonial pathways that are usually described as 'immigration' and how the refugee/immigrant/migrant is invited to be a settler in some scenarios, given the appropriate investments in whiteness, or is made an illegal, criminal presence in other scenarios. Ghetto colonialism, prisons, and under resourced compulsory schooling are specializations of settler colonialism in North America; they are

produced by the collapsing of internal, external, and settler colonialisms, into new blended categories[15].

This triad of settler-native-slave and its selective collapsibility seems to be unique to settler colonial nations. For example, all Aleut people on the Aleutian Islands were collected and placed in internment camps for four years after the bombing of Dutch Harbor; the stated rationale was the protection of the people but another likely reason was that the U.S. Government feared the Aleuts would become allies with the Japanese and/or be difficult to differentiate from potential Japanese spies. White people who lived on the Aleutian Islands at that same time were not interned. Internment in abandoned warehouses and canneries in Southeast Alaska was the cause of significant numbers of death of children and elders, physical injury, and illness among Aleut people. Aleut internment during WWII is largely ignored as part of U.S. history. The shuffling of Indigenous people between Native, enslavable Other, and Orientalized Other[16] shows how settler colonialism constructs and collapses its triad of categories.

This colonizing trick explains why certain minorities can at times become model and quasi-assimilable (as exemplified by Asian settler colonialism, civil rights, model minority discourse, and the use of 'hispanic' as an ethnic category to mean both white and non-white) yet, in times of crisis, revert to the status of foreign contagions (as exemplified by Japanese Internment, Islamophobia, Chinese Exclusion, Red Scare, anti-Irish nativism, WWII anti-semitism, and anti-Mexican-immigration). This is why 'labor' or 'workers' as an agential political class fails to activate the decolonizing project. "[S]hifting lines of the international division of labor" (Spivak, 1985, p. 84) bisect the very category of labor into caste-like bodies built for work on one hand and rewardable citizen-workers on the other. Some labor becomes settler, while excess labor becomes enslavable, criminal, murderable.

The impossibility of fully becoming a white settler - in this case, white referring to an exceptionalized position with assumed rights to invulnerability and legal supremacy - as articulated by minority literature preoccupied with "glass ceilings" and "forever foreign" status and "myth of the model minority", offers a strong critique of the myth of the democratic nation-state. However, its logical endpoint, the attainment of equal legal and cultural entitlements, is actually an investment in settler colonialism. Indeed, even the ability to be a minority citizen in the settler nation means an option to become a brown settler. For many people of color, becoming a subordinate settler is an option even when becoming white is not.

"Following stolen resources" is a phrase that Wayne has encountered, used to describe Filipino overseas labor (over 10% of the population of the Philippines is working abroad) and other migrations from colony to metropole. This phrase is an important anti-colonial framing of a

[15] E.g. Detention centers contain the foreign, non-citizen subject who is paradoxically outside of the nation yet at the mercy of imperial sovereignty within the metropole.

[16] We are using Orientalized Other in sense of the enemy other, following Edward Said's (1978) analysis of Orientalism.

colonial situation. However an anti-colonial critique is not the same as a decolonizing framework; anti-colonial critique often celebrates empowered postcolonial subjects who seize denied privileges from the metropole. This anti-to-post-colonial project doesn't strive to undo colonialism but rather to remake it and subvert it. Seeking stolen resources is entangled with settler colonialism because those resources were nature/Native first, then enlisted into the service of settlement and thus almost impossible to reclaim without re-occupying Native land. Furthermore, the postcolonial pursuit of resources is fundamentally an anthropocentric model, as land, water, air, animals, and plants are never able to become postcolonial; they remain objects to be exploited by the empowered postcolonial subject.

Equivocation is the vague equating of colonialisms that erases the sweeping scope of land as the basis of wealth, power, law in settler nation-states. Vocalizing a 'muliticultural' approach to oppressions, or remaining silent on settler colonialism while talking about colonialisms, or tacking on a gesture towards Indigenous people without addressing Indigenous sovereignty or rights, or forwarding a thesis on decolonization without regard to unsettling/deoccupying land, are equivocations. That is, they ambiguously avoid engaging with settler colonialism; they are ambivalent about minority / people of color / colonized Others *as settlers*; they are cryptic about Indigenous land rights in spaces inhabited by people of color.

Moves to innocence IV: Free your mind and the rest will follow

Fanon told us in 1963 that decolonizing the mind is the first step, not the only step toward overthrowing colonial regimes. Yet we wonder whether another settler move to innocence is to focus on decolonizing the mind, or the cultivation of critical consciousness, as if it were the sole activity of decolonization; to allow *conscientization* to stand in for the more uncomfortable task of relinquishing stolen land. We agree that curricula, literature, and pedagogy can be crafted to aid people in learning to see settler colonialism, to articulate critiques of settler epistemology, and set aside settler histories and values in search of ethics that reject domination and exploitation; this is not unimportant work. However, the front-loading of critical consciousness building can waylay decolonization, even though the experience of teaching and learning to be critical of settler colonialism can be so powerful it can feel like it is indeed making change. Until stolen land is relinquished, critical consciousness does not translate into action that disrupts settler colonialism. So, we respectfully disagree with George Clinton and Funkadelic (1970) and En Vogue (1992) when they assert that if you "free your mind, the rest (your ass) will follow."

Paulo Freire, eminent education philosopher, popular educator, and liberation theologian, wrote his celebrated book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, in no small part as a response to Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth.* Its influence upon critical pedagogy and on the practices of educators committed to social justice cannot be overstated. Therefore, it is important to point out significant differences between Freire and Fanon, especially with regard to de/colonization. Freire situates the work of liberation in the minds of the oppressed, an abstract category of dehumanized worker vis-a-vis a similarly abstract category of oppressor. This is a sharp right

turn away from Fanon's work, which always positioned the work of liberation in the particularities of colonization, in the specific structural and interpersonal categories of Native and settler. Under Freire's paradigm, it is unclear who the oppressed are, even more ambiguous who the oppressors are, and it is inferred throughout that an innocent third category of enlightened human exists: "those who suffer with [the oppressed] and fight at their side" (Freire, 2000, p. 42). These words, taken from the opening dedication of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, invoke the same settler fantasy of mutuality based on sympathy and suffering.

Fanon positions decolonization as chaotic, an unclean break from a colonial condition that is already over determined by the violence of the colonizer and unresolved in its possible futures. By contrast, Freire positions liberation as redemption, a freeing of both oppressor and oppressed through their humanity. Humans become 'subjects' who then proceed to work on the 'objects' of the world (animals, earth, water), and indeed read the word (critical consciousness) in order to write the world (exploit nature). For Freire, there are no Natives, no Settlers, and indeed no history, and the future is simply a rupture from the timeless present. Settler colonialism is absent from his discussion, implying either that it is an unimportant analytic or that it is an already completed project of the past (a past oppression perhaps). Freire's theories of liberation resoundingly echo the allegory of Plato's Cave, a continental philosophy of mental emancipation, whereby the thinking man individualistically emerges from the dark cave of ignorance into the light of critical consciousness.

By contrast, black feminist thought roots freedom in the darkness of the cave, in that well of feeling and wisdom from which all knowledge is recreated.

> These places of possibility within ourselves are dark because they are ancient and hidden; they have survived and grown strong through darkness. Within these deep places, each one of us holds an incredible reserve of creativity and power, of unexamined and unrecorded emotion and feeling. The woman's place of power within each of us is neither white nor surface; it is dark, it is ancient, and it is deep. (Lorde, 1984, pp. 36-37)

Audre Lorde's words provide a sharp contrast to Plato's sight-centric image of liberation: "The white fathers told us, I think therefore I am; and the black mothers in each of us - the poet - whispers in our dreams, I feel therefore I can be free" (p. 38). For Lorde, writing is not action upon the world. Rather, poetry is giving a name to the nameless, "first made into language, then into idea, then into more tangible action" (p. 37). Importantly, freedom is a possibility that is not just mentally generated; it is particular and felt.

Freire's philosophies have encouraged educators to use "colonization" as a metaphor for oppression. In such a paradigm, "internal colonization" reduces to "mental colonization", logically leading to the solution of decolonizing one's mind and the rest will follow. Such philosophy conveniently sidesteps the most unsettling of questions:

> The essential thing is to see clearly, to think clearly - that is, dangerously and to answer clearly the innocent first question: what, fundamentally, is colonization? (Cesaire, 2000, p. 32)

Because colonialism is comprised of global and historical relations, Cesaire's question must be considered globally and historically. However, it cannot be reduced to a global answer, nor a historical answer. To do so is to use colonization metaphorically. "What is colonization?" must be answered specifically, with attention to the colonial apparatus that is assembled to order the relationships between particular peoples, lands, the 'natural world', and 'civilization'. Colonialism is marked by its specializations. In North America and other settings, settler sovereignty imposes sexuality, legality, raciality, language, religion and property in specific ways. Decolonization likewise must be thought through in these particularities.

> To agree on what [decolonization] is not: neither evangelization, nor a philanthropic enterprise, nor a desire to push back the frontiers of ignorance, disease, and tyranny... (Cesaire, 2000, p. 32)

We deliberately extend Cesaire's words above to assert what decolonization is not. It is not converting Indigenous politics to a Western doctrine of liberation; it is not a philanthropic process of 'helping' the at-risk and alleviating suffering; it is not a generic term for struggle against oppressive conditions and outcomes. The broad umbrella of social justice may have room underneath for all of these efforts. By contrast, decolonization specifically requires the repatriation of Indigenous land and life. Decolonization is not a metonym for social justice.

We don't intend to discourage those who have dedicated careers and lives to teaching themselves and others to be critically conscious of racism, sexism, homophobia, classism, xenophobia, and settler colonialism. We are asking them/you to consider how the pursuit of critical consciousness, the pursuit of social justice through a critical enlightenment, can also be settler moves to innocence - diversions, distractions, which relieve the settler of feelings of guilt or responsibility, and conceal the need to give up land or power or privilege.

Anna Jacobs' 2009 Master's thesis explores the possibilities for what she calls *white harm reduction* models. Harm reduction models attempt to reduce the harm or risk of specific practices. Jacobs identifies white supremacy as a public health issue that is at the root of most other public health issues. The goal of white harm reduction models, Jacobs says, is to reduce the harm that white supremacy has had on white people, and the deep harm it has caused non-white people over generations. Learning from Jacobs' analysis, we understand the curricular-pedagogical project of critical consciousness as *settler harm reduction,* crucial in the resuscitation of practices and intellectual life outside of settler ontologies. (Settler) harm reduction is intended only as a stopgap. As the environmental crisis escalates and peoples around the globe are exposed to greater concentrations of violence and poverty, the need for settler harm reduction is acute, profoundly so. At the same time we remember that, by definition, settler harm

reduction, like conscientization, is not the same as decolonization and does not inherently offer any pathways that lead to decolonization.

Moves to innocence V: A(s)t(e)risk peoples

This settler move to innocence is concerned with the ways in which Indigenous peoples are counted, codified, represented, and included/disincluded by educational researchers and other social science researchers. Indigenous peoples are rendered visible in mainstream educational research in two main ways: as "at risk" peoples and as asterisk peoples. This comprises a settler move to innocence because it erases and then conceals the erasure of Indigenous peoples within the settler colonial nation-state and moves Indigenous nations as "populations" to the margins of public discourse.

As "at risk" peoples, Indigenous students and families are described as on the verge of extinction, culturally and economically bereft, engaged or soon-to-be engaged in self-destructive behaviors which can interrupt their school careers and seamless absorption into the economy. Even though it is widely known and verified that Native youth gain access to personal and academic success when they also have access to/instruction in their home languages, most Native American and Alaskan Native youth are taught in English-only schools by temporary teachers who know little about their students' communities (Lomawaima and McCarty, 2006; Lee, 2011). Even though Indigenous knowledge systems predate, expand, update, and complicate the curricula found in most public schools, schools attended by poor Indigenous students are among those most regimented in attempts to comply with federal mandates. Though these mandates intrude on the sovereignty of Indigenous peoples, the "services" promised at the inception of these mandates do little to make the schools attended by Indigenous youth better at providing them a compelling, relevant, inspiring and meaningful education.

At the same time, Indigenous communities become the asterisk peoples, meaning they are represented by an asterisk in large and crucial data sets, many of which are conducted to inform public policy that impact our/their lives (Villegas, 2012). Education and health statistics are unavailable from Indigenous communities for a variety of reasons and, when they are made available, the size of the *n*, or the sample size, can appear to be negligible when compared to the sample size of other/race-based categories. Though Indigenous scholars such as Malia Villegas recognize that Indigenous peoples are distinct from each other but also from other racialized groups surveyed in these studies, they argue that difficulty of collecting basic education and health information about this small and heterogeneous category must be overcome in order to counter the disappearance of Indigenous particularities in public policy.

In U.S. educational research in particular, Indigenous peoples are included only as asterisks, as footnotes into dominant paradigms of educational inequality in the U.S. This can be observed in the progressive literature on school discipline, on 'underrepresented minorities' in higher education, and in the literature of reparation, i.e., redressing 'past' wrongs against non-white Others. Under such paradigms, which do important work on alleviating the symptoms of

colonialism (poverty, dispossession, criminality, premature death, cultural genocide), Indigeneity is simply an "and" or an illustration of oppression. 'Urban education', for example, is a code word for the schooling of black, brown, and ghettoized youth who form the numerical majority in divested public schools. Urban American Indians and Native Alaskans become an asterisk group, invisibilized, even though about two-thirds of Indigenous peoples in the U.S. live in urban areas, according to the 2010 census. Yet, urban Indians receive fewer federal funds for education, health, and employment than their counterparts on reservations (Berry, 2012). Similarly, Native Pasifika people become an asterisk in the Asian Pacific Islander category and their politics/epistemologies/experiences are often subsumed under a pan-ethnic Asian-American master narrative. From a settler viewpoint that concerns itself with numerical inequality, e.g. the achievement gap, underrepresentation, and the 99%'s short share of the wealth of the metropole, the asterisk is an outlier, an outnumber. It is a token gesture, an inclusion and an enclosure of Native people into the politics of equity. These acts of inclusion assimilate Indigenous sovereignty, ways of knowing, and ways of being by remaking a collective-comprised tribal identity into an individualized ethnic identity.

From a decolonizing perspective, the asterisk is a body count that does not account for Indigenous politics, educational concerns, and epistemologies. Urban land (indeed all land) is Native land. The vast majority of Native youth in North America live in urban settings. Any decolonizing urban education endeavor must address the foundations of urban land pedagogy and Indigenous politics *vis-a-vis* the settler colonial state.

Moves to innocence VI: Re-occupation and urban homesteading

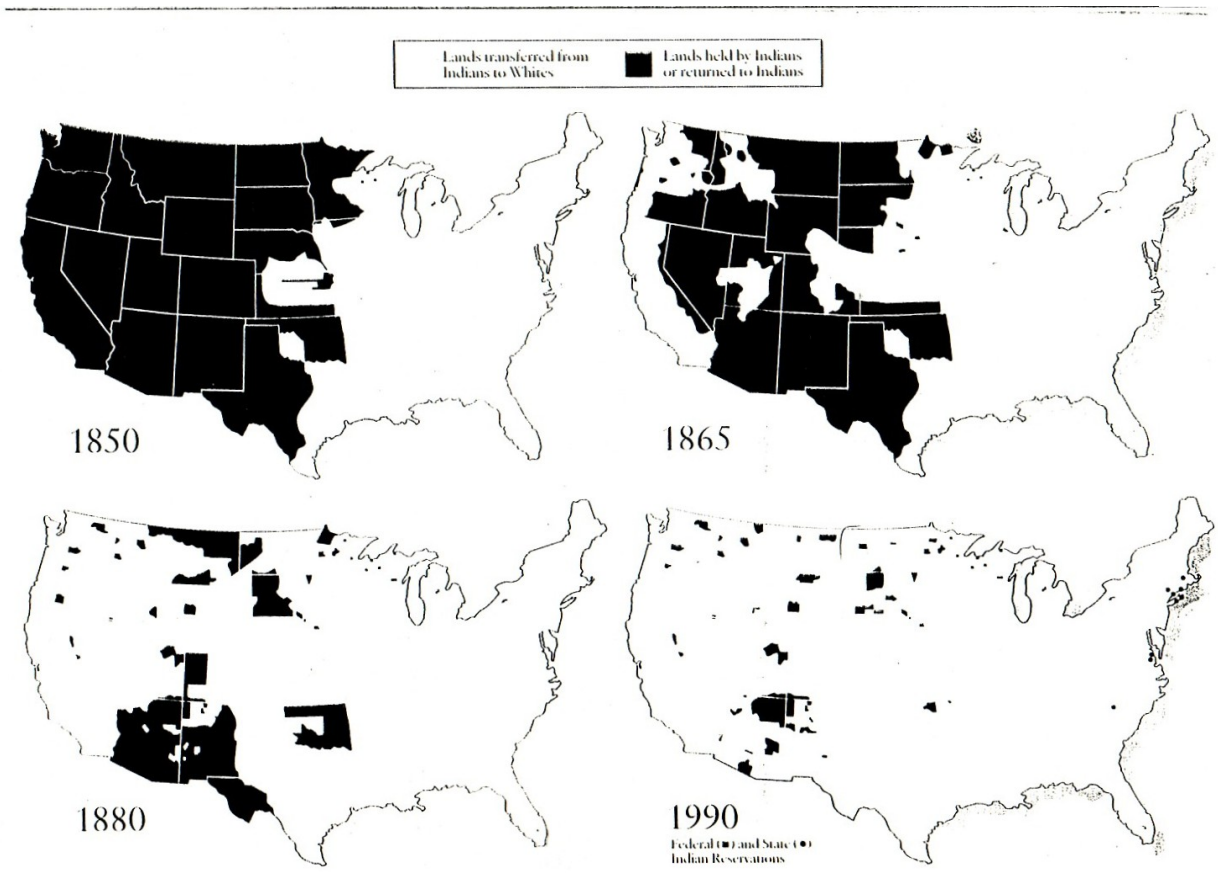
The Occupy movement for many economically marginalized people has been a welcome expression of resistance to the massive disparities in the distribution of wealth; for many Indigenous people, Occupy is another settler re-occupation on stolen land. The rhetoric of the movement relies upon problematic assumptions about social justice and is a prime example of the incommensurability between "re/occupy" and "decolonize" as political agendas. The pursuit of worker rights (and rights to work) and minoritized people's rights in a settler colonial context can appear to be anti-capitalist, but this pursuit is nonetheless largely pro-colonial. That is, the ideal of "redistribution of wealth" camouflages how much of that wealth is *land*, Native land. In Occupy, the "99%" is invoked as a deserving supermajority, in contrast to the unearned wealth of the "1%". It renders Indigenous peoples (a 0.9% 'super-minority') completely invisible and absorbed, just an asterisk group to be subsumed into the legion of occupiers.

Figure 1.1. If U.S. land were divided like U.S. wealth

For example, "If U.S. land were divided like U.S. wealth" (figure 1.1) is a popular graphic that was electronically circulated on the Internet in late 2011 in connection with the Occupy movement. The image reveals inherent assumptions about land, including: land is property; land is/belongs to the United States; land should be distributed democratically. The beliefs that land can be owned by people, and that occupation is a right, reflect a profoundly settling, anthropocentric, colonial view of the world.

In figure 1.1, the irony of mapping of wealth onto land seems to escape most of those who re-posted the images on their social networking sites and blogs: Land is already wealth; it is already divided; and its distribution is the greatest indicator of racial inequality[17]. Indeed the current wealth crisis facing the 99% spiraled with the crash in home/land ownership. Land (not money) is actually the basis for U.S. wealth. If we took away land, there would be little wealth left to redistribute.

[17] Wealth, most significantly in the form of home ownership, supercedes income as an indicator of disparities between racial groups. See discussions on the wealth gap, home ownership, and racial inequality by Thomas Shapiro (2004), in *The Hidden Cost of Being African American: How Wealth Perpetuates Inequality.*



NATIVE LAND: 100%. RESERVATION LAND: 2.3%.

Figure 1.2. If Native land were [is] divided like Native land

Settler colonization can be visually understood as the unbroken pace of invasion, and settler occupation, into Native lands: the white space in figure 1.2. Decolonization, as a process, would repatriate land to Indigenous peoples, reversing the timeline of these images.

As detailed by public intellectuals/bloggers such as *Tequila Sovereign* (Lenape scholar Joanne Barker), some Occupy sites, including Boston, Denver, Austin, and Albuquerque tried to engage in discussions about the problematic and colonial overtones of occupation (Barker, October 9, 2011). Barker blogs about a firsthand experience in bringing a proposal for a *Memorandum of Solidarity with Indigenous Peoples,*[18] to the General Assembly in Occupy Oakland. The memorandum, signed by Corrina Gould, (Chochenyo Ohlone - the first peoples of Oakland/Ohlone), Barker, and numerous other Indigenous and non-Indigenous activist-scholars, called for the acknowledgement of Oakland as already occupied and on stolen land; of the ongoing defiance by Indigenous peoples in the U.S. and around the globe against imperialism,

[18] The memorandum can be found at http://www.indybay.org/newsitems/2011/10/29/18695950.php, last retrieved June 1, 2012.

colonialism, and oppression; the need for genuine and respectful involvement of Indigenous peoples in the Occupy Oakland movement; and the aspiration to "Decolonize Oakland," rather than re-occupy it. From Barker's account of the responses from settler individuals to the memorandum,

> Ultimately, what they [settler participants in Occupy Oakland] were asking is whether or not we were asking them, as non-indigenous people, the impossible? Would their solidarity with us require them to give up their lands, their resources, their ways of life, so that we – who numbered so few, after all – could have more? Could have it all? (Barker, October 30, 2011)

These responses, resistances by settler participants to the aspiration of decolonization in Occupy Oakland, illustrate the reluctance of some settlers to engage the prospect of decolonization beyond the metaphorical or figurative level. Further, they reveal the limitations to "solidarity," without the willingness to acknowledge stolen land and how stolen land benefits settlers. "Genuine solidarity with indigenous peoples," Barker continues, "assumes a basic understanding of how histories of colonization and imperialism have produced and *still produce* the legal and economic possibility for Oakland" (ibid., emphasis original).

For social justice movements, like Occupy, to truly aspire to decolonization non-metaphorically, they would impoverish, not enrich, the 99%+ settler population of United States. Decolonization eliminates settler property rights and settler sovereignty. It requires the abolition of land as property and upholds the sovereignty of Native land and people.

There are important parallels between Occupy/Decolonize and the French/Haitian Revolutions of 1789-1799 and 1791-1804, respectively. Haiti has the dubious distinction of being "the poorest country in the Western hemisphere" (Central Intelligence Agency, 2012); yet, it was the richest of France's colonies until the Haitian Revolution, the only slave revolution to ever found a state. This paradox can be explained by what/who counts as whose property. Under French colonialism, Haiti was a worth a fortune in enslaved human beings. From the French slave owners' perspectives, Haitian independence abolished not slavery, but their property and a source of common-wealth. Unfortunately, history provides us with the exact figures on what their property was worth; in 1825, "France recognized Haitian independence by a treaty requiring Haiti to pay an indemnity of 150 million francs payable in 5 years to compensate absentee slaveowners for their losses" (Schuller, 2007, p.149). The magnitude[19] of these

[19] 150 million Francs was the equivalent of France's annual budget (and Haiti's population was less than 1% of France's), 10 times all annual Haitian exports in 1825, equivalent to $21 billion in 2010 U.S. Dollars. By contrast France sold the Louisiana Purchase to the United States in 1803 for a net sum of 42 million Francs. The indemnity demand, delivered by 12 warships armed with 500 canons, "heralded a strategy of plunder" (Schuller, 2007, p.166), as a new technology in colonial reconquest.

reparations not *for* slavery, but *to* former slave owners, plunged Haiti into eternal debt[20]. Occupy draws almost directly from the values of the French Revolution: the Commons, the General Assembly, the natural right to property, and the resistance to the decolonization of Indigenous life/land. In 1789, the French *Communes* (Commons) declared themselves a National Assembly directly "of the People" (the 99%) against the representative assembly of "the Estates" (the 1%) set up by the ruling elite, and adopted the celebrated *Declaration of the Rights of the Man and the Citizen.* Not unlike the heated discussions at the December 4, 2011 General Assembly of Occupy Oakland that ultimately rejected the proposal to change the name to "Decolonize Oakland", the 1789 National Assembly debated at great length over the language of emancipation in the *Declaration*. Ultimately, the *Declaration* abolished slavery but not property, and effectively stipulated that property trumped emancipation. While rhetorically declaring men as forever free and equal (and thus unenslavable), it assured the (revolutionary) colonial proprietors in the assembly that their chattel would be untouched, stating unequivocally: "The right to property being inviolable and sacred, no one ought to be deprived of it..." (Blackburn, 2006, p. 650).

Table 1.
Outnumbers. Incommensurable.

French Revolution	99% French, 1% Slaves[21]
Haitian Revolution	90% Slaves, 10% Whites & Free Blacks

Decolonizing the Americas means all land is repatriated and all settlers become landless. It is incommensurable with the redistribution of Native land/life as common-wealth.

Table 2.
Outnumbers. Incommensurable.

Occupy	99% Occupiers, 1% Owners
Decolonize	0.9% Indigenous[22], 99.1% Settlers[23]

[20] Haiti has literally been in debt from the moment it was recognized as a country. Haiti paid off its indemnity to France in 1937, but only through new indemnity with the United States. Ironically, in contemporary times, the Paris Club has power over Haiti's debt, and thus maintains Haiti's poverty.

[21] At 28 million people, France was the 3rd most populous country in the world in 1789, after China and India. Haiti's slave population in 1791 was approximately 452,000 - a fluctuating number as the slave mortality rate exceeded the birth rate, requiring a constant supply of newly enslaved Africans; and approximately 200,000 slaves died in the revolution. 1% refers to this number of enslaved people in Haiti relative to the French population, and does not include those enslaved in France or its other colonies.

[22] According to the 2010 U.S. census, Native Americans comprise 0.9% of U.S. inhabitants.

Our critique of Occupation is not just a critique of rhetoric. The call to "occupy everything" has legitimized a set of practices with problematic relationships to land and to Indigenous sovereignty. Urban homesteading, for example, is the practice of re-settling urban land in the fashion of self-styled pioneers in a mythical frontier. Not surprisingly, urban homesteading can also become a form of playing Indian, invoking Indigeneity as 'tradition' and claiming Indian-like spirituality while evading Indigenous sovereignty and the modern presence of actual urban Native peoples. More significant examples are Occupiers' claims to land and their imposition of Western forms of governance within their tent cities/colonies. Claiming land for the Commons and asserting consensus as the rule of the Commons, erases existing, prior, and future Native land rights, decolonial leadership, and forms of self-government.

Occupation is a move towards innocence that hides behind the numerical superiority of the settler nation, the elision of democracy with justice, and the logic that what became property under the 1% rightfully belongs to the other 99%.

In contrast to the settler labor of occupying the commons, homesteading, and possession, some scholars have begun to consider the labor of de-occupation in the undercommons, permanent fugitivity, and dispossession as possibilities for a radical black praxis. Such "a labor that is dedicated to the reproduction of social dispossession as having an ethical dimension" (Moten & Harney, 2004, p.110), includes both the refusal of acquiring property and of being property

Incommensurability is unsettling

Having elaborated on settler moves to innocence, we give a synopsis of the imbrication of settler colonialism with transnationalist, abolitionist, and critical pedagogy movements - efforts that are often thought of as exempt from Indigenous decolonizing analyses - as a synthesis of how decolonization as material, not metaphor, unsettles the innocence of these movements. These are interruptions which destabilize, un-balance, and repatriate the very terms and assumptions of some of the most radical efforts to reimagine human power relations. We argue that the opportunities for solidarity lie in what is incommensurable rather than what is common across these efforts.

We offer these perspectives on unsettling innocence because they are examples of what we might call an ethic of incommensurability, which recognizes what is distinct, what is sovereign for project(s) of decolonization in relation to human and civil rights based social justice projects. There are portions of these projects that simply cannot speak to one another, cannot be aligned or allied. We make these notations to highlight opportunities for what can only ever be strategic and contingent collaborations, and to indicate the reasons that lasting solidarities may be elusive, even undesirable. Below we point to unsettling themes that challenge the coalescence of social justice endeavors broadly assembled into three areas:

[23] Wayne would like to give special thanks to Jodi Byrd for pointing out this numerical irony.

Transnational or Third World decolonizations, Abolition, and Critical Space-Place Pedagogies. For each of these areas, we offer entry points into the literature - beginning a sort of bibliography of incommensurability.

Third world decolonizations

The anti-colonial turn towards the transnational can sometimes involve ignoring the settler colonial context where one resides and how that inhabitation is implicated in settler colonialism, in order to establish "global" solidarities that presumably suffer fewer complicities and complications. This deliberate not-seeing is morally convenient but avoids an important feature of the aforementioned selective collapsibility of settler colonial-nations states. Expressions such as "the Global South within the Global North" and "the Third World in the First World" neglect the Four Directions via a Flat Earth perspective and ambiguate First Nations with Third World migrants. For people writing on Third World decolonizations, but who do so upon Native land, we invite you to consider the permanent settler war as the theater for all imperial wars:

- the Orientalism of Indigenous Americans (Berger, 2004; Marez, 2007)
- discovery, invasion, occupation, and Commons as the claims of settler sovereignty (Ford, 2010)
- heteropatriarchy as the imposition of settler sexuality (Morgensen, 2011)
- citizenship as coercive and forced assimilation into the white settler normative (Bruyneel, 2004; Somerville, 2010)
- religion as covenant for settler nation-state (A.J. Barker, 2009; Maldonado-Torres, 2008)
- the frontier as the first and always the site of invasion and war (Byrd, 2011),
- U.S. imperialism as the expansion of settler colonialism (*ibid*)
- Asian settler colonialism (Fujikane, 2012; Fujikane, & Okamura, 2008, Saranillio, 2010a, 2010b)
- the frontier as the language of 'progress' and discovery (Maldonado-Torres, 2008)
- rape as settler colonial structure (Deer, 2009; 2010)
- the discourse of terrorism as the terror of Native retribution (Tuck & Ree, forthcoming)
- Native Feminisms as incommensurable with other feminisms (Arvin, Tuck, Morrill, forthcoming; Goeman & Denetdale, 2009).

Abolition

The abolition of slavery often presumes the expansion of settlers who own Native land and life via inclusion of emancipated slaves and prisoners into the settler nation-state. As we have noted, it is no accident that the U.S. government promised 40 acres of Indian land as reparations for plantation slavery. Likewise, indentured European laborers were often awarded tracts of 'unsettled' Indigenous land as payment at the end of their service (McCoy, forthcoming).

Communal ownership of land has figured centrally in various movements for autonomous, self-determined communities. "The land belongs to those who work it," disturbingly parrots Lockean justifications for seizing Native land as property, 'earned' through one's labor in clearing and cultivating 'virgin' land. For writers on the prison industrial complex, il/legality, and other forms of slavery, we urge you to consider how enslavement is a twofold procedure: removal from land and the creation of property (land and bodies). Thus, abolition is likewise twofold, requiring the repatriation of land and the abolition of property (land and bodies). Abolition means self-possession but not object-possession, repatriation but not reparation:

- "The animals of the world exist for their own reasons. They were not made for humans any more than black people were made for white, or women created for men" (Alice Walker, describing the work of Marjorie Spiegel, in the in the preface to Spigel's 1988 book, *The Dreaded Comparison*).
- Enslavement/removal of Native Americans (Gallay, 2009)
- Slaves who become slave-owners, savagery as enslavability, chattel slavery as a sign of civilization (Gallay, 2009)
- Black fugitivity, undercommons, and radical dispossession (Moten, 2008; Moten & Harney, 2004; Moten & Harney, 2010)
- Incarceration as a settler colonialism strategy of land dispossession (Ross, 1998; Watson, 2007)
- Native land and Native people as co-constituitive (Meyer, 2008; Kawagley, 2010)

Critical pedagogies

The many critical pedagogies that engage emancipatory education, place based education, environmental education, critical multiculturalism, and urban education often position land as public Commons or seek commonalities between struggles. Although we believe that "we must be fluent" in each other's stories and struggles (paraphrasing Alexander, 2002, p.91), we detect precisely this lack of fluency in land and Indigenous sovereignty. Yupiaq scholar, Oscar Kawagley's assertion, "We know that Mother Nature has a culture, and it is a Native culture" (2010, p. xiii), directs us to think through land as "more than a site *upon* which humans make history or as a location that accumulates history" (Goeman, 2008, p.24). The forthcoming special issue in *Environmental Education Research*, "Land Education: Indigenous, postcolonial, and decolonizing perspectives on place and environmental education research" might be a good starting point to consider the incommensurability of place-based, environmentalist, urban pedagogies with land education.

- The urban as Indigenous (Bang, 2009; Belin, 1999; Friedel, 2011; Goeman, 2008; Intertribal Friendship House & Lobo, 2002)
- Indigenous storied land as disrupting settler maps (Goeman, 2008)

- Novels, poetry, and essays by Greg Sarris, Craig Womack, Joy Harjo, Gerald Vizenor
- To Remain an Indian (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006)
- Shadow Curriculum (Richardson, 2011)
- Red Pedagogy (Grande, 2004)
- Land Education (McCoy, Tuck, McKenzie, forthcoming)

More on incommensurability

Incommensurability is an acknowledgement that decolonization will require a change in the order of the world (Fanon, 1963). This is not to say that Indigenous peoples or Black and brown peoples take positions of dominance over white settlers; the goal is not for everyone to merely swap spots on the settler-colonial triad, to take another turn on the merry-go-round. The goal is to break the relentless structuring of the triad - a break and not a compromise (Memmi, 1991).

Breaking the settler colonial triad, in direct terms, means repatriating land to sovereign Native tribes and nations, abolition of slavery in its contemporary forms, and the dismantling of the imperial metropole. Decolonization "here" is intimately connected to anti-imperialism elsewhere. However, decolonial struggles here/there are not parallel, not shared equally, nor do they bring neat closure to the concerns of all involved - particularly not for settlers. Decolonization is not equivocal to other anti-colonial struggles. It is incommensurable.

There is so much that is incommensurable, so many overlaps that can't be figured, that cannot be resolved. Settler colonialism fuels imperialism all around the globe. Oil is the motor and motive for war and so was salt, so will be water. Settler sovereignty over these very pieces of earth, air, and water is what makes possible these imperialisms. The same yellow pollen in the water of the Laguna Pueblo reservation in New Mexico, Leslie Marmon Silko reminds us, is the same uranium that annihilated over 200,000 strangers in 2 flashes. The same yellow pollen that poisons the land from where it came. Used in the same war that took a generation of young Pueblo men. Through the voice of her character Betonie, Silko writes, "Thirty thousand years ago they were not strangers. You saw what the evil had done; you saw the witchery ranging as wide as the world" (Silko, 1982, p. 174). In Tucson, Arizona, where Silko lives, her books are now banned in schools. Only curricular materials affirming the settler innocence, ingenuity, and right to America may be taught.

In "No", her response to the 2003 United States invasion of Iraq, Mvskoke/Creek poet Joy Harjo (2004) writes, "Yes, that was me you saw shaking with bravery, with a government issued rifle on my back. I'm sorry I could not greet you, as you deserved, my relative." Don't Native Americans participate in greater rates in the military? asks the young-ish man from Viet Nam.

"Indian Country" was/is the term used in Viet Nam, Afghanistan, Iraq by the U.S. military for 'enemy territory'. The first Black American President said without blinking, "There was a point before folks had left, before we had gotten everybody back on the helicopter and were flying back to base, where they said Geronimo has been killed, and Geronimo was the code

name for bin Laden." Elmer Pratt, Black Panther leader, falsely imprisoned for 27 years, was a Vietnam Veteran, was nicknamed 'Geronimo'. Geronimo is settler nickname for the Bedonkohe Apache warrior who fought Mexican and then U.S. expansion into Apache tribal lands. The Colt .45 was perfected to kill Indigenous people during the 'liberation' of what became the Philippines, but it was first invented for the 'Indian Wars' in North America alongside The Hotchkiss Canon- a gattling gun that shot canonballs. The technologies of the permanent settler war are reserviced for foreign wars, including boarding schools, colonial schools, urban schools run by military personnel.

It is properly called Indian Country.


NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 8, 1882.

The Hotchkiss Revolving Cannon

which the cut represents, mounted on the field carriage, has been adopted by the United States for both Field and Naval purposes, and by nearly all the Governments of Europe.

They are made of 37mm., 47mm., and 53mm. calibre, and fire common and steel shell.

The 37mm. and 47mm. fire 60 to 80 shell per minute, giving 1,500 to 2,000 fragments. In service, with deliberate aim at moving objects, from 15 to 20, giving 1,200 dangerous fragments per minute.

The Naval gun is mounted on the non-recoil principle, and being aimed from the shoulder, with the ease of a musket, attains a greater accuracy at sea than any other cannon.

The range of the 37mm. gun is 3,000 yards, of the 47mm., 6,500 yards.

The steel shell from the smaller gun penetrates all torpedo boats up to 2,000 yards, and at acute angles up to 2,000 yards, and the 47mm. perforates all the unarmored ships now in service.

For Field service the accuracy of fire and regularity of range are unsurpassed.

(See Official Reports of Chief of Ordnance, U. S. A.)

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION, ADDRESS

HOTCHKISS & CO., 21 RUE ROYALE, PARIS.

Or MESSRS. GRAHAM & HAINES,

113 Chambers Street, New York.

Figure 1.3. Hotchkiss Revolving Cannon

Ideologies of US settler colonialism directly informed Australian settler colonialism. South African apartheid townships, the kill-zones in what became the Philippine colony, then nation-state, the checkerboarding of Palestinian land with checkpoints, were modeled after U.S. seizures of land and containments of Indian bodies to reservations. The racial science developed in the U.S. (a settler colonial racial science) informed Hitler's designs on racial purity ("This book is my bible" he said of Madison Grant's The Passing of the Great Race). The admiration is sometimes mutual, the doctors and administrators of forced sterilizations of black, Native, disabled, poor, and mostly female people - The Sterilization Act accompanied the Racial Integrity Act and the Pocohontas Exception - praised the Nazi eugenics program. Forced sterilizations became illegal in California in 1964. The management technologies of North American settler colonialism have provided the tools for internal colonialisms elsewhere.

So to with philosophies of state and corporate land-grabbing[24]*. The prominence of "flat world" perspectives asserts that technology has afforded a diminished significance of place and borders. The claim is that U.S. borders have become more flexible, yet simultaneously, the physical border has become more absolute and enforced. The border is no longer just a line suturing two nation-states; the U.S. now polices its borders interior to its territory and exercises*

[24] See also Arundhati Roy (2012) in Capitalism: A Ghost Story

sovereignty throughout the globe. Just as sovereignty has expanded, so has settler colonialism in partial forms.

New Orleans' lower ninth ward lies at the confluence of river channels and gulf waters, and at the intersection of land grabbing and human bondage. The collapsing of levies heralded the selective collapsibility of native-slave, again, for the purpose of reinvasion, resettlement, reinhabitation. The naturalized disaster of Hurricane Katrina's floodwaters laid the perfect cover for land speculation and the ablution of excess people. What can't be absorbed, can't be folded in (because the settlers won't give up THEIR land to advance abolition), translates into bodies stacked on top of one another in public housing and prisons, in cells, kept from the labor market, making labor for others (guards and other corrections personnel) making money for states -human homesteading. It necessitates the manufacturing of crime at rates higher than anywhere in the world. 1 in 6 people in the state of Louisiana are incarcerated, the highest number of caged people per capita, making it the prison capital of United States, and therefore the prison capital of the world.

Table 3
Prison capital of the world[25].

	Prisoners per 100,000 residents
Louisiana	1,619
United States	730
Russia	450
Iran	333
China	122
Afghanistan	62

The Yazoo and Mississippi Rivers' delta flood plain was once land so fertile that it could be squeezed for excess production of cotton, giving rise to exceptionally large-scale plantation slavery. Plantation owners lived in houses like pyramids and chattel slavery took an extreme form here, even for the South, beginning with enslaved Chitimachas, Choctaw, Natchez, Chaoüachas, Natchez, Westo, Yamasee, Euchee, Yazoo and Tawasa peoples, then later replaced by enslaved West Africans. Literally, worked to death. This "most Southern on earth"(Cobb, 1992) was a place of ultimate terror for Black people even under slavery (the worst place to be sold off too, the place of no return, the place of premature death). Black and Native people alike were induced to raid and enslave Native tribes, as a bargain for their own freedom or to defer their own enslavibility by the British, French, and then American settlers. Abolition has its incommensurabilities.

The Delta is now more segregated than it was during Jim Crow in 1950 (Aiken, 1990). The rising number of impoverished, all black townships is the result of mechanization of

[25] Source: Chang (2012).

agriculture and a fundamental settler covenant that keeps black people landless. When black labor is unlabored, the Black person underneath is the excess.

Angola Farm is perhaps the more notorious of the two State Penitentiaries along the Mississippi River. Three hundred miles upriver in the upper Delta region is Parchment Farm. Both State Penitentiaries (Mississippi and Louisana, respectively), both former slave plantations, both turned convict-leasing farms almost immediately after the Civil War by genius land speculators-cum-prison wardens. After the Union victory in the Civil War 'abolished' slavery, former Confederate Major, Samuel Lawrence James, obtained the lease to the Louisiana State Penn in 1869, and then bought Angola Farm in 1880 as land to put his chattel to work.

Figure 1.4. "The Cage: where convicts are herded like beasts of the jungle. The pan under it is the toilet receptacle. The stench from it hangs like a pall over the whole area" John Spivak, Georgia N_____, 1932.

Cages on wheels. To mobilize labor on land by landless people whose crime was mobility on land they did not own. The largest human trafficker in the world is the carceral state within

the United States, not some secret Thai triad or Russian mafia or Chinese smuggler. The U.S. carceral state is properly called neo-slavery, precisely because it is legal. It is not simply a product of exceptional racism in the U.S.; its racism is a direct function of the settler colonial mandate of land and people as property.

Black Codes made vagrancy - i.e. landlessness - illegal in the Antebellum South, making the self-possessed yet dispossessed Black body a crime (similar logic allowed for the seizure, imprisonment and indenture of any Indian by any person in California until 1937, based on the ideology that Indians are simultaneously landless and land-like). Dennis Childs writes "the slave ship and the plantation" and not Bentham's panopticon as presented by Foucault, "operated as spatial, racial, and economic templates for subsequent models of coerced labor and human warehousing - as America's original prison industrial complex" (2009, p.288). Geopolitics and biopolitics are completely knotted together in a settler colonial context.

Despite the rise of publicly traded prisons, Farms are not fundamentally capitalist ventures; at their core, they are colonial contract institutions much like Spanish Missions, Indian Boarding Schools, and ghetto school systems[26]*. The labor to cage black bodies is paid for by the state and then land is granted, worked by convict labor, to generate additional profits for the prison proprietors. However, it is the management of excess presence on the land, not the forced labor, that is the main object of slavery under settler colonialism.*

Today, 85% of people incarcerated at Angola, die there.

Conclusion

An ethic of incommensurability, which guides moves that unsettle innocence, stands in contrast to aims of reconciliation, which motivate settler moves to innocence. Reconciliation is about rescuing settler normalcy, about rescuing a settler future. Reconciliation is concerned with questions of *what will decolonization look like? What will happen after abolition? What will be the consequences of decolonization for the settler?* Incommensurability acknowledges that these questions need not, and perhaps cannot, be answered in order for decolonization to exist as a framework.

We want to say, first, that decolonization is not obliged to answer those questions - decolonization is not accountable to settlers, or settler futurity. Decolonization is accountable to Indigenous sovereignty and futurity. Still, we acknowledge the questions of those wary participants in Occupy Oakland and other settlers who want to know what decolonization will require of them. The answers are not fully in view and can't be as long as decolonization remains punctuated by metaphor. The answers will not emerge from friendly understanding, and indeed require a dangerous understanding of uncommonality that un-coalesces coalition politics - moves that may feel very unfriendly. But we will find out the answers as we get there, "in the

[26] As we write today, Louisiana has moved to privatize all of its public schools http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/06/01/louisiana-makes-bold-bid-_n_1563900.html

exact measure that we can discern the movements which give [decolonization] historical form and content" (Fanon, 1963, p. 36).

To fully enact an ethic of incommensurability means relinquishing settler futurity, abandoning the hope that settlers may one day be commensurable to Native peoples. It means removing the asterisks, periods, commas, apostrophes, the whereas's, buts, and conditional clauses that punctuate decolonization and underwrite settler innocence. The Native futures, the lives to be lived once the settler nation is gone - these are the unwritten possibilities made possible by an ethic of incommensurability.

> *when you take away the punctuation*
> he says of
> lines lifted from the documents about
> military-occupied land
> its acreage and location
> *you take away its finality*
> *opening the possibility of other futures*
>
> -Craig Santos Perez, Chamoru scholar and poet
> (as quoted by Voeltz, 2012)

Decolonization offers a different perspective to human and civil rights based approaches to justice, an unsettling one, rather than a complementary one. Decolonization is not an "and". It is an elsewhere.

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