Making Settler Colonialism Visible: An Inquiry of Indigenous Games in “Canada 150”

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation highlights the value for researchers to visibilize settler colonialism as an important social structure and context in sport management by exploring the implication of two international Indigenous sport events, both hosted in Canada during the country's celebration of its 150th anniversary in 2017. Foregrounding the ongoing settler colonial processes in North America that deeply impacts all peoples – both Indigenous and non-Indigenous – at material and epistemic levels, the dissertation sheds some light on the opportunities that these events offer for non-Indigenous media, volunteers, and sport managers in building more responsible and accountable relations with Indigenous communities as well as identifying the challenges therein, through three studies. First, focusing on the historical complicity of mainstream media in the "othering" of Indigenous Peoples as well as the platform it presents for marginalized stakeholders to voice dissent in sport events in recent decades, I conducted a critical discourse analysis of Canadian mainstream media's coverage on the two events and summarized both opportunities and limitations for mainstream media to represent Indigenous events. Next, in an autoethnography, I critically reflected on my own experience as a settler volunteer at the events. Contrasting my initial, naïve impression of Canada with my gradual understanding of settler colonialism, it reveals some uneasy learning moments, which I consider as valuable for not only sport management researchers and practitioners but also immigrants and people of color to interrogate their relations to Indigenous communities. The third project is a qualitative inquiry into the experience of non-Indigenous volunteers at the World Indigenous Nations Games (WIN Games). It reveals the complex experiences that non-Indigenous individuals had in volunteering at Indigenous Games - highly rewarding yet sometimes uncertain and uncomfortable – and encourages settlers to use uncertainty and frustration as "springboard" to actions in engaging responsibly with Indigenous communities.

PREFACE

A version of Chapter 1 of this dissertation has been published as Chen, C., & Mason, D. S. (2019). Making settler colonialism visible in sport management. *Journal of Sport Management, 33*(5), 379-392. I was the lead author and mainly responsible for concept formation/development and manuscript composition. Dr. Mason was involved in manuscript composition and editing. A version of Chapter 2 of this thesis has been published as Chen, C., Mason, D. S., & Misener, L. (2018). Exploring media coverage of the 2017 World Indigenous Nations Games and North American Indigenous Games: A critical discourse analysis. *Event Management*, 22(6), 1009-1025. As the lead author, I was responsible for concept development, data collection, data analysis, and was responsible for the majority of the manuscript composition. Dr. Mason was also involved manuscript composition and editing and Dr. Misener was involved in manuscript editing. The study of Chapter 4 received approval from University of Alberta Research Ethics Board on August 27, 2018 under the project title: Lessons learned from non-Indigenous Volunteers at Indigenous Games [No. Pro00081299].

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to my supervisor Dr. Dan. Mason, who has been extremely supportive, caring, and patient throughout my doctoral program. I would also like to thank my Supervisory Committee members Dr. Tricia McGuire-Adams and Dr. Pirkko Markula – I am grateful for their time, generosity, and thoughtful comments. Special thanks to Dr. Isabel Altamirano-Jiménez, Dr. Tara-Leigh McHugh, and Dr. Sally Shaw for serving on my Examining Committee.

Furthermore, I would like to extend my gratitude to my families and biological and non-biological relatives in various parts of the world. I am who I am because of all my relations. So is this dissertation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

I would like to begin by acknowledging that this dissertation is written on Amiskwacîwâskahikan (in English: Beaver Hills House) in Plains Cree, traditional land for diverse Indigenous Peoples including the Cree, Blackfoot, Nakota Sioux, Iroquois, Dene, Ojibway/Saulteaux/Anishinaabe, Inuit, Metis Nation, and many others, who are still thriving with pride and resilience despite centuries of colonialism that still goes on to this day, to this moment, a process of which institutions like universities have certainly been playing an active part. I have been approaching the journey of authoring this dissertation as a starting point to address my relational accountability as a settler, a grateful visitor to this territory. This process does not stop here.

One of the most important sentences I have learned about research comes from Cree scholar Shawn Wilson (2008)'s *Research is Ceremony*, in which he included a quote from a friend: "If research doesn't change you as a person, then you aren't doing it right" (p. 83).

This dissertation is a testament to the subtle yet profound changes I have gone through as a person in the last few years. At the beginning of my PhD program as an international graduate student in Canada, I was excited to explore many thoughts, theories, and knowledge previously unbeknownst to me. Although I knew my research was going to be about social justice issues and their intersection with sport, I struggled at narrowing down a research topic. Retrospectively speaking, I attributed that to having yet to experience something intensely personal, or agonizing, or infuriating (this is called "privilege"). This, however, changed in the summer months of 2017.

Between the months of June and August, 2017, I was fortunate to be involved as a volunteer at four different Indigenous sport events, all hosted in Canada within a 45-day span, and these experiences significantly changed what I perceived to be my role and responsibility as a researcher and, more importantly, a person temporarily located on this land. It presented me with opportunities to be in humility, to not only learn from Indigenous Peoples, their

cultures, traditions, ways of knowing, and ways of being in relations but also to *unlearn* the unsound knowledge and beliefs I had taken for granted in the past. It propelled me to contemplate on my position as a privileged international graduate student within the broader structural conditions of land dispossession, genocide, neoliberal capitalism, liberal multiculturalism, and settler colonization, and to imagine alternative ways of being in relations between me, Indigenous Peoples, and all others human and non-human relatives (TallBear, 2011). For me, different doors to see the world were opened as a result of the relations forged in these volunteering days and nights. This dissertation, therefore, can be seen as an action of the relational accountability (Wilson, 2008) that I decided to carry since: I felt obliged and empowered to write it as a researcher who has gained new insights and understanding through these experiences; I am accountable to act reciprocally to the people and the communities who helped open the epistemic doors for me, and hopefully, to inspire more doors to be opened for others. In this sense, although I am responsible for producing this document, I can never fully claim *individual authorship* to what is written here, for it is fundamentally a result of collective wisdom, resilience, kindness, and generosity that started by people before me and will be carried on long after I am gone.

Purpose of the Research

In general, this dissertation concerns the overall invisibility of settler colonialism (both as a social structure/phenomenon and a conceptual framework) in current sport management literature and highlights non-Indigenous sport management scholars' responsibilities in challenging setter colonialism (as a structure/phenomenon). If sport, as argued elsewhere, is a contested site for social change, what are the special dynamics of Indigenous-settler relations at play when Indigenous sport events are hosted in Canada at a time when "Canada 150" celebration was questioned by different communities, especially Indigenous Peoples across Turtle Island? In what ways can sport help illustrate the

complexity of Indigenous-settler relations and how can settlers address their responsibility in contexts like sport? Centering Indigenous-settler relations in Canada, this dissertation seeks to bring *settler colonialism* – the single most important theoretical construct that being involved in the Games enabled me to learn about– into the scholarly discussion of sport management through the examination of two Indigenous Games, especially regarding the barriers, challenges, but also the potential of these events in transforming Indigenous-settler relations. In short, the overarching question of this dissertation can be summarized as such: How can the concept of settler colonialism illuminate the implication of Indigenous Games during "Canada 150" in transforming Indigenous-settler relations, particularly the ways in which non-Indigenous people could undertake their responsibility in this process?

It is also important, however, at the outset of this dissertation, to clarify my critical stance toward *sport* in the context of a Western developed country: Canada. This stance is not just to reiterate the increasingly widespread awareness in Western societies that despite the positive outcomes associated with sport, it can serve as a site to reproduce dominant ideologies (patriarchy, classism, racism, ableism, ageism, heterosexism and homophobia etc.). Rather, I evade an ahistorical view of sport and instead, situate it in the global history of colonialism, imperialism, neoliberal capitalism and "development". As has been extensively discussed by a number of sport historians and sociologists (e.g., Alabarces, 2009; Bale & Cronin, 2003; Eichberg, 1984; Gems, 2006; Mangan, 1998), the ways in which sport is commonly understood and practiced today across the world bear an indelible colonial imprint that can be dated back, at least, to the nineteenth century. The import of Western sport as a new, superior form of physical discipline and exercise to overseas colonies was considered an extension of colonial power (Dimeo, 2002; Stoddart, 1988) and the dominance of Western ideals and practices of sport in various non-Western locales have marginalized alternative forms of physical culture (Eichberg, 1984; Hokowhitu, 2004). This dissertation rejects a

contextualized, naïve celebration of sport as inherently "good" for society. On the other hand, however, I also try to avoid a stance that downplays the agency of who we often conceive as politically, economically or culturally "oppressed" peoples and communities, when sport is discussed. Rather than pessimistically viewing the adoption and practice of Western sport in non-Western communities as simply internalizing colonial values, it is important to note the space provided by sport for a multitude of forms of resistance (see Bale & Cronin, 2003; Hallinan & Judd, 2013). Sport itself, in fact, can have very diverse meanings for Indigenous Peoples in different communities (Gardam, Giles, & Hayhurst, 2017). Therefore, while I reject a celebratory perspective of sport, I also hold a fluid view of sport as a site of social practice/phenomenon (Newman, 2014) and acknowledge possibilities therein for modest social change.

In the following section, I introduce the scholarly field of sport management and explain why sport management research needs to critically engage settler colonialism by situating it in the social-historical context of settler societies. More specifically, I will start by giving a brief review of approaches in sport management field that have claimed to address critical social issues and pointing out the absence of engagement with settler colonialism. I will then introduce the concept of settler colonialism and explain why it needs to be foregrounded in research taking place in settler states, before I discuss the opportunities for scholars to take on this challenge. I will then present three research studies in this dissertation as such an attempt and justify the selection of the cases: two international Indigenous sport events.

Critical Studies in Sport Management

Sport management emerged as an academic discipline in late 1960s in the U.S., with an emphasis on the administration of the collegiate and professional sports industries (Parks & Olafson, 1987; Pitts, 2001). The field of has substantively developed over the last few

decades, as evidenced by the blossoming number of degree programs established in higher education institutions in Western and, later on, non-Western countries (Jones, Brooks, & Mak, 2008; Pitts & Zhang, 2017). This scholarship has greatly extended our understanding of sport, especially in its professional and commercialized forms (Zeigler, 2007). Even though the field's initial focus was on the "business" side of sport (Jones et al., 2008), scholars have long called for the field to adopt a more critical lens in addressing broader social concerns, exploring possibilities of social changes both in and through sport (e.g., Amis & Silk, 2005; Chalip, 1997; Frisby, 2005; Spaaij, 2009)

Early work in sport management addressing social concerns and practices includes Parks (1992) and DeSensi (1994). Reviewing scandals in U.S. collegiate and professional sport, Parks (1992) highlighted the importance of developing students as future change agents "for the improvement of sport" (p. 224). DeSensi (1994) argued that education needed to address multicultural issues to overcome the often patriarchal and exclusive focus of sport organizations. A decade later, Frisby (2005) encouraged scholars to critically reflect on their knowledge claims and highlighted the benefits of having multiple research paradigms, offering Critical Social Science (CSS) as an alternative paradigm to address social issues manifest in sport management practices. In their introduction to a special issue of the *Journal of Sport Management* examining critical and innovative approaches to the study of sport management, Amis and Silk (2005) urged scholars situate sport management in a wider political, economic, and ideological context and to reflect on the extent to which the field attended to the needs of marginalized communities normally outside the purview of conventional sport management inquiry. This has been echoed by other scholars; Zeigler (2007) expressed his concern regarding sport management's focus on the commercialization of sport and encouraged scholars to establish more connections with other academic

disciplines, while Zakus, Malloy, and Edwards (2007) discussed potential ways to cultivate critical and ethical thinking among sport management students.

Other scholars have discussed the ramifications of racial inequality on the knowledge produced and disseminated in sport management. Singer (2005), for example, called attention to the limitations of approaches based on a Eurocentric worldview and presented Critical Race Theory (CRT) as a theoretical and epistemological alternative. Unfortunately, as Armstrong (2011) observed, a lack of racial/ethnic diversity in the sport industry – in leadership positions (Smith & Hattery, 2011) as well as in the academy (Jones et al., 2008) – has continued to render race-related inquiry peripheral to the field. However, scholars have become more reflexive of the role of sport management beyond the context of developed economies in the Western hemisphere by explicitly exploring how culture, context, history, and epistemology have had profound influences on our understanding of both sport and its management. For example, Thibault (2009) advised sport management scholars to address the negative consequences of globalization, often manifested in the developing world, while Newman (2014) encouraged reflection on how our research aligns with particular interests and values, which are implicated by historical and contemporary forms of oppression. Moreover, Girginov (2010) dissuaded scholars from taking a position of cultural superiority when examining non-Western contexts, while Chen and Mason (2018) discussed the profound colonial impact of knowledge production in Western academia.

The Invisibility of Settler Colonialism

Overall, prior discussions of sport and social change have effectively addressed theoretical and methodological limitations and greatly extended the scope of sport

management research (Hoeber & Shaw, 2017). Largely grounded in Critical Theory,[1] they have enabled researchers and students to critically reflect on the role and social responsibility of sport management scholarship in contexts beyond Western economies (e.g., Chen & Mason, 2018; Thibault, 2009). However, an important socio-historical structure that our inquiries are embedded in has continued to remain unquestioned, if visible at all. This condition is *settler colonialism*, an important sociohistorical structure upon which states such as the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand are established and sustained (e.g., Alfred & Corntassel, 2005; Byrd, 2011; Simpson, 2014; Trask, 1999; Veracini, 2010; Wolfe, 2006). Granted, a few sport management studies have specifically focused on Indigenous Peoples as a socio-economically marginalized group (e.g., Dalton et al., 2015; Hoeber, 2010), or incorporated Indigenous peoples in the categories of "racial minorities" (e.g., Nicholson, Hoye, & Gallant, 2011; Sam & Jackson 2006; Sotiriadou, Shilbury, & Quick, 2008) and, as noted above, some others have presented Indigenous epistemologies as useful alternatives for inquiry (e.g., Thomson et al., 2010; Palmer & Masters, 2010; Stewart-Withers et al., 2017). However, settler colonialism has never explicitly emerged as a framework of analysis. This is compelling, since many leading institutions that produce and deliver cutting-edge knowledge in sport management are located in four settler colonial nation-states, namely, the U.S.,

[1] Encompassing a variety of fields and approaches that have strong links to Marxist analysis of capitalism (Bronner, 2011), the research paradigm characterized as "critical theory" focuses on critiquing unequal power relations in contemporary societies. Ontologically, it assumes that there exists one social reality where larger systems and ideologies (system of beliefs) work to (re)produce inequalities amongst humans. Therefore, scholars within the critical paradigm see all knowledge production as a subjective process, working with a subjective epistemology (Markula & Silk, 2011). Two important concepts of critical theory related to this dissertation include "hegemony", meaning the dominance of powerful groups, and "agency" (Mouffe, 2014), which emphasizes individuals' ability to resist, if not transform, the unequal power structure and ideological workings.

Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.[2] In fact, as of July 2019, amongst 617 post-secondary institutions that offer at least one sport management degree programs listed on the website "Degrees in Sports.com", 560 (90.7%) are located in these four states (Degreesinsport.com, 2019). Moreover, two of the most prominent continental research associations in sport management, the North American Society for Sport Management (NASSM) and Sport Management Association for Australian and New Zealand, are also situated in these four states. Therefore, it seems to be facetious to deny any relevance of settler colonialism in our research and practice in sport management, an academic discipline largely undertaken and maintained by academics working in institutions in settler nation-states. However, what is settler colonialism? What is the relevance of settler colonialism to sport management, an academic discipline developed and sustained by many scholars working in—or trained by—institutions in settler nation-states?

In the following section, I will review the notion of settler colonialism[3] and explain why turning a blind eye to it thus far has caused great limitations on our scholarship. More importantly, I will discuss why it is imperative for sport management scholars to start critically engaging with settler colonialism and how this might present opportunities for envisioning a different future for sport management.

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[2] It is important to note that these four states were the only United Nations (UN) member states that voted against the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) when it was adopted by the UN General Assembly in September, 2007. http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/Declaration_ip_pressrelease.pdf. Anishinaabe scholar Lightfoot (2012) described these four states as four largest members of the "Anglosphere", countries that were largely, although not exclusively, colonized by British settlers. For a discussion on the important differences in Indigenous-settler relations in these four states, see Evans (2014).

[3] When discussed alone, *settler colonialism* should be understood as a socio-historical process or phenomenon that sustains dominant and subordinate relations. On the other hand, the *theory* of settler colonialism, or settler colonial theory (Macoun & Strakosch, 2013) refers to the theoretical/conceptual framework(s) that explain, expose, analyze, and challenge this unjust process/phenomenon.

Settler Colonialism, Settler, and Indigenous Peoples

In order to understand settler colonialism, it is helpful to view it in relation to postcolonial, a more established yet contentious term in the social sciences (for a discussion of postcolonialism in sport management, see Chen and Mason, 2018). Drawing from a variety of theoretical origins, postcolonial studies developed in the latter half of the twentieth century as an academic field examining the lingering consequences that modern European colonialism has had on, primarily, the developing world/Global South[4] (Young, 2001). The prefix "post" in postcolonial studies is generally understood as an ambivalent temporal signifier indicating that, while former colonial administration in overseas colonies may have ceased to exist in the decades following WWII,[5] the influence of colonialism has caused sustained political, economic, cultural and epistemological dependence of the colonies on the colonizing powers (Loomba, 2015; Young, 2001). However, postcolonial studies has also been critiqued for its limitations (see McClintock, 1992; Shohat, 1992), notably its connotation of colonization as a "finished business" (Smith, 2012, p. 65). For Indigenous scholars, this fails to account for the ongoing struggles of Indigenous Peoples within Western nation-states and reflects a colonialist view (Manuel & Posluns, 1974; Smith, 2012). In fact, settler colonialism – as a particular form of colonial relation, one that continues to underpin the settler nation-states – has long been a focal point of critique of Indigenous Peoples (Rowe & Tuck, 2017). Taking shape in Indigenous Studies and critical Indigenous studies, the analyses of "settler colonialism" have informed and inspired scholars in a number of social

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[4] *Global South* refers broadly to low or middle income countries that are located in Africa, Asia, Oceania, Latin America and the Caribbean, often used to address peoples and locales negatively affected by capitalist globalization. As the term is critiqued for its impreciseness, scholars have argued that it should not be strictly regarded a geographical category but a characterization of political economy, emphasizing geopolitical relations of power (Dados & Connell, 2012).

[5] Of course, overseas colonies still exist today. See non-self-governing territories listed by the United Nations General Assembly in 2017: https://www.un.org/en/decolonization/nonselfgovterritories.shtml

science disciplines (e.g., critical ethnic studies, feminist studies, queer theory, anthropology, and critical geography) who are interested in further examining and critiquing the specific social conditions of settler colonial societies, leading to the emergence of Settler Colonial Studies (Snelgrove, Dhamoon, & Corntassel, 2014; Veracini, 2010).

Different from franchise colonial systems based on resource extraction processes from overseas colonies to imperial centers, settler colonialism functions through the replacement of Indigenous populations with an invasive settler population, characterized by specific ways of understanding belonging and identity (Coulthard & Simpson, 2016; Veracini, 2010; Wolfe, 2006). The conceptualization of three interconnected pillars of settler colonialism (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015) further illustrates the material and epistemic violence it causes: Settlers' ongoing occupation of Indigenous *territory* and the transformation of social structures and institutions therein (Wolfe, 2006); the genocide of Indigenous *Peoples* through violence, assimilation, and displacement (Short, 2016); and the *narratives* deployed to normalize and legitimize settler belonging to the land while erasing Indigenous Peoples' presence (Rifkin, 2013; Snelgrove et al., 2014).

Material and Epistemic Violence. While the diversity and complexity amongst different Indigenous groups across the world makes it difficult to reach a universal definition of Indigenous Peoples, there are also some similarities that serve as the basis of connection for them (Niezen, 2003). For example, commonly accepted notions (by international institutions such as the United Nations) highlight their dependence on certain forms of subsistence economies, history in the context of colonization, ongoing marginalization in mainstream society, and determination to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their language, traditions, spiritual and legal systems in the face of destruction (Niezen, 2003). Importantly, Indigenous Peoples across the world generally share a continuous,

distinct relationship with specific territories that develops throughout their own respective histories (Piacentini, 1993).

In contrast to the Western view that considers land an object, as a site of conquest and resource extraction, or as property to be purchased and sold, many Indigenous communities share a connection with land that goes beyond its materiality to denote emotional, intellectual, and spiritual aspects arising from land (Little Bear, 2000; Wilson, 2008). Drawing on works of other Indigenous scholars, Bang and colleagues (2013) conceptualized the relationship between land, epistemology, and ontology as such: "Places produce and teach particular ways of thinking about and being in the world. They tell us the way things are, even when they operate pedagogically beneath a conscious level" (p. 44). Burger (1987) documented the following comment from a representative at an international meeting of Indigenous Peoples:

> Next to shooting Indigenous Peoples, the surest way to kill us is to separate us from our part of the Earth. Once separated, we will either perish in body or our minds and spirits will be altered so that we end up mimicking foreign ways. (p. 14)

Therefore, settler dispossession of land not only means the conquest of territory but also an ontological, epistemic, and cosmological violence committed against Indigenous Peoples, further reinforced by ongoing occupation (Wolfe, 2006). This is further exacerbated by assimilationist policies and practices such as blood quantum measurement (a process used to classify and "prove" one's indigeneity) and residential/boarding schools (e.g., Jacobs, 2005; Palmater, 2011; TallBear, 2003), so that Indigenous claims are diluted while the claims of settler belonging are continuously legitimated, which explains why generations of Indigenous Peoples have not only faced different forms of physical danger, social exclusion, and marginalization, but also serious identity struggles (Manuel & Posluns, 1974; Wolfe, 2006). Settler colonialism, in short, can be understood as a "multi-fronted project" that aims to

eliminate Indigenous Peoples (Arvin, Tuck, & Morrill, 2013, p. 13). On the other hand, however, it is important not to see settler colonialism as a meta-structure that overshadows all other social relations in settler states. Instead, settler colonialism is contingent and co-constituting with other formations such as heteropatriarchy, imperialism, and capitalism (Dhamoon, 2015). Also, as Macoun and Strakosch (2013) noted, the moment we realize that settler colonialism is ongoing does not mean change cannot happen. Rather, it reminds us of the fact it is only one limited way of structuring social relations.

Who Are the Settlers?

As noted by Bruyneel (2007), the notion of *settler* co-exists with the terms *Indigenous*, *Native*, and *Aboriginal*,[6] emerging only after the European invasion of the Americas. Generally understood as all people who come to settle on Indigenous land while making it their home and source of capital (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015; Tuck & Yang, 2012; Veracini, 2010), the concept of settler has been challenged and critiqued (Sharma & Wright, 2008; Snelgrove et al., 2014), especially for its tendency to essentialize an Indigenous-settler binary and simplify the vastly diverse experiences of migrants throughout the history of settler colonies. However, other scholars argue that "settler" is a valuable concept when used with caution, as it highlights that the groups' collective practices, narratives, and choices have all been relevant to the structure of settler colonialism, regardless of the different experiences involved (see Das Gupta & Haglund, 2015; Lawrence

[6] These terms are often used interchangeably but there are nuanced differences. "Aboriginal" is used to describe the first inhabitants of Canada (including First Nations, Inuit, and Metis People), primarily after the affirmation of Section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982. It is also a common term for the Indigenous Peoples of Australia. In the U.S., "Native American" is the term used in general to describe Indigenous groups. "Indigenous", on the other hand, is used to encompass a variety of original peoples in international context (National Aboriginal Health Organization Terminology Guidelines, n.d.; Niezen, 2003). While there is no universal consensus on the capitalization of these words, I follow the guideline provided by University of British Columbia (2018) in the dissertation. See http://assets.brand.ubc.ca/downloads/ubc_indigenous_peoples_language_guide.pdf

& Dua, 2005; Saranillio, 2013). Australian historian Ann Curthoys (2000), for example, argued:

> The continuing presence of colonialism has implications for all immigrants, whether first-generation or sixth. All non-indigenous people, recent immigrants and descendants of immigrants alike, are beneficiaries of a colonial history. We share the situation of living on someone else's land. (p. 32)

Attentive to the vastly different range of experiences that settler people have, Byrd (2011) used *arrivants* to describe many people of color who were forced to migrate to settler nation-states due to the violence of European-Anglo American colonialism and imperialism around the globe, indicating their distinct position in relation to white settlers and Indigenous Peoples. Others have also used terms such as *non-white settler* (Saranillio, 2013), *minor settler* (Huang, 2015), or *settler of color* (Trask, 1999) for similar purposes. In this dissertation, I concur with Saranillio (2013)'s stance on the value of settler; that is, although the degrees to which settlers benefit from settler colonialism vary significantly, it does not absolve any specific sub-group of settlers' complicity in the colonial processes based on the dispossession of Indigenous land.

Critical Race Theory and settler colonialism. Although settler colonialism should be seen as an enduring, invasive structure that involves genocidal violence towards Indigenous Peoples, its maintenance and reproduction require everyday, quotidian (in)actions of a great number of settlers in all aspects of social life (Calderon, 2014; Rifkin, 2013). As vitriolic attacks towards Indigenous Peoples might seem to be decreasing in certain institutions and public space, settler colonial logics can manifest in more insidious forms such as microaggressions, which reflect ideas that normalize whiteness and settler colonialism and thus are nevertheless just as harmful (McGuire-Adams, in press). And this is where Critical Race Theory (CRT) can critically inform the analysis of settler colonialism.

CRT is a set of research and explanatory framework with an alternative epistemological underpinning than the dominant, Eurocentric worldview (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Singer, 2005). Following Critical Theory's general goals in mapping and critiquing the hegemonic systems and ideologies that perpetuates unequal power relations, CRT scholars seek to identify, analyze, and challenge various forms of subordination experienced by communities of color (Pérez Huber & Solorzano, 2015; Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). CRT emphasizes a contextualized, nuanced understanding of whiteness and white supremacy, that is, how the current constellation of institutions, ideas, and practices systematically enable the White race to achieve and maintain power and privilege over people of color (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). While CRT was initially developed to examine race relations in the U.S. legal context, it has generated spin-offs in analyzing other communities (e.g., sport) and geographical contexts (e.g., other white-dominated societies such as Canada). [7] Notably, the consideration of settler colonialism as a form of domination, functioning in conjunction with white supremacy in settler states such as U.S., and Canada, can add a crucial layer of CRT analysis of the various types of oppression faced by Indigenous Peoples therein. McGuire-Adams (in press), for example, discussed the usefulness of CRT in illustrating how settler colonialism manifests as racial microaggressions in academia in spite of the efforts of Canadian academic institutions to "indigenize" (Gaudry & Lorenz, 2018). Drawing upon Pérez Huber and Solorzano (2015)'s discussion on racial microaggression, McGuire-Adams (in press) encouraged scholars to pay attention to these often subtle and unconscious forms of racist acts targeting people of color and, particularly,

[7] Education scholars have used CRT to examine the experiences of African American students in U.S. college (e.g., Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000) but also those of Indigenous and racialized students, teachers and faculty members in Canada (e.g., Henry, Dua, Kobayashi, James, Li, Ramos, & Smith, 2016; Vanhouwe, 2007). On the other hand, sport scholars such as Hylton (2018) have adopted CRT to analyze race relations in the U.K.

Indigenous Peoples, for these are the very channel through which colonial structures and normalized settler beliefs can be seen and visibilized. With these considerations from CRT, I provide an adapted microaggression model based on Pérez Huber and Solorzano (2015) with an aim to shed light on how settler colonialism may operate in everyday experiences. Figure 1 illustrates this model.

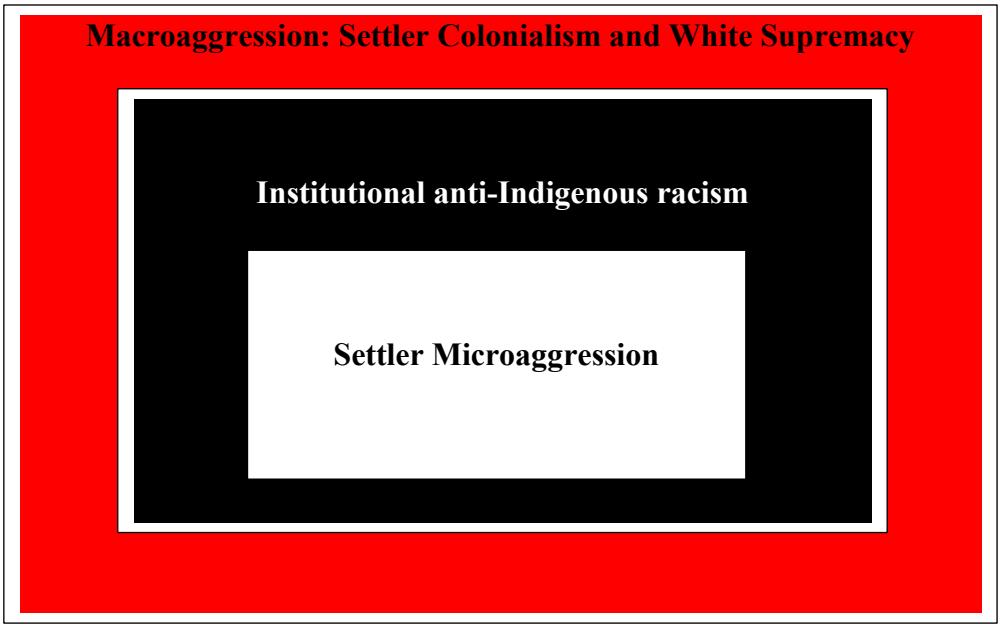

Figure 1. A settler-colonial microaggressions model.

As an adaptation of critical race analysis in the settler colonial context in Canada, this model centers Indigenous Peoples' experience with racial microaggressions from settlers, including White settlers and settlers of color. The second layer articulates how anti-Indigenous racism operates within institutions to perpetuate Indigenous erasure and settler normativity. The final layer, settler colonialism and white supremacy as the macroaggression, provides material and epistemological foundations for the (re)production and normalization of institutional and everyday anti-Indigenous racism.

Self-Positioning. Before proceeding to further discussion, it is important to position myself as the author in a settler colonial context. An international graduate student from East Asia, I describe myself as a *settler of color* who initially aspired to receive a more

"advanced" education in the West. With no substantial knowledge about Indigenous Peoples prior to my arrival in North America, I struggled to make sense of the "Indigenous issues" of the settler state as well as my relations to Indigenous Peoples. With the help and guidance of people from both Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, I started to *unlearn* the taken-for-granted colonial narrative, reflect on my unwitting participation within the settler colonial structure, and is endeavored to engage in an ethical and accountable relationship with Indigenous Peoples whose land I reside upon.

In authoring this dissertation, I do not attempt to (in fact, I cannot) absolve myself from being complicit in settler colonialism (Macoun & Strakosch, 2013). Instead, following Indigenous scholars' calls (Kovach, 2009; Gaudry, 2015), I see the writing of this dissertation as an attempt to engage in the process of settler "allyship" – not a fixed position or status, but a kind of relationship that needs to be always in active practice and reflection – in challenging settler colonialism (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015; Smith, Puckett, & Simon, 2016). As a settler scholar, I feel an appropriate way to start addressing my responsibility is to initiate the discussion in sport management, which I hope will soon be an interest of more scholars. Moreover, I am aware of the complexity of such a process, as there is no simple way out or shortcut in challenging a structure in which I am personally embedded. This not only means I will make mistakes, but also demands myself to simultaneous engage in reflection and action (Hiller, 2017). Also, I acknowledge the discomfort many settlers may have when confronting the pervasiveness of colonialism. Discomfort, however, is recognized as a key component for settlers seeking to support Indigenous Peoples and could be productive for building ethical relationship (Bacon, 2017; Smith et al., 2016).

Settler colonialism and Sport Management Research.

A number of social institutions such as media, education, religion, and the legal system have been identified as implicit in settler colonial domination. Academia is no

exception (Daigle, 2019; Grande, 2018; Smith, 2012). Most institutions that non-Indigenous scholars work at were/are built upon land dispossessed from Indigenous Peoples. Wolfe (2006) noted that *territory* is a defining element of settler colonialism in that the establishment of a new colonial society had to be founded upon the expropriation of native land. For settlers who arrived later, settler colonialism underpins our practice as scholars in both material and epistemic senses. As explained by Maira (2018) in her discussion of U.S. universities, while land-grant universities have a more direct tie to the dispossession of Indigenous land, all universities located within a settler state are in fact *settler institutions*, sites where the sovereignty and power of the settler state is upheld, state policies legitimized, through knowledge production and control of permissible discourse therein (Grande, 2015; Smith, 2012). Arvin et al. (2013) went further to argue that settler colonialism as a contemporary social order and structure has been *invisibilized*, both inside and outside academia. If not considering the implications of settler colonialism, even the knowledge produced through "critical" approaches may have, in effect, legitimized and naturalized settler colonialism (Arvin et al., 2013; Tuck & Yang, 2012), rendering the dispossession of indigenous land and the assertion of settler sovereignty seemingly natural and inevitable (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015).

Moreover, if taking into consideration the material and epistemic dimensions of settler colonialism, we see with clarity its presence and impact on the social institution of sport in settler societies. First, the appropriation of land from Indigenous Peoples provides, in a material sense, a prerequisite for the construction of grounds and facilities for modern sports, many of which were introduced by Europeans to settler colonies in late 19th century. For example, Bruyneel (2016) highlighted in his discussion of the professional football franchise in Washington D.C. that the team's home stadium resided on U.S. federal lands, which were seized from the Piscataway people by British settlers in the late 17th and early 18th centuries.

This process can be witnessed throughout different settler states. Similarly, multi-sport events, notably regional and international events like the Olympics and the Commonwealth Games, take place on Indigenous land where original residents were displaced throughout history (O'Bonsawin, 2013). Meanwhile, calling out the Commonwealth Games as "Stolenwealth Games", Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders have fiercely protested against the event all three times it was hosted in Australia (Foley, 2010; Morelli, 2018; Pose, 2009).

While modern sport's colonial imprint has been widely studied (e.g., Bale & Cronin, 2003), especially in terms of its diffusion on a global scale (Carrington, 2010), its particular intersection with settler colonialism has also started to receive scholarly attention in recent years. For example, in his examination of baseball in the U.S. during the period of western colonial settlement and Indigenous displacement between 1763 and the U.S. Civil War, Fortier (2016) explained how the logics of settler colonialism permeated the history of that game, leading to its eventual emergence as "America's pastime". In another example, the 1904 St. Louis Olympic Games featured an event called "Anthropology Days", where organizers staged contests amongst athletes from a variety of Indigenous groups. One important purpose of this event was for settler anthropologists to find evidence to support then-contemporary race theories which positioned Indigenous Peoples as inherently inferior and therefore in need of assimilation and enlightenment (O'Bonsawin, 2008). More recently, not only have Indigenous sportspersons continued to face discrimination, marginalization, and limited access to resources in sport organizations, they are also often caught up in the tensions between practicing and excelling in mainstream sport and resisting the colonial values that are at odds with their own Indigenous cultures (Anderson, 2006; Halas, McRae, & Carpenter, 2013; Nicholson, Hoye, & Gallant, 2011). This can be seen through the experiences of Indigenous sportspersons while representing settler states in competition (Deer, 2019). On the other hand, Indigenous Peoples' attempts to showcase the agency and

vibrancy of their communities through sport have faced various barriers in settler societies (see for example, Forsyth & Wamsley, 2006). A traditional game of various Indigenous communities in North America (Downey, 2018), lacrosse is also officially recognized as Canada's national summer sport (National Sports of Canada Act, 1994). When the Haudenosaunee Confederacy assembled their men's national team, the Iroquois Nationals, to compete in international lacrosse competitions as a sovereign nation (representing neither Canada nor the U.S. but competing against them), this movement faced strong resistance from authorities of these settler states (Baxter & Spier, 2017; Downey, 2018).

Meanwhile, mainstream sport organizations have historically appropriated Indigenous cultural images and symbols (Staurowsky, 2000; 2006). This can be seen as one of settlers' many attempts to legitimize their belonging through narratives about "benign" and "progressive" settler states. The most notorious examples include Indigenous names and mascots adopted by professional and collegiate sport organizations in North America (King, 2013; Staurowsky, 2007). This persistent practice symbolizes the emergence of a settler tradition: acknowledging Indigenous Peoples as historical land holders while negating their contemporaneous presence (Bruyneel, 2016). For example, Bruyneel (2016) explained how the emergence of derogatory names of professional sport teams at the beginning of the 20th century was concomitant with the massive appropriation of Indigenous land through U.S. settler colonial measures like General Allotment Act, known as the Allotment era.

Other scholars have also examined how Indigenous Peoples are tokenistically included in settler states' hosting of mega-events like the Olympic Games (e.g., Forsyth, 2016; Godwell, 2000; O'Bonsawin, 2013). For example, Godwell (2000) explained how the incorporation of Indigenous cultural elements and designs in the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games implied an Indigenous endorsement of the games at a time when Indigenous-settler tensions in Australia were facing international scrutiny. However, these designs, argued

Godwell (2000), tended to set Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders to the past and render invisible their existence in contemporary Australian society, therefore masking the real issues at stake in Australia. This tokenism was further exemplified by the failure of the organizing committee of the Sydney Olympic Games (SOCOG) to appoint an Indigenous person to the SOCOG board. Thus, settler colonialism is continuously implicated in modern sport's management and organizational practices. In the context of social science of sport in general and sport management in particular, situating academia(university) and sport within settler colonialism brings up important questions to rethink what type of knowledge should be considered valuable and legitimate (e.g., Coram & Hallinan, 2013; Henhawk, 2013).

Challenging settler colonialism: Whose responsibility?

Holding power and resources in the settler colonial society, settlers could and should actively take up responsibility to engage in the process of challenging settler colonialism (de Costa & Clark, 2016) and due to the heterogeneity of settlers, as mentioned above, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars have highlighted the complicity of non-Indigenous individuals in the day-to-day maintenance of settler colonialism, which, however, could also be seen as responsibilities and opportunities (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015; Regan, 2010; Tuck & Yang, 2012). That is to say, the burden to transform current oppressive Indigenous-settler relations in settler societies should not fall only on the shoulders of Indigenous Peoples. Instead, because of the collective actions available to be taken depends on each individual's position in the settler colonial society (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015). For settler scholars, one possibility to challenge settler colonialism lies right in front of us: disrupting the dominant process of knowledge production that naturalizes settler colonialism and carve out space for alternative ways of knowing and envisioning various aspects of the human society (la paperson, 2017; Kovach, 2009; Snelgrove et al., 2014; Tuck, 2018). An important first step to achieve that is to (re)visit the axiology of our research (Wilson, 2008).

Research axiology and opportunities for sport management research to engage settler colonialism. In his introduction to *Research is Ceremony*, Cree scholar Wilson (2008) explains the importance of axiology in research:

> Axiology is the ethics or morals that guide the search for knowledge and judge which information is worthy of searching for...In addition to judging the worthiness of the pursuit of certain types of knowledge, axiology also concerns itself with the ethics of how that knowledge is gained. (p. 34)

For Wilson (2008), axiology requires us to reflect on two important questions: "what part of this reality is worth finding out more about?" and "What is it ethical to do in order to gain this knowledge, and what will this knowledge be used for?" (p. 34). As noted above, Indigenous scholars have critiqued social sciences and humanities disciplines for being opportunistic and instrumental in their research purpose, and being extractive, exploitative, and intrusive in their process of conducting research when it comes to gaining knowledge about Indigenous Peoples (Smith, 2012). Interestingly, some important critiques of the lack of social concern in sport management are in fact also based on their critical reflection of the research axiology of sport management research ideas and practices. For example, as suggested by Shaw and Hoeber (2016), one necessary way for sport management scholarship to move forward in fostering social change is to focus more on "how we define gaps" and less on "spotting gaps that fit with our conventional understanding" (p. 259).

As a settler scholar whose academic endeavors and personal material gains benefit from the settler colonial structure and the dispossession of land and resource from Indigenous Peoples, I have the responsibility to interrogate our complicity in settler colonialism. More importantly, I can use such opportunities to explore possibilities in which our praxis could contribute to the transformation of Indigenous-settler relations (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015). Drawing upon Wilson (2008)'s notion of axiology as well as the responsibility for

settlers to interrogate their responsibility in Indigenous-settler relations, I propose the following questions for non-Indigenous sport management scholars to consider:

> (a) What is the social location that I speak from? As a settler scholar, is it possible to acknowledge my presence on Indigenous land and maintain objectivity and neutrality in my work?
>
> (b) Who am I as a researcher? What was the experience that may have been embedded in settler colonialism that led me to pursue this topic? Which community's interests are at stake in my research? Who are the people that my research should be held accountable to? Who will benefit from this research? Will this knowledge reinforce the legitimacy of settler colonialism, or challenge it?

For settler scholars, making settler colonialism visible means that we remain reflexive about how settler colonialism—operating in conjunction with other formations including capitalism, imperialism, and heteropatriarchy (Dhamoon, 2015)—has impacted our way of thinking about sport, the relations between peoples as well between humans and the environment, how sport should be organized, what purposes sport should serve and, importantly, what social change our praxis could potentially bring about in addressing existing issues. This reflection, therefore, serves to ensure that the research axiology aligns well with my research assumptions as a critical scholar whose work concerns settler colonialism. This dissertation, then, is an attempt to highlight the value of visibilizing settler colonialism in sport management as well as the opportunities it presents in advancing our scholarship.

Two Indigenous Games and Research Studies

As discussed earlier, *sport* is seen as having played an ambivalent and intriguing role in modern European colonialism in general, and settler colonialism specifically. One the one hand, scholars have noted how modern sport exemplifies European cultural diffusion in the

colonial era (Bale & Cronin, 2003; Carrington, 2010; Eichberg, 1984; Gems, 2006), including its various detrimental impact on Indigenous communities across the world (see Hallinan & Judd, 2013). On the other hand, scholars and Indigenous leaders have noted the significance of sport as a cultural practice for Indigenous Peoples all over the world (Forsyth, 2013; Heine, 2013; Rocha Ferreira, Mizrahi, & Ferrarese Capettini, 2016) and sport has also been identified as having great potential in resisting colonial values and in empowering the disadvantaged. Despite a few notable, symbolic moments (e.g., Canadian Mohawk kayaker Alwyn Morris raising an eagle feather after winning a gold medal in 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games and Australian Aboriginal sprinter Cathy Freeman winning the 400-meter race gold medal in 2000 Sydney Olympic Games), however, the potential for mainstream sport events to empower Indigenous Peoples has been questioned because of the apolitical myth of sport reproduced by international sport governing bodies like the International Olympic Committee (O'Bonsawin, 2010; 2015), in addition to the long-held belief that sport provides unity for nation-states, embodied and represented by national teams participating in international competitions (Bairner, 2001).

Special context for 2017 NAIG and 2017 WIN Games. In summer 2017, two International Indigenous sport events, the second World Indigenous Nations Games (WIN Games) and ninth North American Indigenous Games (NAIG), were held in central Alberta and the Great Toronto area, Canada respectively. These two Games[8] are particularly worthy of scholarly attention for a number of reasons. First, the socio-historical context of these games is significant, as the settler colonial nation-state of Canada was in the course of celebrating its 150th anniversary of Confederation at the time and these events had explicit

[8] In the remainder of the dissertation, I use "Indigenous Games" to differentiate the Indigenous sport events from other forms of sport, play, and recreational activities, or "games".

objectives of showcasing the Indigenous culture and empowering the participating Indigenous communities (NAIG Host Society, n.d.; WIN Games 2017, n.d.), which inevitably raised questions for, and discussions of, the future of Indigenous-settler relations in Canadian society. Second, unlike mainstream large-scale sporting events such as the Olympic Games and Commonwealth Games, Indigenous stakeholders were at the central stage of these games, with all participants being Indigenous athletes and a major part of the organizing team being Indigenous leaders. While mainstream international sporting events (such as the Olympic Games) are normally associated with urban political and business elites and interests, Indigenous stakeholders played important roles in these two international Indigenous games' bidding, preparation, and staging processes (a number of First Nations bands in Alberta hosted the WIN Games and the Aboriginal Sport and Wellness Council Ontario [ASWCO] was the host for NAIG). At the same time, there were also many non-Indigenous community members that actively contributed to the Indigenous games through the roles of volunteers, paid staff, sponsors. That is to say, the events themselves became an atypical site where a distinct type of communication and interaction between Indigenous (e.g., event organizers, community leaders, athletes and coaches, and other community members) and non-Indigenous people (e.g., staff, volunteers, and spectators) took place. Drawing upon the critique of settler colonialism and seeking to understand the implication of these Games on Indigenous-settler relations in sport context and beyond, this dissertation examined the Games through three research studies from three different angles. First, with the consideration that mainstream media still has considerable influence on how non-Indigenous members understand Indigenous Peoples in settler societies, I examined Canadian mainstream media's coverage of the two events, particularly how Indigenous people's voices were represented. Next, turning the critical gaze inward, I presented in an autoethnography my own experience as an Asian visitor volunteering at the events. Contrasting my initial

embrace of Canada's multicultural narrative with my gradual understanding of settler colonialism, I reflected upon some uncomfortable learning moments within Indigenous communities that enabled me to ethically position myself as a settler sport scholar working on Indigenous land. As I saw clearly some benefits of my personal involvement at Indigenous Games, I used the third study to explore the experiences of other non-Indigenous volunteers with an aim to explore the common themes in building accountable relationships with people from Indigenous communities. While each study asked and answered discrete questions, which added contributions to the respective subject areas (Study 1: sport media; sport events; Study 2: narrative inquiry in sport; Study 3: sport volunteerism), these three studies together illustrate how settler sport management scholars can *visibilize* settler colonialism, serving as an important foundation for future studies that seek to challenge settler colonialism. Below are the research questions addressed in the three studies.

1. Whose voices can be heard in the mainstream media coverage of these events? (Who speaks for whom?) How did the media portray these events as (contested) sites where both Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians attempt to make meaning? What, if any, voices regarding the settler colonial reality of Canada manifested in the mainstream media coverage of these events?

2. How did my identity as a settler-of-color come into play in my volunteering experiences at these events, what were my inner struggles in this process, and how have they impacted my own approach as a scholar?

3. For non-Indigenous volunteers at these events, what were their experiences? Did they experience frustrations? Can their experiences help illustrate the value of settlers volunteering at Indigenous events?

These three research papers are presented as three separate chapters in this dissertation. The first paper, Chapter 2, examines the mainstream media coverage of these

games, particularly with a focus on how current issues related to Indigenous communities in Canada were represented. Next, the second paper, Chapter 3, is a reflection of my own experience as a settler of color volunteer at these games and how that experience has unsettled my positionality as a settler scholar. The third paper, Chapter 4, explores the experiences of other non-Indigenous volunteers at the 2017 WIN Games and highlighted the challenges and opportunities for settlers to engage in sustained, accountable relationship-building in Indigenous event settings. Finally, Chapter 5 summarized the findings and implications of the dissertation and addressed directions for future research.

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CHAPTER 2

Exploring Media Coverage of the 2017 World Indigenous Nations Games and North American Indigenous Games: A Critical Discourse Analysis

Introduction

Conceptualized as media spectacles (Horne, 2017; Tomlinson & Young, 2006), international sporting events have become a means for local political and business elites to project positive images and garner social, political and/or economic benefits for their communities (Black, 2007; Hiller, 2010). One important way to achieve this is through mainstream media coverage, due to the media's role in disseminating information and shaping the audience's views on the issues reported (Chalip, Green, & Hill, 2003; Getz & Fairley, 2004; Misener, 2013; Sant, Carey & Mason, 2013). Thus, sporting events – and the media coverage associated with them – provide a context for the contestation and rearticulation of broader issues facing communities throughout the world. Meanwhile, events have become more complicated as marginalized groups in host countries or cities have increasingly voiced their dissent when large-scale sporting events are hosted (Cornelissen, 2012; O'Bonsawin, 2010). More specifically, there are higher risks for event hosts in non-Western, developing countries, [9] as Western media coverage tends to reinforce pre-existing prejudices and stereotypes of the developing countries (Dimeo & Kay, 2004), who have less control over the images shown in the mainstream media in Western countries (Carey & Mason, 2016). What is lesser known, however, is how Western mainstream media follow sporting events hosted by Indigenous stakeholders within the settler colonial societies in the West, where tensions and contradictions can emerge in the discursive construction of the events.

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[9] Young (2001) noted the limitation of terms like "West" and "non-West", as they may perpetuate a dichotomy between the West and the rest, one that "centuries of imperialism have hardly allowed" (p. 4). I hereby acknowledge the inherent ambiguity, tension, and mutual dependency of the two terms West and non-West. My use of them follows the "strategic essentialism" (Spivak, 1988), which enables constructive critique.

In July 2017, the second World Indigenous Nations Games (WIN Games) and the ninth North American Indigenous Games (NAIG) were staged in Alberta and Ontario, Canada, respectively. These two Games present a unique case to examine mainstream media coverage of Indigenous sport events in a settler colonial context as they were held simultaneously with the national celebration of "Canada 150", which drew widespread dissent from Indigenous communities (Malik, 2017). Moreover, Indigenous Peoples[10] were not only the participants in the sport competitions, but also played important leadership roles in the organizing process (Bell, 2017a; Ormsby, 2016). Therefore, an analysis of how the mainstream Canadian media reported on the two events and gave a voice to Indigenous Peoples will shed light on the tensions, challenges, and opportunities facing the settler nation-state of Canada. More specifically, this chapter sought to answer the following questions: Whose voices can be heard in the mainstream media coverage of these events? (Who speaks for whom?) How did the media portray these events as (contested) sites as Indigenous people attempted to use it as a platform to amplify their concerns? What, if any, voices regarding the challenges faced by Indigenous Peoples in Canada manifested in the mainstream media coverage of these events? The next section of the chapter provides a literature review of two major perspectives on *reconciliation*, the concept of settler colonialism, and the implication of sporting events in this context. This is followed by a description of this study's research method, after which the results of the analysis are outlined and discussed.

Two Perspectives on "Reconciliation"

In recent years, with the rising influence of international Indigenous movement (Lightfoot, 2016; Niezen, 2003), settler states have adopted different approaches in their

[10] Although often used interchangeably with "Aboriginal peoples" or "Native peoples", "Indigenous Peoples" is used in this dissertation to refer to First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples of Canada. The Canadian federal government adopted the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP) in 2016.

attempts to "reconcile" with Indigenous Peoples and move towards a stage of nationwide "reconciliation" (Maddison, Clark & de Costa, 2016; Regan, 2010; Short, 2003). While these initiatives have generated widespread publicity, the extent to which they can fundamentally address the historical wrongs and transform Indigenous-settler relations in settler states has been under contentious debate, especially amongst Indigenous communities (Maddison et al., 2016). While a wide range of opinions exist, two salient Indigenous perspectives can be found in the Canadian context.[11]

First perspective

The first perspective, championed by mainstream Indigenous organizations and leaders,[12] is based on the *United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP) and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) report. According to this perspective, the focus of reconciliation should be about healing historical traumas, reducing socio-economic gaps through more equitable resource distribution, improving public education, and the building of mutual understanding and respectful relationships between settlers and Indigenous communities. More specifically, the key components of TRC (2015) perspective on reconciliation is shown on Table 1.

Table 1. *TRC Perspective on Reconciliation* (Adapted from Denis and Bailey, 2016)

1. Recognising and respecting the treaty, constitutional, and human rights of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples;
2. Healing relationships through 'public truth sharing, apology, and commemoration';

[11] For a discussion on these two perspectives, see Short (2005), Denis and Bailey (2016). The first perspective can be largely seen as derived from the TRC report whereas the second perspective are championed by scholars including Alfred (2005), Coulthard (2014), Simpson (2014).

[12] For some examples of Indigenous organizations and individual leaders who share this perspective, see Denis and Bailey (2016).

3. ‘Addressing the ongoing legacies of colonialism’ and creating ‘a more equitable and inclusive society by closing the gaps in social, health, and economic outcomes’
4. Respecting and learning from the ‘perspectives and understandings of Aboriginal Elders and Traditional Knowledge Keepers’;
5. Supporting cultural revitalisation, including ‘integrating Indigenous knowledge systems, oral histories, laws, protocols, and connections to the land into the reconciliation process’;
6. Joint leadership, trust building, accountability, and resource investments;
7. ‘Sustained public education and dialogue...about the history and legacy of residential schools, Treaties, and Aboriginal rights, as well as the historical and contemporary contributions of Aboriginal peoples to Canadian society’.

Notably, this perspective presumes the legitimacy of the settler state and acknowledges the possibility of “reconciling” within the political framework of settler state. The implication of this premise towards “reconciliation” is further illustrated in the discussion of the second, more critical perspective.

Second perspective

An alternative perspective highlights the limited challenges that state-centered, top-down reconciliation initiatives pose to the status quo and considers the official reconciliation discourse an example of “politics of recognition” (Coulthard, 2014), which may constitute a distraction from addressing deeper issues embedded in Canadian society, namely settler colonialism (Alfred, 2005). This perspective, termed by some as the “Indigenous Resurgence” perspective (e.g., Corntassel, 2012; Coulthard, 2014; Simpson, 2016), advocates for land restitution, regeneration of Indigenous nations, as well as the creation of an

alternative political-economic structure in Canada. In other words, the Indigenous Resurgence perspective speaks to the importance for Indigenous communities in Canada to see the limited possibilities within the structure of settler state and society (e.g., the "recognition politics" revolving around official "Reconciliation" and other initiatives), and to instead focus on the regeneration of communities that are culturally vibrant and politically autonomous (Corntassel, 2012; Coulthard, 2014; Simpson, 2016; Tuck & Yang, 2012). To better understand this perspective, particularly its distinctiveness compared to the TRC perspective, it is imperative to foreground its critique on the material and more importantly, epistemic violence caused by settler colonialism. The concept of land will also be used to illustrate this point.

Settler Colonialism. Different from franchise colonial systems that were based on resource extraction from colonies to imperial centers, settler colonialism functions through the replacement of Indigenous populations with an invasive settler population, characterized by specific ways of thinking about belonging and identity (Veracini, 2010; Wolfe, 2006). Scholars have emphasized three interdependent pillars in its formation and maintenance: territory, people, and identity (Bruyneel, 2007; Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015). How the three pillars co-constitute settler colonialism can be understood as such:

Territory: settlers' continuous occupation of Indigenous land and the transformation of institutions and social structures;

People: the genocide of Indigenous people, including policies and practices of violence, assimilation, and displacement;

Identity: the normalization and legitimization of settlers belonging on the land through the production of new narratives, rendering Indigenous presence as historical, or as part of the "multicultural" nation-state.

Today, examples of settler colonial states include the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Israel, and South Africa[13] (Veracini, 2010; Wolfe, 2006). In this chapter, "settler" is understood as all non-Indigenous people who currently reside in Canada. As discussed in Chapter 1, this is not to ignore the vastly diverse experiences of different groups of people migrating or living in Canada, but to emphasize the common relationship and responsibility that non-Indigenous groups have towards Indigenous Peoples (see Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015; Dhamoon, 2015; Pulido, 2018; Saranillio, 2013; Snelgrove et al., 2014).

Land as fundamental to "Reconciliation". Indigenous Peoples, despite having diversity in their belief systems, traditions, and cultural practices, generally share a distinct understanding of what *land* means. Often described as sentient and having its own agency, land from an Indigenous perspective is intertwined with the physical environment, creatures, Indigenous law and, importantly, the spiritual realm. This contrasts with a dominant Western view that considers land an object, as a site of conquest, or as property that can be purchased and sold (Little Bear, 2000). Therefore, the dispossession of land from Indigenous Peoples in settler colonialization not only means the conquest of territory and new households built on stolen land, but also an ontological, epistemic, and cosmological violence imposed on the former, further entrenched with ongoing occupation (Wolfe, 2006). This explains why scholars who hold the Indigenous Resurgence perspective outlined above, while recognizing the merits of the TRC report, stress that the foundation of Indigenous struggles against settler colonialism concerns land-based issues. As noted by Cherokee scholar Jeff Corntassel (2012): "If colonization is a disconnecting force, then resurgence is about reconnecting with homelands, cultures, and communities" (p. 97). The Indigenous Resurgence perspective

[13] In some recent discussions, scholars have also extended the analysis of settler colonialism to Latin America (e.g., Castellanos, 2017).

maintains that although settler colonialism intersects with other struggles around race, gender, and class that many other minority groups also experience daily, the oppression of Indigenous Peoples cannot be adequately addressed via frameworks based on civil rights, equity and inclusion without restoration of land-based relations and practices, which requires transferring *land* back to Indigenous Peoples (Barker, 2012; Simpson, 2016; Tuck & Yang, 2012). After reviewing the term of settler colonialism and the major perspectives Indigenous communities generally hold towards "reconciliation" in the settler state of Canada, I now explain the relevance of Indigenous sport events in this context.

Indigenous Games: Why do they matter?

The 2017 WIN Games and NAIG represent important cases for sport management and event management scholars for several reasons. First, sport is seen as having played an ambivalent but intriguing role in the history of modern European colonialism in general, and settler colonialism specifically. On the one hand, scholars have noted how modern sport exemplifies European cultural diffusion in the colonial era (Bale & Cronin, 2003, Carrington, 2010) as well as the many challenges that intensified globalization of sport has brought to Indigenous communities across the world, for example, the preservation of Indigenous physical culture and knowledge (Rigney, 2003; Wilkaire & Newman, 2013) as well as forced displacement and other repercussions caused by large-scale sport events (Giulianotti & Klauser, 2010; Sykes, 2016). On the other hand, however, some sporadic research has shown the value of sport events in serving as a platform in resisting colonial values and in empowering disadvantaged Indigenous communities (Anderson, 2006; Forsyth & Wamsley, 2006; Lavallée & Poole, 2009; Paraschak, 2013; Rocha Ferreira, Mizrahi & Ferrarese Capettini, 2016). However, Indigenous Peoples' involvement in sport events remains an under-researched area and there is an urgent need to deepen our understanding of events like the Indigenous games, specifically regarding its implications to Indigenous-settler relations in

settler states (Forsyth & Giles, 2012). Second, the socio-historical context of the 2017 WIN Games and NAIG further adds to their significance. While much of Canada embraced its 150th anniversary of Confederation through a series of celebratory events promoted by the federal government as "Canada 150", the celebration received fierce contestation from various Indigenous communities across the country (Idle No More, 2017; Malik, 2017; Powers, 2017). This would make discussions of issues facing Indigenous Peoples highly salient while the events were occurring. As noted by Katherine Swampy, then a councillor from Samson Cree First Nation in Alberta, Canada's sesquicentennial did not mean much to the Indigenous Peoples that have lived on this land for thousands of years (Varela, 2017). For some other Indigenous communities, "Canada 150" was another insult (Saganash, 2017) on top of all other historical and contemporary wounds caused by settler colonialism (Canadian Human Rights Commission [CHRC], 2013; Manuel & Derrickson, 2015; Palmater, 2017).

Indigenous Games and Mainstream Media

As noted by scholars from various disciplines, the maintenance and legitimization of settler colonialism rely on a number of institutions such as religion, and the legal and educational systems. Mass media are no exception. Historically, as content about Indigenous Peoples has been primarily dictated by non-Indigenous media personnel, Indigenous Peoples were largely excluded from positions to represent themselves in the media and were prone to be portrayed as exotic or in need of "civilizing" (Alia, 2010; Harding, 2006). Racialized stereotypes of Indigenous Peoples presented in mainstream media helped to justify the invasion of settler populations and the outright exclusion of Indigenous voices from media discourse has influenced the denial of rights of Indigenous Peoples (Harding, 2005, 2006; Nielsen & Robyn, 2003). More recently, media has developed an appetite to associate Indigenous Peoples with art, nature, and sport, in addition to the usual associations of social problems, victims, or offenders (Hartley & McKee, 2000) and Indigenous voices have been

selectively incorporated in media coverage, thereby providing an opening for oppositional discourses (Harding, 2006). In sport coverage more specifically, media tend to relish the "reconciliation" or "one people" discourse, which considers Indigenous athletes' sport achievement as members of the nation-state as indicators to the world the success of the multicultural, presumably post-racial, and "reconciled" states (Bruce & Wensing, 2012; Knight, Neverson, MacNeill, & Donnelly, 2007; O'Bonsawin, 2010). For example, in McCreanor et al.'s (2010) study of New Zealand media's overall representation of Māori participation in sport, the authors noticed the dominance of the "One People" discourse, a reproduction of New Zealand national identity whereby the Päkehä occupy the central position and Māori are rendered peripheral. While media increased the coverage of Māori sport events and their participation in mainstream events, there was a lack of appropriate contextual or historical information to inform readers about Māori communities, which "left a void to be filled by anti-Maori narrative" (McCreanor et al., 2010, p. 241). The most widely studied case of media representation of Indigenous sportspersons has been on Australian Aboriginal sprinter Cathy Freeman, whose athletic successes in 2000 Sydney Olympics were mobilized as a celebrated symbol of national unity or "inclusion" for Australia (Bruce & Hallinan, 2001; Bruce & Wensing, 2009, 2012; Gardiner, 2003; Hallinan & Judd, 2012).

Mainstream media coverage of the Games has implications on how it was interpreted and understood when the majority of non-Indigenous readers have limited knowledge or contact with the Iroquois communities, or Indigenous Peoples overall, in real life (Coleman, 2012). On the other hand, however, this also means opportunities for media to shed alternative light on Indigenous Peoples' struggle and resistance (Alia, 2010). Different from "mainstream" large-scale sporting events like the Olympics, both WIN Games and NAIG's participants are Indigenous Peoples, who continue to face different forms of social exclusion and whose belief systems, cultures, languages, and ways of life have been under various

degrees of threat (United Nations, 2009). These events had a focus on showcasing various Indigenous traditions and customs (NAIG Host Society, n.d.; WIN Games 2017, n.d.a) and Indigenous stakeholders played important roles in the games' bidding, preparation, and staging processes. For example, a number of First Nations bands in Alberta[14] hosted the 2017 WIN Games and the Aboriginal Sport and Wellness Council Ontario (ASWCO) was the host for 2017 NAIG. To date, little is not known how mainstream media would cover international Indigenous sport events, played and hosted by, Indigenous Peoples. In the case of these two Games, mainstream media exposure provides a similar platform for the event host and its stakeholders but also represents different interests than those (political and business elites) found in other sporting events contexts. Also, previous studies on media representation of Indigenous sport have yet to apply a settler colonial lens in the analysis. In this chapter, my deployment of the critique of settler colonialism extends the analysis of media representation of Indigenous sport beyond critiquing the racist "othering" of Indigenous Peoples and sheds light on the value of settler colonial lens in understanding media and Indigenous sport. It is within this context that I set out to examine how the 2017 WIN Games and NAIG potentially served as a platform for Indigenous groups to express their voices and reach new audiences through the mainstream media, and concurrently, whether any of the two visions of "reconciliation" became dominant.

The 2017 WIN Games and NAIG. Two years after the first ever WIN Games took place in Palmas, Brazil, the 2017 WIN Games[15] were staged at several First Nations reserves in Alberta from July 1 to July 9. More than 1,500 athletes from Indigenous tribes from 29 countries competed in archery, basketball, soccer, swimming, canoeing, and running events.

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[14] These include the Enoch Cree Nation, Samson Cree Nation, Ermineskin Cree Nation, Montana First Nation and Louis Bull Tribe, and Alexis Nakota Sioux Nation (WIN Sports International, 2018).
[15] The first WIN Games were held in Palmas, State of Tocantins, Brazil from October 23 to November 1, 2015.

Alongside the formal sporting events, Indigenous athletes also engaged in a series of demonstrations of traditional sports and cultural ceremonies from their respective regions (Huncar, 2017). A series of conferences centering on the themes of reconciliation and Indigenous youth empowerment also took place as part of the games' programs (Hampshire, 2017; WIN Games 2017, n.d.b). Inaugurated in 1990 in Edmonton, Canada, the NAIG has a longer history than the WIN Games. The 2017 NAIG were held in the Greater Toronto area in Ontario from July 15 to July 22. Approximately five thousand athletes, representing 13 Canadian provinces and territories and 9 states of the U.S., competed in 14 sports (Milton, 2017). All athletes competing at current NAIG were under 19 years old. Like WIN Games, a series of cultural events were also staged alongside the athletic competition (Chidley-Hill, 2017a).

Research Method

As noted above, this study adopts a settler colonial lens, which explicitly acknowledges the unjust social structure in which the research object (media discourse) is embedded, in order to critically examine how tensions within Indigenous-settler relations in Canada were represented in mainstream media's coverage of the WIN Games and NAIG. To accomplish this, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is utilized as the method for data analysis. In this section, I review CDA and explain how it is applied in the analysis.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Somewhat confusingly, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is often used and understood in two different ways: as a broader movement in discourse studies that includes several approaches (Weiss & Wodak, 2003) and a specific approach to data analysis (Fairclough, 2010). However, there is some consensus across different scholars' use of the term. Importantly, CDA scholars draw from critical theory, whose task is to reveal how ideologies are maintained by the dominant groups to (re)produce a host of unequal power

relations and oppressions within societies. Therefore, CDA scholars presume that discursive practices, namely the production and consumption of written languages, images, and/or sounds, *constitute* and *are constituted by* other social practices and phenomena (Markula & Silks, 2011; Weiss & Wodak, 2003). CDA examines the use of language and text with an explicit focus on their social context and with a goal of making the underlying ideological workings more visible. Thus, as a method, CDA does not assume a politically neutral position. Instead, it aims to uncover how discursive practices contribute to the (re)production of unequal power relations between social groups while also seeking the opportunities where changes at communication level can be extended to the society (Jørgensen, & Phillips, 2002).

Despite these commonalities, CDA approaches are diverse because of the differences in theoretical backgrounds and specific methods to analyze the language in use. In this study, Fairclough's (2003; 2010) CDA approach was adopted for two reasons: 1) it is considered well-developed (Jørgensen, & Phillips, 2002; Markula & Silk, 2011); and 2) its focus on power imbalance and how it is manifested in discursive practices aligns well with our aim to examine media discourse on Indigenous-settler relations in a settler colonial context. Moreover, as noted by Fairclough (2010), it is necessary for CDA to draw on other social theories to inform its inquiry on specific issues in question. A CDA guided by the two major perspectives on "reconciliation" mentioned above, therefore, is tasked to explain how each of them is significant in mediating how Indigenous-settler relations in settler state can be properly understood, manifested in the discursive construction of the two events in the mainstream media coverage.

Data Collection and Analysis

147 news articles and reports covering the two events, from the announcement of the host site of WIN Games in early November, 2015 to the conclusion of NAIG in late July, 2017, were collected from mainstream Canadian media sources. This included coverage from

national television news outlets such as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and *Global News*, and newspapers such as the *National Post*, and *Globe and Mail.* In addition, prominent regional media that were geographically proximate to the host cities/communities of the events were also consulted (*Edmonton Journal*, *Toronto Star*, *Hamilton Spectator*). Newspaper reports were collected through the Canadian Newsstream Database and reports published on websites were collected through online searches with the keywords "indigenous games". 122 reports collected were on NAIG and 25 were on WIN Games. Guided by the research questions, the coding process focused on the comments, interpretations, and reflections made by Indigenous stakeholders during the events.

Data analysis followed Fairclough's (2003, 2010) three-step approach to critical discourse analysis (CDA). The first step of CDA is the analysis of the contents of the communication event, or the *surface ideas*. The analysis during this phase focused on describing how the speakers related themselves to the events or the meanings they made out of their experiences with the events. In this phase, I read through all the data, extracted relevant quotes and comments made by Indigenous stakeholders in the coverage of the Games. At the same time, I also identified the frequently quoted individuals (prominent Indigenous leaders and sportspersons) in the coverage. The second step of the analysis focused on *intertextuality* or *interdiscursivity*; that is, how these discourses overtly or subtly related to, or drew on other discourses, which in turn shaped the particular discourse under analysis (Liao & Markula, 2009). This step sought to reveal the possible tensions and challenges facing Canadian society through interpretation of the embedded meanings of the discourse on the events. For example, an article might quote the TRC report,[16] thus rendering

[16] The final report was published by The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) on July 23, 2015. Its contents include findings from a six-year investigation of the Indian Residential School system and the impact on Indigenous youth.

the mainstream perspective of "reconciliation" relevant to the sporting events covered. In this phase, I coded the text extract from step 1, identifying other salient discourses that Indigenous stakeholders made links with when they commented on the Games. In the third phase of the analysis, I sought to connect the discursive construction of the event to the broader social and institutional conditions of which it is part of, in this case, settler colonialism. More specifically, I aimed to investigate the discursive alignment of the coverage with both the TRC perspective and the Indigenous Resurgence perspective outlined in the previous section, that is, whether the discussion of challenges facing Indigenous communities covered in the reports went as far as naming the settler macroaggression (see Figure 1 in Chapter 1) as the macro socio-political context from which these challenges emerged. I present a combined analysis of three levels in the results and discussion sections.

Results

In general, Indigenous peoples' voices were a central component of the media coverage. Of 147 articles collected, all of them had some content related to Indigenous Peoples who were involved in the events. 122 featured direct quotations from Indigenous Peoples or featured substantive coverage as part of the news stories. Only 28 articles contained content related to non-Indigenous Peoples involved in the events, while nine articles had stories related to non-North American delegations visiting the events. Overall, Indigenous stakeholders highly valued these events as an opportunity to make their voice heard through the media. For example, Dallas Squire, a coordinator of NAIG at Six Nations,[17] Ontario, said:

[17] Six Nations of the Grand River is a First Nations reserve in Ontario, Canada.

> As good hosts, it's our duty to use that platform to tell our story...All of our events are extending past sports…I'm a big believer of utilizing any type of movement as a vehicle to tell your story, be who you are. (Mullin, 2017b, para. 14)

While participating in the sporting and cultural segments of the games, many Indigenous stakeholders reflected on different struggles that Indigenous communities currently face, which in turn give insights into the Indigenous-settler relation in Canada. Three overarching themes emerged from the analysis: *Opportunities, Marginalization*, and *Struggles for Recognition*. It is important to note that the themes discussed here are media representations instead of how people actually thought or felt.

Opportunities

The first theme related to opportunities for Indigenous Peoples as a result of hosting and participating in the two events. This could be seen in two ways – the opportunity to educate non-Indigenous people, and in the way that the events could help Indigenous Peoples connect to their own identities.

Educating non-Indigenous people. One issue related to the ongoing misconceptions of some non-Indigenous people. For example, a high school teacher from Six Nations, Greg Henhawk, explained a common misunderstanding that non-Indigenous people hold towards Indigenous communities: "People believe that Indigenous people have one language, that we're all one nation…They don't understand the concept that we're 800 First Nations across North America, possibly all with distinct languages, and some different belief systems" (Milton, 2017, para. 16). Not surprisingly, the two Games, both having significant cultural exhibitions and sharing components, were considered by Indigenous stakeholders as important opportunities in helping non-Indigenous Canadians learn about Indigenous culture and traditions. As NAIG CEO, Marcia Trudeau-Bomberry, noted:

> Reconciliation is a two-way street...It's about non-Indigenous people taking that step to learn about Indigenous people, about the culture, about learning about some of the athletes and where they've come from and what they've gone through to make it [to] Toronto (Chidley-Hill, 2017a, para. 2).

In fact, all volunteers at NAIG were given a handbook that briefly outlined the history of Canada's Indian Residential School (IRS) system and TRC's 94 Calls to Action. A member of event staff, Geoffrey Daybutch, from Mississauga First Nation, believed that "all Canadians should take a moment to read that, too. The information is very, very vital and important for every Canadian" (Milton, 2017, para. 24).

Moreover, as many events were held on First Nations reserves, they were considered as a rare opportunity for non-Indigenous people to visit Indigenous communities and break down stereotypes. Dr. Wilton Littlechild, a Cree lawyer, former Member of Parliament of Canada, and current Grand Chief of the Confederacy of Treaty 6 First Nations, had his 40-year dream of staging an Olympic-like sport competition for Indigenous Peoples finally realized (Forsyth & Wamsley, 2006). A well respected Indigenous leader, Littlechild encouraged non-Indigenous people to visit the WIN Games' host communities to develop a more realistic understanding of life on the reserves:

> Our community is very rich in different ways…we're not trying to hide the challenges…it's important for people to come to our territory. Come and see the poor housing, come and see the poverty, come and see the challenges we face with violence. (Morin, 2017, para. 22)

However, Littlechild also believed that attending the events could help non-Indigenous visitors appreciate the richness of Indigenous communities in other aspects, especially through culture and ceremony (Morin, 2017). Currie Hall, the executive director of the WIN Games, similarly acknowledged the value of the games in providing an alternative view for

non-Indigenous people, which may debunk the impressions normally portrayed on the media: "It makes me excited and super proud that the world can come here and finally hear good news about what's going on in our community, because a lot of time there's negative, negative stories that are put out there" (Bell, 2017b, para. 22).

In short, the discussion above shows that within mainstream media coverage, Indigenous stakeholders connected the sporting events with their concerns regarding the stereotypes that many non-Indigenous people still held towards them, which can be attributed to misunderstandings and a lack of meaningful learning opportunities. On the other hand, Indigenous stakeholders emphasized the value of Indigenous games in facilitating mutual understanding and debunking stereotypes. This theme aligns well with the first perspective, or the TRC vision of reconciliation, which highlights the importance of building of mutual understanding and respectful Indigenous-settler relationships.

Locating Indigenous identities. Non-Indigenous people, however, were not the only group seen in need of education and exposure to Indigenous culture, tradition, and practices, as shown in the media coverage. Six Nations high school teacher Greg Henhawk noted that one goal of the host community was "also about educating some of our own people who have been disconnected" from their heritage (Milton, 2017, para. 16). In fact, many Indigenous stakeholders, while at the Games, reflected on the identity struggles of their own or others, as well as the need for Indigenous youth to learn about the "darker side" of Canadian history. One important value of the Games, then, was to provide an opportunity for Indigenous participants to re-identify and reconnect with Indigenous identity and culture, to learn more about Indigenous struggles and Canadian history, and to further engage in the preservation of their traditional practices.

"Team 88" was the main theme of 2017 NAIG (Sienkiewicz, 2017), as the 88th call of TRC of Canada's Calls to Action pointed to the continuing preservation of NAIG as a

means to long-term Indigenous development (TRC, 2015). Surprisingly, according to the coverage, many young athletes at the event did not understand the meaning of "Team 88" (also printed as a logo on their presentation jacket) or the history of residential schools in Canada. For instance, when asked about the Team 88 logo on her jacket, softball player Rianne McLaren, representing Eastern Door and the North, admitted that she did not know what it signified ("Let Indigenous Games begin," 2017). As one staff member from the Newfoundland/Labrador delegation commented: "Some of them are starting to identify with it…It's one thing we really haven't thrown at them yet" ("Let Indigenous Games begin," 2017, para. 24).

The lack of identification and connection with Indigenous identities amongst the participants was prominent in the coverage. Governments' assimilation policies and practices were identified as the source of obstacles and challenges for the Indigenous communities to maintain their cultures and traditions. The reported story of athlete Mary Nahwegahbow's family provided a specific example on the intergenerational effects of residential schools in Canada. Coming from White Fish River First Nation, Ontario, Nahwegahbow did not learn the Indigenous language of Ojibwe because her grandfather decided not to teach it to his children after witnessing his 11 siblings forcibly relocated to residential schools (Heroux, 2017c). Nahwegahbow's mother, Amy, recalled an earlier discussion between her and her daughter:

> I told Mary the other night, the language was stolen from us…She said what are you talking about. I told her about my dad growing up speaking Ojibwe first and then when they weren't allowed to speak it, he didn't want to teach us. Nobody spoke it. (Heroux, 2017c, para. 7–8).

Considering the absence of education on the history of Indigenous culture and language, it is no surprise that Nahwegahbow's mother noticed her daughter's identity struggle:

> When she was little at school she didn't want to be an Indian. Someone must have said something and she told me, I just want to be a regular girl…This (event) is a chance for her to feel proud about her culture. (Heroux, 2017c, para. 18)

If Mary Nahwegahbow's story spoke to the legacy of residential schools, Hunter Lang's story shed light on the lack of emphasis on Indigenous content in school education. Lang represented Team British Columbia in softball at 2017 NAIG. Her mother is Chinese, and her father is from Ts'kw'aylaxw First Nation in Lillooet, B.C. However, Lang told the reporter that growing up in a Chinese lifestyle, she always identified herself first as Chinese and then Indigenous. According to Lang, this was partly due to the lack of education in school, as students in her school were not widely taught about Indigenous Peoples except for "a little detail" about the residential school system and Indigenous rights (Johnson, 2017a, para. 11). She only started to learn more about her culture after her coach nominated her to be part of the team to compete at NAIG:

> I didn't realize that there was a part of me that I felt was missing until I learned more about it…It felt empty, like something should be here; like, I should feel a different way and be more passionate about knowing myself in general. (Johnson, 2017a, para. 16 – 17).

This type of experience was not confined to Indigenous youth. Katrina Haintz, a mother of three from Hwlitsum First Nation, worked as a manager for Team British Columbia at 2017 NAIG. She admitted having struggles identifying with her Indigenous heritage: "My entire life I was really sort of sheltered from my Aboriginal background. I wasn't really able to tell people or speak of it" (Kelly, 2017, para. 13). However, thanks to her participation at NAIG, Haintz's view on her own identity changed after witnessing the athletic achievements of Indigenous athletes and Indigenous families making connections with their culture at the

games: “I’m proud. I am absolutely proud to say that I’m First Nations. Why all these years have I not been?” (Kelly, 2017, para. 15).

In summary, within the media coverage, Indigenous stakeholders linked the meaning of the Indigenous Games with the issue facing many of their members in connecting and understanding Indigenous identities, cultures, and histories. These struggles were attributed to various possible causes, including assimilation policies, the lack of relevant education, and the changing lifestyle or the environment wherein the younger generation grow up. Highlighting the need to heal historical trauma and reform public education, this theme similarly aligns with the first perspective, or the TRC vision of reconciliation.

Marginalization

While the discussion above identified the opportunities afforded to Indigenous Peoples in hosting and participating in the two events, media coverage also acknowledged the ongoing struggles facing these communities. This second theme was articulated as forms of marginalization and was considered in terms of specific groups and the sources of marginalization itself. Many Indigenous stakeholders, while at the games, also reflected on the circumstances of two vulnerable groups of the Indigenous communities: Indigenous youth and Indigenous women.

Indigenous youth on reserves. First, some Indigenous stakeholders articulated their concern for the conditions of youth in their communities: for those who lived on the reserves, opportunities for personal development were severely limited. For example, Dr. Wilton Littlechild expressed such concern: “When we look at the challenges we have with our youth … we hear many times that they don’t feel they belong anywhere, nobody supports them” (Bell, 2017a, para. 25). The lack of opportunity for Indigenous youth on reserves clearly manifested in sport. As Team Ontario’s Canoe/Kayak head coach at NAIG, one of Keir Johnston’s main responsibilities was to recruit the best Indigenous athletes in the

province to make a team. However, Johnston was stunned when setting up tryouts at Pikangikum First Nation in northwestern Ontario, a community that not only struggled with high suicide rates but also had been under a boil water advisory for more than a decade:

> When I was up in Pik and some other communities up around there, I realized that a lot of kids didn't have a clue what NAIG was, which I thought was shocking…That's really what it's for, for them to have a chance to compete against other people and getting out of their community (Chidley-Hill, 2017b, para. 15)

Vanessa Ip, a local teacher in Pikangikum and a coach/chaperone for Team Ontario, spoke about the meaning of attending events like NAIG for the four athletes who were selected to compete in the games: "They can feel like they're part of a broader community that way. Especially for our kids at Pikangikum, because for some of them it's their first time leaving a small community and visiting a big city" (Chidley-Hill, 2017b, para. 10). On the other hand, for some youth who were fortunate to participate in the Games, they felt a responsibility to their peers back home. 19-year-old Montana Summers performed as a dancer at NAIG's opening ceremony. When reflecting on the troubles many Indigenous youth had on reserves, he expected to bring back hope with his own experience:

> I hope I inspire the next generation to see that there's more to it, more to the world, than being left on the reserve…Thinking that this is the only place to be, when there's a whole world out there for you. You see a lot of kids who turn down the wrong path because they feel like there's no way out. (Mullin, 2017a, para. 6-7).

Indigenous women. Other Indigenous stakeholders made efforts to highlight the dangers that Indigenous women were facing in Canada. WIN Games, for example, hosted a forum on "Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women" as part of its conference series. NAIG CEO Trudeau-Bomberry addressed the vulnerability to violence for young Indigenous women like her daughters: "As indigenous girls, they are not safe in mainstream Canadian

society. I am all too aware as an indigenous woman, that there are dangers, there are predators and there are missing and murdered indigenous people out there" (Ormsby, 2016, para. 12). A former director of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG),[18] Olympic medalist Waneek Horn-Miller highlighted sport's important role in protecting Indigenous women: "When I hear stories, and situations for our women and girls I think what if we had sport co-ordinated in an accessible way. It would mean youth had other ways to get their stress out" (Heroux, 2017b, para. 20- 22). Similarly, Dano Thorne, head coach of a female soccer team at WIN Games, also emphasized the value of having females participating in the Indigenous games as a signal for all Indigenous women: "Especially for the ladies, we want to lift them up and show them this is safe" (Campbell, 2017, para. 5).

In the above comments from Indigenous stakeholders, sport was viewed as having the potential to positively influence the lives of Indigenous youth as well as to protect and empower Indigenous women. In spite of this, other Indigenous stakeholders still pointed out ongoing challenges. First, while some were excited about competing with other Indigenous youth at the more prominent events like the two Games, many Indigenous youth found it difficult to have such opportunities back in their communities. Second, there was a lack of resources and support for the development of sport and recreation opportunities in geographically remote Indigenous communities: the vision of having sport positively influence the Indigenous communities was by no means easy to achieve.

Lack of sense of community and alienation. Discussion of the opportunities for interaction with other communities during the games revealed how difficult it was for some

[18] In June 2019, Canada's National Inquiry into MMIWG released its final report and described the violence against Indigenous women, girls, and LGBTQ and two-spirit people as "genocide".

Indigenous youth to feel a sense of belonging even when they had access to sport. For example, Evan John, a 17-year-old runner from Oneida Nation of the Thames in Ontario, commented on the completely different sport experience at NAIG:

> I didn't know there were other people like me out there…There's not too many First Nations people around track. I always get asked if I'm Middle Eastern, Mexican or Italian. This was the first time I saw a whole track team of natives. I didn't feel as alienated ("Indigenous Games," 2017, para. 14).

Similarly, Waneek Horn-Miller reflected on how different an experience it was when she first competed at NAIG in 1990: "It was the only time in my whole career that I looked down the blocks and it was all Native people, people who looked like me. And that was special to me" (Heroux, 2017b, para. 6). According to what was represented in the media coverage, what Horn-Miller experienced nearly 30 years ago might still be the case. Tara White from Snuneymuxw First Nation, B.C., for example, explained how unique the opportunity was to participate in Indigenous Games for her daughter: "She's never been able to play with Inuit, Métis and other Aboriginal girls and to learn other cultures and heritages that are similar to hers" (Bell, 2017a, para. 20). Thus, although the Games provided a rare opportunity to meet other Indigenous athletes, what also surfaced was the lack of existing opportunities outside the two events.

Lack of resources and support in remote communities. Moreover, Indigenous stakeholders identified other challenges in Indigenous communities, manifested in the lack of development or programming for youth sport and physical activities. This was attributed to resource constraints and the geographical remoteness of many Indigenous communities. For example, the chef de mission of Team Saskatchewan at NAIG, Mike Tanton, saw firsthand some the challenges facing the smaller Indigenous communities in developing sport programs for the youth:

> In the north when I travel up there, there's a lack of support and programming…When you have a small community you'll have one person trying to coordinate everything. A lot of times the pressure gets put on one or two people. It doesn't build capacity for the future. (Heroux, 2017a, para. 24)

Besides the lack of human resources mentioned by Tanton, the lack of financial support was another major factor that hindered the development of sport programs in Indigenous communities. For example, poor swimming skills were identified by the Red Cross as one of the major contributing factors to the alarming drowning rates of Indigenous population in Canada – ten times higher than the non-Indigenous population (Mullin, 2017c). Indigenous advocates like Tania Cameron, a regional coordinator for the ASWCO, knew well where the problem was: "In terms of swim instruction, there really isn't any available in the far north" (Mullin, 2017c, para. 14).

The above section has shown Indigenous stakeholders' discussion of the Games as represented mainstream media accounts, in relation to a number of issues in their communities. While sport was seen as having potential to help raising awareness of issues like the lack of opportunities and resources for Indigenous youth on reserves and the violence faced by Indigenous women, there were ongoing concerns that could not be addressed by hosting one specific event. First, it continues to be difficult for Indigenous youth to feel a sense of belonging while being the minority in non-Indigenous sporting contexts. Second, many remote communities face ongoing resource constraints and lack of support in developing their sports programs. These could explain why Indigenous stakeholders highly regarded the value of events not only in giving opportunities for Indigenous youth to connect and compete with each other, but also in bringing the discussion of the struggles to the forefront through the coverage of mainstream media. This theme implicitly speaks to the need for a more equitable distribution of resources to reduce socio-economic gaps in Indigenous

communities which, again, aligns well with the first perspective, or the TRC vision of reconciliation.

Struggles for Recognition: Elite Sport and Event Hosting

One final theme emerged from the analysis related directly to the meaning and purpose of hosting of the games themselves. In doing so, Indigenous stakeholders reflected on two additional barriers Indigenous Peoples had to overcome in winning recognition in Canadian society: the difficulty for Indigenous athletes to succeed and to be acknowledged within the mainstream sport system; and the ongoing resistance and logistical constraints that Indigenous communities continue to face in the hosting of these large-scale events.

First, it was acknowledged that few Indigenous athletes were able to reach the pinnacle of the mainstream sport system; thus, the events were considered by Indigenous stakeholders as an opportunity for Indigenous athletes to be recognized and scouted. Sharon Firth, one of the first Indigenous athletes to represent Canada in Winter Olympics,[19] worked as an ambassador of the 2017 WIN Games. A residential school survivor, Firth highlighted the enormous challenges she endured as an Indigenous athlete representing Canada: "I want everyone here to reflect on what it took for me mentally and emotionally to go out and represent a nation that worked hard to try to strip me of my identity" (Huncar, 2017, para. 2).

Former Canadian Olympian, Mary Spencer, pointed out the lack of Indigenous presence in elite sport in Canada, something that had not changed in the last several decades:

> Sport is also one of those areas where Indigenous people are left out, excluded, forgotten about…We don't see enough Indigenous faces in elite sport and it's not

[19] Members of the Gwich'in First Nation, Sharon Firth and her twin sister, Shirley Firth, both competed in cross-country skiing in four consecutive Winter Olympics (1972, 1976, 1980 and 1984) for Canada.

> because there's not enough incredible Aboriginal athletes out there, it's because the opportunities aren't there. (Chidley-Hill, 2017c, para. 15)

Some coaches attending the Games were well aware of the problem and held the optimism that in the long run, Indigenous Games could draw more attention towards Indigenous athletes. For example, as Team Ontario wrestling coach, Tara Hedican, commented:

> NAIG is a gathering place for Indigenous athletes...It gives them a chance to be proud of where they're from and showcase their talent. There's few Indigenous athletes at the top, so hopefully NAIG continues to happen and it can lead to more support for the youth and sports (Johnson, 2017b, para. 18-19).

Hedican's perspective was echoed by Team Ontario basketball coach, Sara MacNeil, who also believed that events like NAIG gave the Indigenous youths "a chance to get scouted so they can go on to compete" (Johnson, 2017c, para. 28).

Finally, but importantly, Indigenous stakeholders spoke about the challenges they faced in hosting the Games. This was manifested primarily in the story of WIN Games. Originally proposing the idea of an Indigenous world games based on the Olympic model to World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) in 1977, Dr. Wilton Littlechild waited for decades to see the games come to fruition (WIN Sports International, 2018). According to Littlechild, after the launch of first NAIG in 1990, Indigenous communities in Canada were ready to host a "world" games. However, logistical and financial constraints, as well as "a lack of support from corporate and government sponsors" delayed the process, as Littlechild recalled: "Over the years we've tried many, many, many times to host the games…. We were met with a lot of resistance" (Morin, 2017, para. 3). The preparation of 2017 WIN Games faced challenges in the months leading to the event, including a budget shortfall. Chief Tony Alexis of the Alexis Nakota Sioux Nation, a host community of the Games, recalled that even though much lobbying was done at government and local institutions in Alberta for financial

assistance, the help did not arrive (Bell, 2017b). Instead, as Alexis explained, a number of First Nations in Alberta offered to help: “The communities, they were always willing (to help) … In a sense, it was a blessing in its own disguise and we’re happy that it worked out that way” (Bell, 2017b, para. 9 - 10). This view was shared by Littlechild, who felt that it was “sometimes saddening to witness the resistance to the celebration”, but saw the resistance as an opportunity: “when we’re challenged like we were…the flip side of that is motivation to say, “No, we’re going to do it and we will do it” (Morin, 2017, para. 13). Thus, the events were considered important for Indigenous Peoples to not only reflect on these barriers but also to celebrate and embrace the opportunities to show resilience in ensuring the Games’ success. This theme, again resonates with the first perspective, or the TRC vision of reconciliation, as it underscores the need for a better mutual understanding and respectful relationship between Indigenous and settler communities as well as an equitable resource distribution in the development of Indigenous athletes and sport events.

Discussion and Conclusions

In the coverage of 2017 WIN Games and NAIG, the Canadian mainstream media provided extensive coverage for various Indigenous stakeholders, including politicians, event organizers, event staff, coaches, parents, athletes, and volunteers to give attention to issues facing Indigenous groups and communities. Indigenous stakeholders were concerned about the stereotypes and misunderstandings that non-Indigenous communities still hold towards them today. Through mainstream media coverage, Indigenous stakeholders praised the events’ cultural and educational value for non-Indigenous Canadians. This emphasis on building mutual understanding and respectful relationship fits well within the TRC vision on reconciliation (Denis & Bailey, 2016; TRC, 2015). Issues related to the identity struggles facing many Indigenous Peoples, particularly youth, also surfaced in the media coverage. These were linked to the lasting effect of government’s formal assimilation policies on

Indigenous communities, the lack of substantive or culturally relevant education in contemporary school systems, and the urban environment within which many Indigenous youths are growing up. The two Indigenous Games, therefore, appeared in the media coverage as a great opportunity for those who experienced identity struggles to "reconnect" with their culture, tradition, and history. This focus on healing from historical trauma is also an important component of TRC vision toward reconciliation (TRC, 2015).

Stakeholders also pointed to the lack of resources and opportunities for Indigenous youth on the First Nations reserves and the violence faced by Indigenous women. Although sport was regarded as a potential means to ameliorate the above problems and events like WIN Games and NAIG were considered to have positive impacts on many Indigenous youth, significant constraints were also identified in the media coverage. Even when Indigenous youth could access sport, they often found it hard to find a sense of belonging because they were normally the minority in a specific sport setting. At the same time, severe resource constraints cause great barriers for sport development in Indigenous communities in northern Canada. This theme speaks to an important dimension in TRC's vision on reconciliation: closing the socio-economic and health gaps through more equitable distribution of resources (The National Aboriginal Economic Development Board [NAEDB], 2016; TRC, 2015). Finally, Indigenous stakeholders also spoke about the challenges and difficulties in overcoming barriers that were closely related to the presence of Indigenous Games: few Indigenous athletes thrived at elite levels within the Canadian sport system, and considerable challenges were present in hosting large-scale sporting events. Again, this theme alludes to the importance of relationship building and more equitable resource distribution (Denis & Bailey, 2016).

Overall, a number of important challenges facing Indigenous Peoples emerged in the media coverage of the Indigenous Games, including the legacy of assimilation policies, most

notably the intergenerational effect of the Indian Residential School (IRS) system, the absence of substantive learning opportunities about Indigenous Peoples in schools, and the lack of economic prospects and resource support in many Indigenous communities. While these institutional-level issues can be seen in the second layer of the settler microaggressions model (see Figure 2 for a contextualization), how they were represented in the mainstream media coverage did not go beyond the institutional level to address the outer layer. This representation aligns with the framework of TRC, which focuses on achieving "reconciliation" within the existing political structure without questioning the existence and impact of the settler state (Alfred, 2009). This is a key difference between the TRC perspective and the Indigenous Resurgence perspective, particularly the extent to which they address the power relations sustained in the settler state: The TRC perspective points out the barriers and marginalization facing Indigenous communities in the settler state and attributes responsibilities to settler institutions in resolving these issues. By virtue of posing no challenges to the foundation of settler state and institutions, however, the TRC perspective served as the dominant ideological construct that the mainstream media relied upon to support the existing political structure.

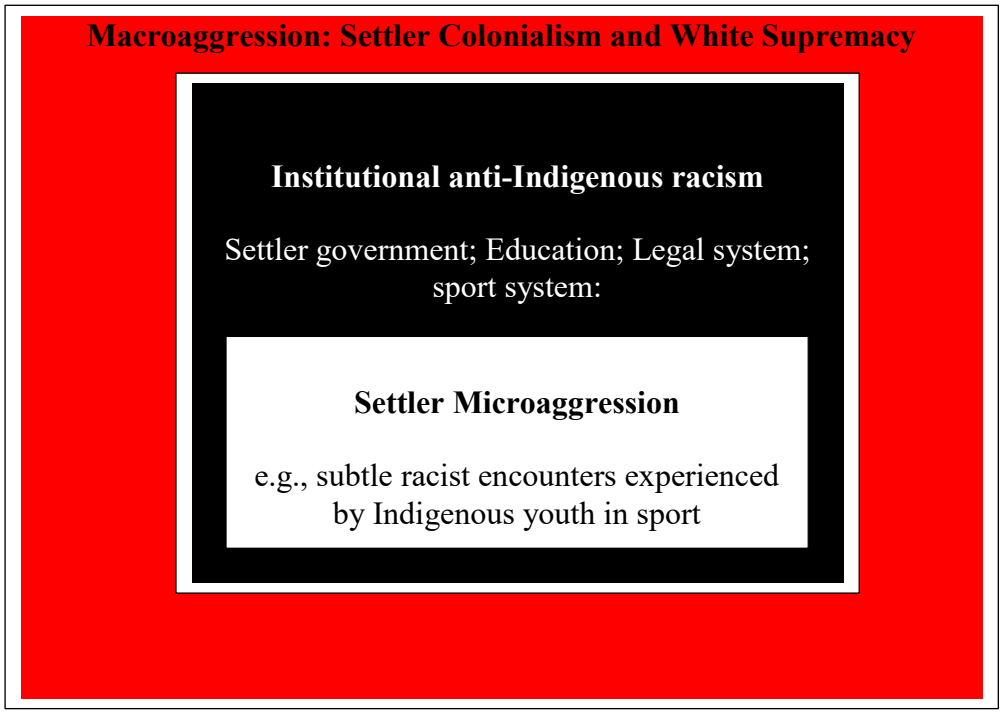

Figure 2. Contextualizing the themes within the findings.

On the other hand, the Indigenous Resurgence perspective – a more *critical* vision on how the tensions can be reconciled in Canada – did not surface in the mainstream media coverage. The absence of the second perspective, shows that the mainstream media coverage did not connect pressing social issues facing Indigenous communities (as symptoms) with the settler dispossession of Indigenous land, the very issue that Indigenous scholars argue to be a central cause of Indigenous struggles (Alfred, 2009; Corntassel, 2012; Coulthard, 2014). However, with the lens of the Indigenous Resurgence perspective, including its critique of settler colonialism, a closer scrutiny of the stories covered in the media reveals the limitations of the mainstream "reconciliation" perspective in making sense of the issues surfaced. In a settler state like Canada, settlers' invasion and occupation of Indigenous land and the subsequent transformation of private property in capitalist economy not only displaced generations of Indigenous Peoples, but also severed their spiritual ties to the land, which were integral to their individual and collective identities. This can be seen as the first pillar (territory) of settler colonialism, which always functions in tandem with

genocidal/assimilationist policies and practices (people) as well as the fabrication of nationalistic myths that normalizes settler belonging (identity). This inevitably resulted in difficulties for both non-Indigenous and Indigenous community members to understand, respect, and value Indigenous cultures and identities (Alfred, 2009; Coulthard, 2014; Dhamoon, 2015), as discussed in the first theme of the media coverage of the Indigenous Games.

Similarly, the displacement of Indigenous populations onto scattered, small reserves – one of many active strategies of settler states to eliminate Indigenous Peoples (Wolfe, 2006) - certainly foreshadows the economic and social marginalization of Indigenous communities and individuals, of which the violence against Indigenous women, the alienation of reserve communities and the lack of resource and support – discussed in the second and third themes - are just a few symptoms of the problematic Indigenous-settler relations under the current settler colonial structure. Therefore, according to the Indigenous Resurgence perspective, while gaining more equitable treatment within the settler state is undoubtedly valuable, there are limitations if a framework positions Indigenous Peoples as *just* another minority group demanding equitable treatment in a settler state because their oppression is not only a result of, for example, racial discrimination or economic marginalization, but material and epistemic violence of settler colonization (Snelgrove et al., 2014; Tuck & Yang, 2012). In other words, these issues cannot be readily resolved without challenging the material and ideological foundation of settler nation-state and white supremacy (settler macroaggression in Figure 2) and transforming the social relations therein (Manuel, 2017). In other words, to fully understand the inner two layers of the settler microaggressions model in Figure 2, the outer layer (settler macroaggression) cannot remain absent in the analysis. This is a significant limitation of the TRC perspective prevalent in the coverage.

To conclude, the discussion of Indigenous-settler relations in media reports, in general, aligns with the *mainstream perspective*, which adheres to the visions set by the TRC and endorsed by mainstream Indigenous leaders and organizations. Seen in this perspective, the struggles that Indigenous Peoples currently face should be pursued through healing historical trauma, building mutually respectful relationships, redistributing resources, and improving public education. Importantly, this view does not explicitly challenge settler colonialism. On the other hand, although scholars holding the Indigenous resurgence perspective have long pointed out that tackling the root causes of Indigenous oppression in Canada requires challenging the structure of settler colonialism and that reconciliation cannot be achieved without substantial discussion of the restitution of Indigenous land and the (re)establishment of reciprocal relations on it, this more critical perspective did not emerge in the reports.

As noted earlier in the chapter, diverse perspectives towards "reconciling" Indigenous-settler relations exist amongst Indigenous communities and individuals (Denis & Bailey, 2016). In the mainstream media coverage of the Games, visible discussion of challenges facing Indigenous communities seems to largely adhere to a mainstream perspective, while viewpoints focusing on land restitution and/or Indigenous self-determination are absent, let alone those that critique the legitimacy of the settler state. This might be for two reasons. On the one hand, Indigenous stakeholders may have chosen not to adopt a more critical viewpoint when interviewed by mainstream media, and instead focused on issues the saw directly linked to the Games. On the other hand, they may have adopted a more critical perspective, for example, speaking about land issues, but the mainstream media elected not to include these comments in their coverage of the event. The settler microaggressions model helps to contextualize the second scenario, wherein the mainstream media as a settler institution serves to invisibilize settler macroaggression by not engaging in

discussions that questions the foundation of settler state. In other words, it is difficult for mainstream media to problematize, let alone interrogate, the very settler structure from which it operates and thrives.

The results of this chapter suggest that hosting Indigenous Games provides an important platform for Indigenous stakeholders to deliver their voices through mainstream media to the public. Notwithstanding the prominence of the mainstream vision on Indigenous-settler relation on this platform, there are limitations to it. While the reports may raise the public's awareness regarding important issues like meaningful relationship building, equitable distribution of resources, and critical improvements to public education, more critical voices that problematize the current structure of settler state and critique the limitations of the mainstream perspective were absent. This may well confine the imaginative space for the public to consider an alternative future for Indigenous-settler relations. As noted by Harding (2006), media cannot necessarily dictate Canadian public's perspectives on issues related to Indigenous Peoples, but it can succeed in informing the audience *what* issues to think about. Further research examining event coverage by non-mainstream media, such as the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN), that have closer ties to Indigenous communities, might shed further light on the nature of discourse manifested in mainstream media (Alia, 2010). A limitation of this chapter is that while it sought to explore how Indigenous stakeholders' voices were represented in mainstream media, it did not account for the identities of the authors (e.g., how many these reports were written by settler journalists or Indigenous journalists), which may also influence how the events were covered (Alia, 2010). Future research examining mainstream media's representation of Indigenous sport events may also benefit from paying attention to the authors' identities.

This chapter contributes to the current sport event management literature by examining a distinct type of event in a special context: international Indigenous sporting

events hosted in a settler colonial nation-state (Canada). The analysis shows that Indigenous stakeholders' voices were prominent in mainstream media coverage of the events. The meaning-making of the events from many Indigenous stakeholders showcases the pride and resilience of the Indigenous Peoples, which helped the Canadian public to understand the struggles Indigenous communities are facing and to reflect on the darker side of Canadian history. However, a critical analysis guided by two major perspectives on *reconciliation* reveals on the limitations of this coverage. In particular, the Indigenous Resurgence perspective demands a critical view on how the political structure, ideologies, and everyday practices, including media and sport events, are all implicated within settler colonialism. This chapter is an example of how critiques of settler colonialism can be incorporated into sport management studies and how they can generate important insights that extend our current understandings of sport events within settler colonial contexts. I encourage settler sport scholars to continue to critically engage with the Indigenous Resurgence perspective and explore how it may challenge the taken-for-granted notions of sport and how sport should be managed in settler colonial societies.

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CHAPTER 3

A Settler-of-Color Volunteer at Indigenous Games: An Autoethnography

"Reconciliation" Made Me Feel Good

"The Commission defines reconciliation as an ongoing process of establishing and maintaining respectful relationships." (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b, p. 11)

"Reconciliation: the restoration of friendly relations." ("Why reconciliation?", 2017, para. 15)

Spring 2015

As an international graduate student enrolled in a prominent sport studies program in Canada, my first trip attending an academic conference brought me to the capital city of Ottawa. On a bright afternoon, I decided to wander to Parliament Hill to get a breather from the stressful conference ballrooms. I remember standing in front of a monument engraved with the word "reconciliation" and taking a picture of it (see Figure 3). Even though I didn't quite understand what was (to be) "reconciled", I admired the visibility of the R-word,[20] which I had heard quite often then. Seeing it made me feel good.

Figure 3. Reconciliation: The Peacekeeping Monument in Ottawa.

Is this monument a celebration of reconciliation? [21]

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[20] Here I specifically refer the R-word to "reconciliation".
[21] In fact, according to Government of Canada (n.d.), this monument was designed and installed (in 1992) to honor over 110,000 Canadian soldiers that served overseas peacekeeping missions around the world since 1948. It has little to do with the "reconciliation" with Indigenous Peoples in Canada.

Has “reconciliation” been achieved?

If it was about the past conflict or suppression that happened in this country, its people must have already learned the lessons and moved on, right?

At first, the answers to these questions seemed rather self-evident. I did little search beyond posting a “check in” photo on my social media. *Why should I care more? After all, I did not see how a well-meant, feeling-good term like “reconciliation” could go wrong, if at all.* As an international graduate student, it was already stressful enough to keep my head above the water of my own academic life. Moreover, in my social circle, mainly comprised of Canadian students of European descent and other newly arrived international students, few stood out to be an ideal source to further contextualize these questions. *“Just mind your own business”,* a voice in my head said.

Fall 2016

Entering my third year of PhD study, I attended a public event on campus, where a Commissioner of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Canada[22] led a roundtable discussion themed “Truth and Reconciliation, Good Relations, and Indigenizing the Academy”. When the discussion was about to conclude, a university student, who identified herself as Indigenous, walked up to the podium and posed the following question to the audience, with a shaky voice:

“How…do we ‘indigenize’ the academy if…all I can see in the university space is in English?”

Silence.

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[22] The TRC was established in 2008 as one of the mandated aspects of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA) to investigate history of the Indian Residential School system and the impact on Indigenous youth. It released a Final Report in 2015 as well as 94 Calls to Actions with the goals to “redress the legacy of residential schools and advance Canadian reconciliation” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a, p. 1)

Although the audience seemed to empathize with her frustration, no one, including the Commissioner, managed to respond well to the student. I was stunned by the unexpected yet incisive questioning. The question – or rather her statement – rings loudly in my mind to this day.

It was from moments like this that I started to problematize the space I was located in, particularly how Indigenous students – a group that I had little encounters with, nor knowledge about – experienced their scholarly life on campus at a time of "reconciliation". The uneasiness of knowing that something might be hidden underneath the otherwise benign image of the Maple Leaf and the University, a contradiction that I did not expect to encounter before my arrival in Canada, started to bother me. The more I reflected upon that moment, the more questions I faced with my choice, my position, my experience, and my relations (or the lack there of) with Indigenous communities.

How should I understand "reconciliation", which seemed to be everywhere yet nowhere?

Is it relevant at all to my study in sport?

How much should I care? If it is indeed a significant issue, why couldn't I hear it elsewhere, especially in the daily conversation, in the hallways and classrooms on campus?

How much do my Canadian friends, who gave me warm welcome to their country, care? How would they view my interest on this issue? As a person of color and an international student, would this "curiosity" put me into a precarious position?

Who am "I" in Settler Colonialism?

In this chapter, I situate myself as an East Asian cis-gender male settler graduate student studying social science of sport at a Canadian post-secondary institution built on dispossessed Indigenous land. Using an autoethnographic approach (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011; Adams, Holman Jones, & Ellis, 2015), I present two interwoven storylines

(Pathak, 2013) that revolve around my experience as a volunteer at two international Indigenous Games, namely, the 2017 World Indigenous Nations Games (WIN Games) and 2017 North American Indigenous Games (NAIG) held in Canada, simultaneously with the country's celebration of 150th anniversary of Confederation. It concurrently records some uncomfortable learning moments at Indigenous sport events and illustrates my struggles in making sense of settler colonialism, particularly my own embeddedness therein: I became troubled by my lack of understanding of Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous land, and accordingly, my perceived responsibility as a settler of color student-researcher began to crystalize. This autoethnography highlights the value of a process of deep self-reflection, unlearning, as well as the relational accountability that all settlers of color ought to uphold on Indigenous land.

Who Are They?

November 2014

It surprised me.

It surprised me on the city's metro system when I sat across from some individuals that apparently did not belong to any ethnic groups that I had interacted with in my life. Not once, not twice, but many times. *To me, some of them reminded me of the* "印第安人"[23] *images that were barely noticed in my old high school history books*.

Really? Do the "印第安人", still live here?[24] *If they have survived in modern Canadian society, what is their situation right now? How many of them are there? What do they do?*

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[23] The Chinese translation of the term "Indian".

[24] Although I had known a tiny piece about "Native Americans" in the territory currently known as U.S., the relevant history in what is known as Canada was completely out of my purview.

What is the correct way to call them (Are they a different group than the "homeless people" often referred to by the local media)?

Why, have I never heard from anybody talking about them?

In my initial months arriving in Canada, I often used "mock Canadian citizenship quizzes" found on Internet to learn information about Canada. None of the quizzes, however, were helpful in answering these questions.

Visibilize Settler Colonialism for Sport Scholars

As noted in chapter 1, sport has presented itself as a complicated and contested terrain for both perpetuation and disruption of colonialism (Bale & Cronin, 2003; Forsyth & Wamsley, 2006; O'Bonsawin, 2015). In settler colonial contexts more specifically, scholars have recognized sport's role in playing an active part of empowering Indigenous communities and challenging settler colonialism. McGuire-Adams and Giles (2018), for example, highlighted how running can create a unique space for Anishinaabeg women living in urban communities to foster collective strength and connect with healing and ceremony., Arellano and Downey (2018) similarly noted how sport-based programs firmly grounded in the specificities of Indigenous communities, their cultures and practices can offer tremendous opportunities for youth development because of the epistemological magnitude of lacrosse within Anishinaabeg and Haudenosaunee nations. Chapter 2 in this dissertation, on the other hand, noted that volunteering is considered by Indigenous Games organizers as a great opportunity for settlers, the cultural "outsiders", to learn about Indigenous Peoples as well as their diverse cultures and traditions, which may eventually rectify misunderstandings. Concurring with Hartmann's (2003) and Coakley's (2015) conceptualization of sport a *site* of, instead of the *cause* for, change, in this autoethnography I consider sport as a site wherein challenges to settler colonialism can be made. In sport research, foregrounding settler colonialism in social science can make space for alternative visions of sport rooted in various

Indigenous onto-epistemologies [25] and challenge settler researchers, students, and sport practitioners to reflect on the limitation of sport forms derived from Western[26] onto-epistemologies (Coram & Hallinan, 2013). Instead of treating critiques of settler colonialism as a threat of expulsion (Saranillio, 2013), the interrogation of settler identity should be considered the first step in undoing settler colonial harms (Macoun & Stracosch, 2013). This autoethnography, therefore, bridges the growing literature on settler colonialism and that of narrative inquiry in critical social science of sport (e.g., Dashper, 2013; Dean, 2019; Laurendeau, 2011; McMahon, McGannon, & Zehntner, 2019; Peers, 2012) and illuminates the tension and complexity for PoC to grapple with their position on Indigenous land. In situating my paradigmatic position in critical theory, I aim to *visibilize* the structure and ideological workings of settler colonialism that not only continues to marginalize Indigenous Peoples but also has constituted barriers for me as a PoC sport scholar to develop nuanced understandings of the unjust power relations in the settler state. This autoethnography fulfills this purpose through the answering of the following questions:

What were my struggles to understand Indigenous Peoples and settler colonialism (as a PoC sport scholar)? How did I become troubled by my knowledge (or the lack thereof) of Indigenous Peoples and colonialism in Canada? How did these struggles constitute some (un)learning opportunities, which I see as the initial steps of my praxis in challenging settler colonialism?

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[25] Onto-epistemology is a term highlights the "reflexive and bidirectional relationship between what we know about reality and action" (Williams, Bunda, Claxton, & MacKinnon, 2017, p. 44).

[26] Scholars have pointed out the ambiguity and tension in the meanings of terms like "Western" and "non-Western" (see Young, 2001). In this chapter, however, I believe that a cautious use of these terms is strategically necessary (Spivak, 1988) to permit constructive critique.

"Oh, Cody, nice to meet you."

July 19th, 2017

As a NAIG volunteer, I traveled with a U-16 male lacrosse team to attend a game at the Iroquois Lacrosse Arena on Six Nations reserve.[27] Knowing that it would be my first time ever attending a lacrosse game, the team's two coaches promised me that the trip would be an exciting experience. From the latest news coverage of the event, I caught a glimpse of the significance of lacrosse on this territory: In a CBC story on the games, some Six Nations community members referred to the venue as the "Mecca" of the sport (Bennett, 2017).

Before the match started, a sturdy man in his late 20s was invited to the locker room to deliver a pre-game speech to the teenage athletes. He eloquently yet calmly encouraged them to fight for every loose ball, to concentrate on details of the game, and to transfer those qualities to real life.

Moments earlier, outside the locker room, the team's coach quickly introduced me to this invited speaker, who casually wore a black shirt and a pair of sandals. The conversation was fast and I could barely hear his full name. So, I asked again, seeing him in the eyes: "Hey, I am Chen. What's your name again?" "Cody", he answered politely, "Nice to meet you." "Oh, Cody, nice to meet you." I shook his hand.

But who is this Cody guy though? Maybe he is just a friend of the coaches and happened to be there that day.

After witnessing an afternoon's feast of competitive lacrosse, I certainly became more aware of the significance of lacrosse in local communities. The same night, I happened to join a film-screening event on the hosting McMaster University Campus, where *Spirit Game:*

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[27] Six Nations (or Six Nations of the Grand River) is the largest First Nations reserve in Canada by populations and the second largest reserve by size. Located between Hamilton, Brantford and Simcoe, Ontario, Six Nations is the only reserve in North America where all six Iroquois nations live together. These nations include the Mohawk, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, Seneca, and Tuscarora ("History of Six Nations", n.d.).

Pride of a Nation was shown - a story about the Iroquois Nationals, a men's lacrosse team representing the Haudenosaunee Confederacy.[28] As the story unfolded on the screen, I was amazed by how the Nationals symbolizes Haudenosaunee people's assertion of sovereignty and the challenging of nation-states as the only legitimate representation of a "nation" on international stage (Downey, 2018). Yet more unexpectedly, I recognized the same sturdy man whom I met in the earlier that day, in the movie:

Cody Jamieson, he is.

Arguably one of the best lacrosse players in the world,[29] Jamieson competed for the Iroquois Nationals on many occasions. It was no accident when I also found out from my volunteer brochure that he was an ambassador for the NAIG, the very event I was at. *"That was embarrassing", I shook my head, fretting about my ignorance of the game of lacrosse as well as one of its well-respected leaders.*

July 3rd, 2017

For many, the opening ceremony of the WIN Games was a memorable event. In a bright summer evening, Indigenous delegations from six continents, with their traditional attire and regalia, gathered at a powwow ground (Bear Hills Park) in Maskwacis, Alberta. Working as a photographer for the event that night, I spent the evening busily recording the spectacular scenes and exchanging pleasantries with delegates from across the world.

"Hello, which tribe are you from?" I remembered being asked this question in various languages that night.

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[28] Haudenosaunee Confederacy, meaning "people of the long house", is an alliance of Indigenous communities including the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, crossing the Canada-U.S. border (Haudenosaunee Confederacy, n.d.).

[29] Drafted first overall by the Rochester Knighthawks of the National Lacrosse League (NLL) in 2010, Jamieson was named the Most Valuable Player (MVP) of the league in 2014. Before his professional career, he helped Syracuse University win the NCAA Division I Men's champion and was a recipient of the Tom Longboat Award.

"No, I am not Indigenous, I am only a volunteer from China".

"That's cool! Welcome!"

Before the opening ceremony started, in order to find a better position to take pictures, I spoke to an emcee of the ceremony, asking about the possible entering locations of different delegations.

"They will enter from entrance X".

"Thank you!"

I didn't quite know whom I was speaking to.

Weeks later, as I was eager to learn more about the experience of Indigenous athletes in Canada, I came across an online video in which a former Olympian was interviewed about her experience in what is conventionally known as the "Oka Crisis" in 1990 (CBC, 2015), a historical incident that I had no idea of until then.[30] I clearly recognized her face and voice: *Make no mistake, she was the emcee at WIN Games*. And this time, I remembered her name:

Waneek Horn-Miller.

In the interview, she reflected on how the traumatic experience at Oka influenced her not only as an athlete defying the odds to be a co-captain of Canada's Olympic water polo team, but also an Indigenous woman and a staunch advocate for Indigenous communities on various fronts.

I suddenly understood better why she was the emcee for the WIN Games. *I wish I could return to that earlier moment, by the main stage of WIN Games opening ceremony, and express my respect and gratitude to Waneek: "Thank you for sharing your story, which opened a door for me to comprehend the violence of the state and more importantly, the resilience of your people."*

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[30] Then a 14-year-old Mohawk of Kahnawá:ke, Waneek Horn-Miller was stabbed in the chest by a Canadian soldier at the end of the 78 day stand-off between Mohawk land defenders and the Canadian military.

Narrative inquiry and autoethnography

Autoethnography is an ethnographic approach that connects the autobiographical and personal elements to the social, cultural, and political context, whereby the author explores personal experience as the focus of investigation in order to understand the interplay of personal and social factors (Adams et al., 2015; Ellis et al., 2011). Offering a means to critically explore the social forces and discursive practices that have shaped the researcher's personal involvement in particular setting, autoethnography is grounded in narrative inquiry, the broad approach that focuses on stories created through researching on the lived experience of others or that of ourselves (Markula & Denison, 2005; Smith, 2017). Amongst different forms of representing narrative or story, this chapter adopts an *analytical autoethnographic* (Anderson, 2006; Smith, 2017) approach, elsewhere also known as the *essayistic personal narrative* (e.g., Markula & Denison, 2005). Compared to evocative autoethnography, which emphasizes on "showing", rather than "telling" theories through emotionally driven stories and leaving the interpretation of the stories to readers, analytical autoethnography contains a more explicit theoretical analysis of stories told, relies more on realist writing and literature techniques, thus has more direct control over how they are interpreted (Smith, 2017).

Over the years, scholars have highlighted the strengths of autoethnography: if done properly, it can provide access to multiple subjectivities, encourage more evocative writing and representations, and shed light on oppressions of different marginalized groups, which may in turn generate alternative understandings of critical social issues (e.g., Ellis et al., 2011; Richardson, 2000; Sparkes, 2002). It is important, however, to note that in sport studies, narrative forms of representation do not generally represent a critique of a social issue. For example, Gard (2014) noted that many narrative works serve as an opportunistic form that deflects academic critiques. This concern was echoed by Denison (2016), who

acknowledged the importance of innovative writing yet highlighted the downfall of producing academic work devoid of social theory. Another common critique of autoethnography points to its focus on the author's experience that can be potentially self-indulgent, narcissistic, and self-serving (Sparkes, 2002).

In this chapter, my response to the previous critiques is grounded by substantial engagement of the theoretical constructs of settler colonialism and an honest embrace of vulnerability by recording my struggles in understanding settler colonialism. As Sparkes (2002) noted, autoethnography "acts as a call to witness" (p. 98), who is obliged to offer testimony to something that is otherwise unavailable. In this chapter, instead of providing a description of the Games with the gaze of a settler outsider, I focus on what I learned about Indigenous-settler relations through stories. Following sport management scholars Kerwin and Hoeber (2015), I believe that my experience as a volunteer in the "field" contributes to my understanding of the sport event context and my critical reflexivity as an international PoC student-researcher enables me to observe the events through the lens of colonialism, multiculturalism, and migration. The story uncovers how the (un)learning and volunteering experience affected my sense of self and, accordingly, the understanding of my relations to Indigenous Peoples and the settler state. Notwithstanding that my individual experience is not generalizable, I hope the story could reach many PoC graduate students and/or researchers in social science of sport, as a helpful resource to recontextualize their previous knowledge (Sparkes, 2002) and to critically reflect their own journeys on Indigenous land and what responsibility that entails. Furthermore, through this piece I offer a space for readers to explore, discuss, and challenge what institutions, organizations, and individuals can do to challenge the invisibility of settler colonialism. As the goal of this autoethnography is to expose settler colonialism as a deeply oppressive social structure, it maintains distance from self-indulgence.

I kept a personal journal throughout the three-week volunteering experience at both Games, including both objective and subjective records, observations, and reflections. In addition, I also collected Games-related photos, videos, emails, social media communications, and other event-related items such as souvenirs and t-shirts as part of "data". After the conclusion of the Games, I engaged in a reflective process to consider the nature and personal meaning of this experience. Readers will note that the story is not presented in a chronological or progressive fashion, which helps further illustrate the tensions and struggles transpired from this (un)learning process, one that is non-linear and requires the juxtaposing of events in different temporal and spatial locations (Denzin, 1997). Following the approach of analytical autoethnography, I adopt Sparkes' (2004) practice of differentiating academic and personal voice by using italicized text. One major limitation of this chapter is that my experience in one academic institution and two Games cannot demonstrate how settler colonialism works in other sport-related contexts. Also, not every significant moment from my experience can possibly be captured in these finite pages.

An answer from postcolonial theory?

As I navigated through my graduate study as a racialized international student, postcolonial theory provided me with reassurance in understanding both my position in a space that values Eurocentric knowledge and how sport has been implicated in global colonial histories. Although postcolonial theory illuminated for me the colonial legacy haunting the Global South (Young, 2001), it remained vague how the challenges faced by Indigenous Peoples in North America can be explicated (Manuel & Posluns, 1974). *Are Indigenous Peoples simply another group suffering from racism and structural discrimination, like other "minority" groups?* Can their struggles be understood as "internal colonialism" within the confines of a nation-state (Hechter, 1999), just another name for racism (Byrd, 2011b)?

Colonialism? Their fault.

It's awful that this country has this violent, dark side of history. But *so what*?

For a long time, my understanding of colonialism in Canada stuck at a point where my relations to Indigenous Peoples was *not* a focus. I viewed the colonial harm as only committed by white Canadians, particularly the early European colonizers and the subsequent generations who perpetuated oppressive practices and policies. Unfortunately, this view *historicizes* colonialism – reducing it to the past and absolving the responsibilities of current generation (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015). Furthermore, attributing blames to white people exclusively sidestepped questioning my complicity as an international student, a settler of color. *I had yet to realize that I might as well be part of the problem, as a settler of color*.

Scholars have discussed the unique situation that many PoC face when arriving in settler states, where they feel considerable pressure to internalize the multicultural narrative and may unwittingly be recruited to reproduce and consolidate the colonial erasure (Fujikane, 2008; Das Gupta & Haglund, 2015; Dhamoon, 2015). Yet, being white is not a prerequisite for self-questioning the implication of our choices, practices, and silences on structures of settler colonialism. Instead, settler of colors' residency on expropriated Indigenous territory should automatically demand questions of obligations and responsibilities, notwithstanding our various experience of oppression (Snelgrove et al., 2014; Huang, 2015).

Person of color in settler colonialism: Settler of color

Acknowledging the tensions between postcolonial studies and critiques of settler colonialism (Byrd & Rothberg, 2011), I draw on both to highlight why in settler states, people of color (PoC) scholars need to reflect on their positionalities as settlers on Indigenous land and, accordingly, their relations and accountabilities to Indigenous Peoples. As discussed in Chapter 1, postcolonial theory serves as a means to map the dynamics of a

variety of social and historical processes and critiques the legacy of colonialism in shaping the configuration of power, resources, and discourse (for discussion on postcolonial theory in sport studies, see Darnell & Kaur, 2015; Chen & Mason, 2018; Saavedra, 2018). Notwithstanding its diversity, widespread influence and contribution, postcolonial theory is highly contested and is critiqued for a number of reasons (Shohat, 1992), including its inadequate focus on Indigenous Peoples in Western nation-states (Smith, 2012). With this important critique in mind, I consider my academic and personal experience in Canada as characterized by "post-colonial" not least because of the epistemic dimension of colonialism (Coronil, 2008): My very action to leave home in East Asia and study in a Western country was influenced by the geo-politics of knowledge production, an ongoing colonial legacy worldwide. Coming from a country that since the first half of 19th century had faced the crises of semi-colonial invasion of imperial powers, whose people, like those from many other Global South locales, were often coerced into embracing Western science and technology in order to catch up on the track of "development" (Chen, 2010), I had once internalized the idea that getting an education in the "developed" North America would entail brighter individual future. In this chapter, I regard "post-colonial" as a process where people from non-Western parts of the world, while hoping to secure a better future in the West, are inevitably encountered by, and entangled in, different histories of other peoples under the impact of colonialism.

As noted above, the theorization of "post-colonial" is challenged when a specific form of colonialism – settler colonialism – is brought to the fore. In fact, the violence of settler colonialism has been long critiqued in Indigenous Studies (see Byrd, 2011b) and has gained increasing scholarly attention from various disciplines, including but not limited to: critical ethnic studies, feminist studies, queer theory, anthropology, and critical geography (Rowe & Tuck, 2017). Dene scholar Glen Coulthard defines settler colonialism as "a structure of

domination that is partly predicated on the ongoing dispossession of Indigenous peoples' lands and the forms of political authority and jurisdiction that govern our relationship to these lands" (Coulthard & Simpson, 2016, p. 251). The conceptualization of three interconnected pillars of settler colonialism (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015) further illustrates the material and epistemic violence it causes: Settlers' ongoing occupation of Indigenous territory and the transformation of social structures, institutions, and relations therein (Wolfe, 2006); the elimination of Indigenous Peoples through violence, assimilation, and displacement (Short, 2016); and the narratives that normalize, justify, and legitimize settler belonging to the land (Rifkin, 2013; Snelgrove, et al., 2014). Rather than a pessimistic view about the inevitability of settler colonialism, the concept itself should serve as a reminder that alternative visions of social relations outside settler colonialism exist.

"Settlers" in this chapter are understood as non-Indigenous people who make Indigenous land their home and source of capital (Tuck & Yang, 2012). Importantly, settlers include not only white people but also PoC, many of whom are from territories deeply troubled by global colonial legacy (Curthoys, 2000; Fujikane, 2008; Pulido, 2018; Sehdev, 2011; Trask, 2000). While experiencing various forms of marginalizations in settler states such as the U.S. and Canada,[31] PoC can be complicit with the oppression of Indigenous peoples by willingly or unwittingly buying into settler colonial logics that are based on land dispossession and exploitation, elimination of Indigenous history and presence, and accordingly, the legitimization of settler belonging (Wolfe, 2006; Veracini, 2010; Byrd, 2011a). While the degree to which each individual PoC benefits from settler colonialism varies, with necessary caution, the term *settler of color* (Trask, 2000) speaks to the responsibility and the relations shared by PoC with Indigenous Peoples, and urges us to

[31] According to Statistics Canada (n.d.), in a 2011 national survey, about 1 out of 5 people in Canada identifies as a visible minority, or person of color.

critically reflect on the pathways we each have taken in academia. *Settler of color* also illuminates the limitations of social justice projects which envisions at achieving equity for any single marginalized settler group without challenging settler colonialism (Saranillio, 2013).

While settler colonialism and its implications have been more widely discussed in other disciplines such as history (e.g., Fortier, 2016) and political science (e.g., Bruyneel, 2016), inquiries in sport studies that explicitly incorporate discussion of settler colonialism are rare (e.g., Davidson, 2013, McGuire-Adams & Giles, 2018; Sykes, 2016). Except for Sykes (2014)'s self-critique and reflection on her complicity as a white settler scholar whose research practice is underpinned by settler colonial processes, few have adopted personal narrative to critically address the positionality of settler sport scholars as well as the responsibility it entails. Foregrounding this gap, I argue that there is a need for settler scholars in social sciences of sport to engage in meaningful praxis to challenge settler colonialism. This chapter, therefore, invites critical sport scholars, especially those assuming the position of settler of color, to undertake an epistemological shift to account for our relations to Indigenous Peoples and to the settler occupation and colonization of Indigenous land. While scholarly inquiries of marginalized settler groups are extremely important in their own right, they might be further empowered when incorporating the critiques of settler colonialism, which highlight the interconnection between intra-settler issues and the challenges facing Indigenous communities within the settler colonial structure (Amadahy & Lawrence, 2009; Trask, 2000).

"Best of Luck in the Maple Leaf Country!"

Winter 2014

In the "statement of interest", an important document for my PhD admission, I wrote:

> *I believe that the PhD program in Sport Studies at the University of XX is the best place for me to continue exploring my scholarly interests and deepening my understanding of sport…I am drawn to the rich academic resources your university …within all of its prestigious academic departments…I am also looking forward to taking part in research conducted by the Centre for XX in order to learn from top researchers in the field…I would be honored to be a graduate of your world-renowned PhD program.*

Yes. That *was* my goal.

In my early twenties, I struggled to understand my role in this world after completing two university degrees in one of my country's top-ranked universities. Despite many uncertainties with studying abroad, my parents and I believed that it would eventually be a worthwhile investment to pursue my interest in sport through a PhD degree. In many respects, receiving my PhD admission letter from a Canadian university forebode good things to come. My family was elated about my upcoming adventure in Canada, a country in many of my compatriots' imagination an ideal destination for studying and living. My mom commented: "Compared to the U.S., Canada is a lot more peaceful. It's great that we don't need to worry much about your safety." I nodded my head. Thereafter, I carefully prepared my visa application before submitting it to the Canadian immigration authority with ultimate attention and carefulness.

After sharing the news of my visa approval with my college friends, they responded with delight: *"Best of luck in the 枫叶国 (the Country of Maple Leaf)!*"

In China, the Maple Leaf was arguably the most recognizable symbol of Canada.

September 2014

After arriving at a residential building on campus, I was warmly welcomed and greeted by students from a variety of countries. Everybody seemed friendly and respectful of

the distinctive "cultures" that each student brought to the space. In a series of orientations and welcoming activities we were informed of useful information such as the inclusive student community, the diversity of the campus, places of interest in the city, and the close proximity of the Canadian Rockies.

A week later, I was on a group trip to a National Park for an annual gathering of the department's graduate students. Enthralled by the breath-taking views of mountains and lakes passing by the bus windows, I could not stop sending pictures to my families and friends back home. The scenery of the Canadian Rockies was a true spectacle, validating my impression of Canada as a place of immense natural treasures and a world leader in environmental conservation. *I made such a wonderful choice to come here.*

My access to Indigenous land: With(out) permission

> For many…racialized communities, Canada and the U.S. are the lands of dreams and desires. These lands offer opportunities of better, richer, and free(r) lives. The desire to be away from violences, oppression, and misery at home are the real factors behind migration for many, but for others the desires and migrations are manifestations of their privileges. (Upadayay, 2016, p. 10)

What did Canada initially mean to me? With little doubt, it once represented a place of opportunities, personal growth, great natural environment, where multi-ethnic peoples lived in harmony.

As noted above, Indigenous Studies and Settler Colonial Studies scholars have used different terms like *settler of color*[32] to describe PoC on Indigenous land, whose arrivals were(are) dictated by various reasons and positions. For me, Canada's image as a benign, liberal, and multicultural country made it a suitable destination for my international study. I

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[32] Other authors have also used terms such as "arrivants*"* (Byrd, 2011a) and "minor settlers" (Huang, 2015) to distinguish racialized non-Indigenous people who inhabit on Indigenous land while experiencing colonial and racial subjugation.

once believed Western technology to be more advanced, Western knowledge more cutting-edge, Western society generally more "developed" in its political and economic structure, and Western education of superior quality. This belief "spilled over" to my understanding of sport: Not only did I grow up in awe of spectacles like the Olympic Games and the alleged values and ideals of Olympism, I also rarely questioned the media discourse in my country that often look up to the "highly developed" business models in Western Europe and North America, which our "backward" domestic organizations could always learn lessons from.

Yet I had little idea about the complex history and ongoing violence at the destination of my study. It was *only* Canada or, at best, an Anglophone-Francophone Canada. Indigenous Peoples were completely absent in my imagination as I carefully answered questions asked by the immigration authority. At the campus residence orientation, information about Indigenous People went unnoticed, if present at all. In my trip to the National Park, I was eager to know more about the past of the park. With the help of both an organized tour and Wikipedia, however, I only remembered the link between the place and its namesake, a US-born postmaster who managed a local trading post in early 19th century. It did not occur to me that the eviction of Indigenous Peoples from the region foregrounded the establishment of the park (Youdelis, 2016). *I cannot imagine that the pathway laid out for a brighter future of mine was, and is, paved over Indigenous land and sovereignty.*

One of settler colonialism's distinctive features is a legal and symbolic structure that legitimizes non-Indigenous access to Indigenous land as a naturalized and given condition of settler livelihood (Wolfe, 2006; Snelgrove et al., 2014). Regardless of the reasons and purposes of their arrivals, settlers of color are prevented from negotiating their rights of residency with Indigenous Peoples (Huang, 2015). Instead, the legality of arrival or departure is subjected to the authorities of the settler colonial state. Seen in this way, even though my temporary migration may not involve any colonial intention, my (a settler of color) arriving at

settler colonial society, in fact, supports a colonial system initiated by White settlers (Fujikane, 2008; Saranillio, 2013).

Struggles

Winter 2017

Notwithstanding my increasing uneasiness with "reconciliation", opportunities to frankly discuss the topic were scarce. Even when relevant conversation occasionally happened, I continued to hear the banal and stereotypical views that attributed the problem facing Indigenous Peoples to their alleged addiction to alcohol and drugs, the lack of discipline or work ethic, or just their self-alienation from the "mainstream" society. Knowing about my emerging interest in this issue, a friend who held a more "progressive" view shared a story where he once represented Canadian government to provide one community with what the government conceived as an urgently needed public health resource. However, due to the local Indigenous community's suspicion towards government agendas, community leaders refused to collaborate on that project. Unfortunately, the reason for the failure of the collaboration was attributed to the "prejudicial views" that local Indigenous leaders had towards all governmental agendas. *"Oh, really?"* I acted as if I was convinced by the logic of the story while suspecting that it may not represent the whole picture.

But in what ways could I make a better sense of this entire situation?

"The university is honoured to provide support for the event"

As I slowly navigated in the unknown territory of self-education on Indigenous-settler relations, the arrival of "Canada 150" and Indigenous Games changed everything. In early 2017, when the nationwide celebration started to unfold, I noticed the upcoming two international Indigenous Games in Canada. Delighted to find out that the North American Indigenous Games (NAIG), notably discussed by Forsyth and Wamsley (2006), were to be hosted in Toronto, I shared NAIG's official "Call for Volunteers" post on a departmental

graduate student Facebook group and explained, in my own interpretation, the value of this opportunity. Later that day, a friend and fellow graduate student asked me, half-jokingly: "Are you serious? Well, who would travel to Toronto to 'volunteer' in the summer?"

It was a fair point: *To use a "rational" way of thinking as a graduate student, who would travel across the country just to volunteer at their own expense? But isn't "reconciliation" about going beyond what we are comfortable with doing so that respectful relations can be restored and maintained?*[33] *I decided to go nonetheless.* This explains why I felt even more excited to know that my university announced its role as a co-host for the second World Indigenous Nations Games (WIN Games), which would take place two weeks prior to NAIG. The press release, published on a university-affiliated website in December 2016, read:

> The university will be supporting the event by providing facilities for it…Deputy Provost…said the university is honoured to provide support for the event as the pieces fall into place in the coming months: "We hope our commitment to strengthening ties with Indigenous communities and our tradition of athletic excellence will enable us to contribute to the success of the games". (Lingley, 2016, para. 9 -10)

As a sport researcher who struggled to make sense of the conflicting image of this country, what would be a better occasion to learn more about Indigenous communities than the Indigenous Games?

Uncertainties

Prior to the summer of "Canada 150", my only experience interacting with Indigenous persons went little beyond marking the assignments of a handful of Indigenous students in

[33] This corresponds to the two definitions of reconciliation at the start of the chapter.

my class as an instructor. *Why should I do more?* There seemed to be no practical reason to do so. For a long time, I was not very aware of the presence of Indigenous individuals around except for those I may have encountered on the municipal transit system or in the dilapidated downtown core. Upon reading the event information about WIN Games, I was shocked to know that there were First Nations reserves located in the suburban orbit of the city, if only I had known what a reserve was.

June 22nd, 2017

In the late prairie summer evening, WIN Games hosted its volunteer orientation at the school of Enoch Cree Nation. Searching the location using an online map service, I saw a dot in the middle of nowhere. When zoomed out, this dot appeared in a big grey rectangle at the edge of the city and there seemed to be few other buildings in the area. *What does it look like on the reserve? Who is going to be there? What should I wear? Should I avoid wearing anything that has "Canada" on it? How should I appropriately introduce myself? Will I meet someone I know?* Some anxiety kicked in on my way there.

Contrary to my hope, the Enoch school was not accessible through public transportation. Getting off the city bus and walking for about a mile to the edge of the reserve, I realized that the only way to get to the school was to take a taxi or Uber because there were no walkways paved any further. Uber app showed that the trip would cost me about $13. I hesitated: *Should I do it? Will it be worth my time? If I have to pay to even get to the volunteer orientation, how much financial cost would I have at the end of the event?*

"I can go today. If my university hosts the events, I wouldn't need to come here again".

Having read about the colonial histories in Canada and being a visible minority myself, I knew the need to listen and to be open-minded to the potential "cultural shocks" that I may encounter in this setting. Yet ten minutes into the orientation, my prior anxiety

seemed laughable: Although it was the first time that I shared the same room with mostly Indigenous community members, I felt immediately welcomed by the event organizers and community leaders. After a circle of self-introduction, they were pleased to find out that I was a university student and the only one that joined the group that night. Perhaps my only surprise was to hear about a series of logistical challenges of the Games, which made me feel at once reassured and uncertain: *I am in the right place to contribute, but do I have the capacity to contribute? Why aren't more people here to support the "World" Games?*

"Do you need a ride? I am driving to the city", one event organizer saw me idling around after the end of the volunteer orientation. "Hmm, yes…if that is possible. Thank you", I answered with a sigh of relief. "Okay, just wait for a bit, we have a brief meeting", she said assuredly.

In the car ride back to the city, I was informed of my university's withdrawal from the Games, only a week prior to the event then. This left me utterly perplexed: *if "reconciliation" was something that everyone needs to take some responsibility in, why did the university shun this great opportunity?* This also explained why I saw no publicity of this event on campus, including its main outdoor stadium where I worked as a part-time staff member then. Days later, when I asked the facility manager, he mentioned "miscommunications" between the university authority and the WIN Games' event organizers as an alleged factor behind the short-lived collaboration.

June 24th, 2017

I carried some posters of the WIN Games from the volunteer orientation back to the city and disseminated them on the university campus. The next day, when I was about to knock at the door of the department chair's office, I hesitated.

Am I afraid of being seen as a "troublemaker"? Am I afraid to being seen as someone whose political views do not align well with the institution? Am I not confident about the

legitimacy of the Games (whether it was worthy of the attention of the university leadership)? After moments of hesitation, I walked into an administrator's office, introduced the upcoming events and purpose of my visit. And I received the following response: "Oh? Thank you. Leave one (poster) on the desk please."

I did not see them at the Games.

If the Indigenous student's question in the lecture hall mentioned at the start of the chapter signaled the start of my *unsettling* process, the WIN Games volunteer orientation sped it up. Unsettling is a process that requires the courage to embrace, rather than avoid, the discomfort generated by an honest yet nuanced understanding of colonial harm (Regan, 2010). For a graduate student who otherwise would be considered a highly-educated person, I started to face the discomfort derived from my almost complete absence of knowledge of Indigenous communities, which required me to listen and follow with humility. For example, I realized that volunteers were to undertake tasks more demanding in time and energy due to the logistical challenges for the Games, working longer hours, or sometimes the entire day, compared to most other sport events where a volunteer shift might have more well-defined roles and schedules (see also Chapter 4). Simultaneously, it was also uncomfortable to notice an inconvenient truth: there might exist a significant dissonance between the discourse and practice of "reconciliation" at institutions like universities. *If "reconciliation" was a straightforward concept when I first saw it, now it seemed ever more elusive and complicated.*

(Un)Learning

July 2017

What should a "successful" sport event look like? What matters the most in the event?

At various event sites of WIN Games, I noticed considerable logistical challenges that resulted in delays of events and frequent changes of schedules due to issues in

communication and transportation. For example, transporting athletes to and from different reserves that are far from each other with limited vehicles was a considerable challenge, let alone the lack of translators available for helping non-English speaking groups.

At first, I was very concerned about the delays of events, wondering how this might induce frustration amongst athletes and staff. Patience seemed to be the most useful skill utilized in these situations. Gradually, however, I realized that I was probably one of the few that really panicked and worried that the delays might mean "failure" for the event. Few complaints were voiced. Most athletes I met were calm, poised, and enjoyed just being together with other Indigenous representatives from faraway lands. Indeed, the long waiting periods provided volunteers like myself plenty of opportunity to interact with them in an informal, relaxed manner. *Though difficult, I accepted that what I previously conceived as the core element of mainstream high-level sport events – structured competition - did not matter as much in this context.* Even though mainstream forms of sport (e.g., soccer) still featured in the events, the on-reserve athletic grounds of WIN Games resembled more a place of communal gathering than order, structure and surveillance – all normal elements for today's mainstream sport events. In fact, I don't remember seeing any security guards at the events.

Moreover, many events of the WIN Games embraced very flexible compositions of teams and downplayed the significance of competition.[34] For example, on the soccer field in Maskwacis, there were matches between representatives of Treaty 5 and Paraguay, or Plains Cree and Canadian's National Indian Football Association (NIFA); at the sand pits of Enoch, where the spear-throwing competition was held, athletes were asked to join freely shortly before the event started. In other words, no competitive experience was required to be a part of this event. Furthermore, in the tug of war contest, to my surprise, I was even invited to join

[34] This is a feature of sport events in various Indigenous communities (See for example, Heine, 2013, the United Nations Development Program [UNDP], 2017).

a team consisting of athletes from various Latin American communities, whom I had been spending the whole week with as an interpreter. *I never imagined that they would express their respect and appreciation to me in this form and I will never forget that.*

Fall 2017

So, why did I feel embarrassed about my encounters with Waneek and Cody anyways?

Throughout my formative years, my knowledge and interests in sport had become a "hook" for me to learn about many other cultures and peoples in the world. *The lack of knowledge of Indigenous sport in Canada, however, indicated that I knew little about Indigenous Peoples and their cultures.* While embarrassed, I felt fortunate to have noticed my ignorance and absorbed the encounters with Waneek and Cody - two highly influential and well-respected Indigenous athletes and leaders - as crucial (un)learning moments. What I learned from them was much more significant than the realm of sport: From Waneek Horn-Miller I learned about Oka, from Cody Jamieson I learned about the Iroquois Nationals. Both Oka (Kalant, 2004) and Iroquois Nationals (Downey, 2018) represent Indigenous Peoples' resistance and alternative visions of nationhood, fundamentally distinct from that of settler states (Estes, 2019; Simpson, 2014). These stories also further uncovered the real face of settler colonialism for me: It is a violence aiming at the erasure of Indigenous People at both material and epistemic levels, rendering the structure and relations imposed by settler society as the only visible and possible future. It was hard to wrap my head around this, as was well explained by settler scholars Battell Lowman and Barker (2015):

> We were challenged over many years to understand Indigenous struggles as being about more than holding private property title to land in Canada, and fair payment for land appropriated by the state, more than equal rights under the law. They are about more than eliminating racism and other social barriers that prevented

> Indigenous people from participating fully in Canadian society. We also struggled to understand relationships to land as more than something that happened only during cultural ceremonies, to see these relationships as something that informed, at a very deep level, worldview and everyday choices. When we would talk about issues of colonialism, we approached these discussions as questions of policy and politics, education, power, and the harm perpetuated by systems of racism and poverty. We were passionate, educated, and wrong. (p. 52)

What does this mean to me? It means that a choice needs be made at an intersection. One is to stop, turn my head away, and forget the unsettling, uncomfortable things learned. The other, however, is to embrace my identity as a *settler of color*, unpack my previously held notions of nation, sovereignty, belonging, and "reconciliation", problematize my initial motives of coming to "study" in Canada: *As a PoC who temporarily resides in Canada, the absence of malicious intention of harming Indigenous Peoples does not absolve me from being complicit in the oppressive relation that continues day by day.* This choice demands ongoing refusal to accede, or active resistance against, settler colonial logics in its pervasive and shapeshifting forms, inside and outside academia.

"Canada" Merchandise

"Mr. Chen, we all want to buy some clothes and souvenirs with 'Canada' on them, can you help us find a shop?"

After the WIN Games' closing ceremony, a group of athletes from Panama asked me this question as I accompanied them to tour an iconic shopping mall in the city. For most of them, it was their first time traveling to Canada and they wanted to bring gifts back to their families. As someone who had become interested in the theoretical constructs on colonialism, oppression, and social justice, my grasp of these concepts went through turbulence.

At first, their requests appeared somewhat ironic. I struggled to put my doubts on the side as all the following questions came to mind: *Why do people from Indigenous tribes in Panama want to get the Red and White shirts that symbolize colonial violence against Indigenous Peoples in Canada, who just hosted guests from all over the world? What does their desire represent? Should I interpret it as a lack of knowledge about Canada and its colonial history? Are they not "authentic" in their Indigenous identity? Does this signify a triumph of the interlocking settler colonial – capitalistic power? And perhaps more importantly, am I in the position to critique them or reject their request?*

No.

Buying a t-shirt emblazoned with "Canada" did not necessarily contradict what they came here for. Instead, I saw the face of a caring and delightful father when I helped an athlete reach a store that sells "Canada"-inspired merchandise ten minutes before the mall closed. After some quick assessment of product color and size, he purchased some gifts for his two children.

"You are a good man", he smiled, took off the bamboo wristband – an Indigenous art piece - from his wrist, and put it into my hands.

I found Unangax scholar Eve Tuck (2009)'s discussion of *desire* illuminating in making sense of this scenario. As Tuck (2009) noted, it is often assumed in social science that people are bound to either reproduce/replicate social inequities *or* resist them, but the notion of desire may disrupt this binary, as it more closely "matches the experiences of people who, at different points in a single day, reproduce, resist, are complicit in, rage against, celebrate, throw up hands/fists/towels, and withdraw and participate in uneven social structures—that is, everybody" (p. 420). And this is even more important for analysis on Indigenous Peoples, who are more often than not, portrayed in a damage-oriented framework. Instead of critiquing the Panamanian athletes' desire to purchase "Canada" merchandise as inconsistent with their

mission as representatives to the Indigenous games, what about seeing it as a manifestation of the complexity of settler colonialism, corporate capitalism and globalization that bear an indelible impact on the relations between peoples and communities? I continued my musings.

Settlers of Color's Complicity and Responsibility

Settler colonialism as an underlying context of scholarly activities taking place on dispossessed Indigenous land has yet to be widely engaged in the social science of sport (Sykes, 2014). Considering the growing influence of PoC researchers therein, I argue that a critical inquiry on settlers of color's responsibility on Indigenous land is of crucial importance if we are to hold ourselves accountable to the social justice values many research projects claim to adhere to.

This autoethnography is one such attempt. It tells two stories: my experience as a settler of color volunteer at Indigenous Games (the story), the other on the tension and barriers in the process leading to the crucial (un)learning moments (*its* story). It situates my own experience as a person of color student-researcher located in a settler institution, the university (Chandrashekar, 2018). Initially having good feeling about "reconciliation", I had opportunities to reflect on the (in)visibility of settler colonialism in Canada, socio-political realities I could not foresee prior to my arrival, and slowly started to understand the nuanced limitations around mainstream "reconciliation" as it pertains to addressing the violence against Indigenous Peoples in Canada (see also Chapter 2). I aim to evoke discussions on the responsibility of PoC scholars within the structure of settler colonialism, which we might have little intention to be a part of but nonetheless have been unwittingly complicit with (Fujikane, 2008). Having the privilege to access and witness the two Games in person, I feel an obligation to tell my part of the story that may resonate with other settlers of color, which I hope can facilitate critical reflections of their own pathways in settler states. It is also important to note that though I have been questioning my experience within settler

colonialism, this chapter, or any other of my projects does *not* and *cannot* absolve my complicity therein.

Indigenous scholars have advised settlers to take actions in undoing the harm of colonial oppression and foster non-oppressive relations with Indigenous Peoples (Kovach, 2009; Gaudry, 2015) and one important step in this process is self-education and responsibly engaging with Indigenous communities in real life (Badali, 2015; de Costa & Clark, 2016). I hope my experience as a volunteer at the Indigenous Games demonstrates how sport can be a site for change to take place, at least at an individual level.

Even though I was exposed to the "darker side" of Canada shortly after my arrival, the inability to perceive Indigenous presence in my social space as an international student, for a considerable period of time, prevented me from getting an educated, nuanced understanding of Indigenous Peoples. Even though I held "good intentions" and could access sporadic information about Indigenous Peoples, I still struggled to understand who they are: "Indigenous Peoples" was more like a concept than real communities with rich histories and vastly diverse cultures and traditions, which have survived centuries of colonialism. This changed after some learning moments with Indigenous community members at the Indigenous Games, which brought me with anxiety, empathy, and admiration (Barker & Battell Lowman, 2016). For example, I felt embarrassed for not recognizing well-respected Indigenous athletes and community leaders such as Waneek Horn-Miller and Cody Jamieson when interacting with them closely, but was motivated to comprehend their stories, which afforded me a chance to contextualize Indigenous Peoples' resistance in settler states. After observing the logistic challenges of the WIN Games organizers, I became more committed in standing *with* the event staff. Perhaps more importantly, through volunteering, I feel genuinely rewarded: the relationships I built with many Indigenous persons enabled me to see the world in a new light.

While rejecting the more stereotypical view that attributes the challenges faced by Indigenous Peoples in Canada to individual instead of structural causes, I once understood the harm of colonialization as *only* caused by White Canadians and more so, their ancestors. Colonialism, in this view, is rendered in the past and the contemporary struggles of communities, accordingly, are only seen as social equities slow to materialize. Also implicit in this view was my recognition of the land of Canada as a place of promise and opportunity without having to negotiate my position *in relation to* Indigenous communities. It was through the Games, especially my participation in a series of ceremonies with the invitation from Indigenous communities that I became cognizant of my responsibility as an uninvited visitor from East Asia, who was nevertheless welcomed to form good relations. Equally important was my realization of the existence of alternative visions of human relations that is not dictated by the settler colonial logic. These alternative visions emanate from the different onto-epistemologies that Indigenous communities hold and they manifested themselves within and beyond the sport events. Although uncomfortable, I started to interrogate my presence on this land, including identifying myself as a settler of color and reflecting on the limitations of my previous narrow vision of human relations, personal success, and the value of sport.

The more I realized that my previous knowledge about Canada and the peoples on this land were limited, the more anxious I became, which propelled me to be in a constant process of searching and seeking. Granted, this was not what I had expected to be facing: I certainly do not want my personal "success" to be based upon the pillage of others. However, obtaining a degree in a Western institution located on dispossessed land and moving upwardly in a settler colonial society built upon the exploitation of Indigenous Peoples seems to do exactly so. There is a need to modify, if not challenge, the trajectory of my stay. I simply cannot close this chapter and move on to thrive in the pathway that settler colonialism

has paved for settlers of color: If I have already been complicit in the settler state of Canada, how can I contribute modestly to *undoing* the harm?

For that particular student who challenged the lack of real acknowledgement to her culture and tradition in the academy, do I owe anything to her? Should I just go away and forget about that moment? Do I want to do anything at all? What can I do? These questions have compelled me to critically scrutinize and adjust my scholarly interests, with this chapter as a starting point. Concurring with Giardina and Newman (2011), who argued that we are "implicated in and co-creating the spaces of physical culture in which we move and which we represent" (p. 530), I also realized that my own reflections and actions, in spite of all challenges and tensions prior to the Games, had an influence on how the reality of Indigenous Games unfolded in front of my eyes as a volunteer. This, I argue, is only one of many ways that settlers of color sport researchers can learn to work with Indigenous Peoples and put our stories in conversation, which is crucial for forging alternative obligations between settlers of color and Indigenous sovereignty and for conceptualizing social justice in ways that are fundamentally accountable to Indigenous Peoples (Fujikane, 2008; Saranillio, 2013).

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CHAPTER 4

The Experiences of Non-Indigenous Volunteers at Indigenous Games

Introduction

As noted in Chapter 1, sport management is deeply implicated in settler colonialism, an ongoing macro-historical structure characterized by a set of unjust relations imposed to Indigenous land and Indigenous Peoples (Tuck & Yang, 2012; Veracini, 2010; Wolfe, 2006). As with settler scholars in other fields, an understanding of this context demands settler sport management scholars to foreground the notion of *relational accountability* (Carlson, 2017; Simpson, 2004; Snelgrove, Dhamoon, & Corntassel, 2014; Wilson, 2008), that is, to question how we can make our *praxis* accountable to Indigenous Peoples. One way to pursue this endeavor is for settler scholars to examine ways that problematize Eurocentric notions, hold space for Indigenous scholars and epistemologies,[35] and explore ways that settlers can engage in building responsible relations with Indigenous communities (Kovach, 2009; Wilson, 2008).

One research area in sport management that can contribute in this regard is sport volunteerism. Devoting labor without financial compensation, volunteering is a key element for the staging of sport events (Cuskelly, Hoye, & Auld, 2006; Doherty, 2009; Getz, 1997) and the resulting development of social capital at individual, organizational, and community levels is widely considered as an important social legacy of sport events (Downward & Ralston, 2006; Farrell, Johnston, & Twynam, 1998; Harvey, Lévesque, & Donnelly, 2007; Nichols & Ralston, 2011; Welty Peachey, Bruening, Lyras, Cohen, & Cunningham, 2015). More specifically, studies have suggested that sense of belonging, attachment, and collective solidarity are important factors that influence volunteers' long-term commitment (Sheptak & Menaker, 2016; Wicker & Hallmann, 2013; Welty-Peachey, Cohen, Borland, & Lyras, 2013). If relationship and relationship building are important elements in sport volunteerism, it is

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[35] For example, Kovach (2009) suggested that non-Indigenous critical theorists can be "strong allies for Indigenous methods (protocols, ethics, data collection processes), but also for the epistemic shift from a Western paradigm that Indigenous methodologies bring" (p. 86).

perhaps where settler colonial critiques and sport management can converge and new possibilities may emerge. As de Costa and Clark (2016) noted, non-Indigenous individuals who intend to address their responsibility as settlers can aspire to find meaningful opportunities to engage with Indigenous communities in different cultural and sport settings. In this chapter, therefore, I consider volunteerism in Indigenous sport events as a site of potential for such opportunities.

To date, despite the growing influence of Indigenous sport events (Forsyth & Wamsley, 2006; Lavallee, & Poole, 2010; Paraschak, 1997; Rocha Ferreira & Toledo Camargo, 2016), researchers have yet to pay scholarly attention to the presence of non-Indigenous volunteers at these events, which contain very different cultural, institutional and organizational characteristics than mainstream sport events. Some Indigenous sport events are held in close proximity to urban settings and may need and attract non-Indigenous volunteers. Thus, there is space for non-Indigenous people to engage in the relationship building processes as settlers. However, while volunteering might provide motivated non-Indigenous volunteers rare opportunities to engage with Indigenous communities, tensions might also arise. For example, differing notions and practices of volunteerism in Indigenous communities (Hoeber, 2010; Kerr et al., 2001) might be new to many non-Indigenous volunteers and this difference may lead to frustration in their experiences, which might deter them from further engaging in volunteering specifically, and the broad relationship building process in general.

This chapter examines the involvement of non-Indigenous volunteers at the 2017 World Indigenous Nations Games (WIN Games), an international Indigenous sport event hosted by a number of First Nations communities in central Alberta, Canada in July, 2017. Despite the political tensions around the “Canada 150” celebration at the time, local Indigenous leaders like Dr. Wilton Littlechild publicly encouraged non-Indigenous people to

attend and support the event (Morin, 2017). A group of non-Indigenous individuals contributed to the 2017 WIN Games as volunteers, alongside a volunteer workforce drawn primarily from local Indigenous communities (Ermineskin Cree Nation, 2017). The unusual dynamics of non-Indigenous volunteers working with and for Indigenous communities at the WIN Games, at a time of socio-political significance vis-a-vis Indigenous-settler relations in Canada, present an important case study to broaden our understanding of sport event volunteerism, especially the social legacy this type of engagement can leave for non-Indigenous communities seeking to build accountable relations with Indigenous Peoples (see Chapter 1). Therefore, the overarching research question driving this chapter was: What were non-Indigenous volunteers' experiences at the 2017 WIN Games within the context of Indigenous-settler relations in Canada?

In examining non-Indigenous volunteers' experience at the 2017 WIN Games, this chapter's contributions are threefold. First, it answers Wicker (2017)'s call for sport management researchers to further explore how different environmental and institutional contexts (in this case, a sport event hosted by Indigenous communities) impact volunteerism. Having an in-depth look at the special dynamics of voluntary engagement that such events present (non-Indigenous volunteers supporting in Indigenous events) adds a valuable layer to the current knowledge of sport volunteerism. A nuanced, contextualized understanding of non-Indigenous volunteers' experiences, including their frustration in this process (if any), is important for non-Indigenous volunteers to engage in critical self-reflection and for sport event organizers to consider with regards to volunteer recruitment and retention. Last but not least, it exemplifies how non-Indigenous critical scholars can foreground relational accountability as settlers (Carlson, 2017; Gaudry, 2015; Kovach, 2009, Simpson, 2004; Wilson, 2008) and incorporate settler colonial critiques in research by attending to questions

that address how sport and sport research can contribute to social change (Shaw & Hoeber, 2016), in this case, challenging settler colonialism (see Chapter 1).

In the rest of the chapter, I first review settler colonial critiques and sport volunteerism, identifying common ground where these two literatures can converge and possibly generate new insights. This is followed by an overview of the research method. In the last two sections of the chapter, I present the findings of the chapter with a focus on the major themes emerging from the analysis and then contextualize their implications. In doing so, I identify unique characteristics of volunteering in this context, and make broader suggestions as to how this adds to the current understandings of sport event volunteerism and how volunteering can allow for those involved to have their own rewarding, challenging, and meaningful experiences.

Settler Colonialism and Sport Volunteerism: Bridging Two Literature

Sport management scholars (e.g., Armstrong, 2011; Chen & Mason, 2018; Frisby, 2005; Newman, 2014; Singer, 2005; Thibault, 2009) have highlighted how sport management research and practice are implicated in, and thus should be better understood in the context of, various socio-political formations. Chapter 1 of this dissertation further discussed how settler colonialism should be considered as a largely invisible structure that underpins sport as a social institution and sport management as an academic field. To contextualize this chapter, I start the literature review with a brief look at settler colonialism, settler responsibility, and the opportunities of relationship building presented by Indigenous sport events.

As noted in Chapter 1, while Canada embraced a nationwide celebration of its 150th anniversary in 2017, the country's colonial foundation and contemporary policies that marginalize Indigenous Peoples were simultaneously questioned (Saganash, 2017). Many explicitly identified "Canada 150" as a celebration of ongoing settler colonization (Gabriel, 2017; Manuel, 2017; Palmater, 2017). Scholars in Indigenous Studies and Settler Colonial

Studies have theorized how non-Indigenous individuals living on Indigenous land, or *settlers* – regardless of their intentions and social locations – are complicit with *settler colonialism*, a persistent structure of unjust relations imposed upon Indigenous Peoples, notably manifest in the continuing threat of their elimination and the reconfiguration of their ancestral land into settler property, justified by the myth of progress and benevolence (Coulthard, 2014; Simpson, 2014; Tuck & Yang, 2012; Veracini, 2010; Wolfe, 2006). Rather than a pessimistic view, the critique of settler colonialism *visibilizes* the current taken-for-granted structure of settler states and the attempted Indigenous erasure, and points to an alternative possibility of a future outside of settler colonial arrangements (Macoun & Strakosch, 2013; Snelgrove et al., 2014). In nation-states like Canada or the U.S., the pervasive violence of settler colonialism does not preclude the possibility of alternative forms of social relations, as exemplified by Indigenous resistance in various locales and at various times throughout history (Estes, 2019; Simpson, 2017). For non-Indigenous people, on the other hand, an understanding of our complicity poses ethical demands for us to actively transform the social relations constrained under settler colonialism (Macoun & Strakosch, 2013; Snelgrove et al., 2014) through meaningful engagement with Indigenous communities in different ways, including cultural and sport-related settings (de Costa & Clark, 2016).[36]

Indigenous Games are one example of these settings, as volunteering can provide such engagement opportunities for non-Indigenous people. In this chapter, I consider Indigenous Games as those sport events hosted by and for Indigenous communities.[37] These

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[36] In the Canadian context, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) proposed five "calls to actions" (87-91) under the title of "Sports and Reconciliation" in its final report in 2015. http://trc.ca/assets/pdf/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf

[37] For example, at the international level: North American Indigenous Games [NAIG], World Indigenous Nations Games [WIN Games], Arctic Winter Games, Masters Indigenous Games, etc. There also have been nationwide and regional games organized in Canada, New Zealand, Brazil, Panama, Colombia, etc., for example, Jogos dos Povos Indígenas (Indigenous Peoples' Games) in Brazil, Alberta Indigenous Games (AIG) and Ontario Indigenous Summer Games (OISG) in Canada, Inter-iwi sport events for Māori in New Zealand, Juegos Ancestrales (Ancestral Games) in Panama.

events are important sites for community empowerment (Forsyth & Wamsley, 2006; Lavallee, & Poole, 2010) and can be considered alternatives to mainstream sport events and sport-for-development programs acclaimed to benefit Indigenous Peoples (Forsyth, 2007b; Gardam, Giles, & Hayhurst, 2017; O'Bonsawin, 2013). In general, Indigenous Games are different from conventional sport events because there is less emphasis on competition and winning than creating an otherwise unavailable space for Indigenous Peoples to build camaraderie and celebrate their cultures and traditions through sport (Mato, 2011; Paraschak, 1997; Rocha Ferreira & Toledo Camargo, 2016; United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2017). On the other hand, although many of these events may share some similar goals and purposes proclaimed by SfD programs, with an emphasis on cultural enrichment and long-term community development, they are initiated by local Indigenous communities and organizations instead of being delivered by international non-governmental organizations and transnational corporations (Forsyth, 2007a; Forsyth & Wamsley, 2006).

The event setting examined in this chapter, WIN Games 2017, exemplifies these characteristics. Inaugurated in Palmas, Brazil, in 2015 (Rocha Ferreira & Toledo Camargo, 2016; UNDP, 2017) the WIN Games is hosted by and for Indigenous Peoples under the leadership of the WIN Sport International Secretariat. Conceived by Dr. Wilton Littlechild, a Cree lawyer, athlete, and current Grand Chief of the Confederacy of Treaty 6 First Nations, the event came to fruition after decades of tireless lobbying, organizing, and preparation amongst Indigenous community leaders around the world (Forsyth & Wamsley, 2006). The event was of particular political significance as it was held simultaneously with Canada's celebration of its 150th anniversary of Confederacy, a celebration questioned in many Indigenous communities (Gabriel, 2017; Palmater, 2017; Saganash, 2017). Hosted by local

Indigenous communities with resource constraints,[38] its staging and operation required the contribution of a large number of volunteers and non-Indigenous people were encouraged to visit the Games and, if possible, to contribute to the Games through volunteering. It is within this context that I pay attention to non-Indigenous volunteers experience at the Games. In a discussion of the barriers to transforming social relations between two groups, Clark, de Costa, and Maddison (2017) found that even though many non-Indigenous individuals acknowledge their interest in engaging with Indigenous Peoples, they "often do not know how to act on this interest", or that they "do not feel that it is their role or right to do so" (p. 382). I see non-Indigenous volunteers' involvement at Indigenous sport events an opportunity for settlers to transform unjust Indigenous-settler relations by responsibly engaging with Indigenous Peoples, cultures and histories (de Costa & Clark, 2016). For this reason, in this chapter I focus exclusively on non-Indigenous volunteers' experiences at the 2017 WIN Games.

Sport volunteerism, relationship building, and frustration

Sport events of various types, including Indigenous Games, are not possible without the contributions of volunteers (Cuskelly et al., 2006; Doherty, 2009; Hoeber, 2010). Different than paid labor, volunteers are motivated to work in exchange for benefits other than financial compensation (Monga, 2006). Due to the sporadic and episodic nature of sport events, the motivations for event volunteers can be different from regular volunteering activities in sport organizations: While altruism and involvement for social networking purposes are common motivations for sport event volunteers (e.g., Fairley, Kellett, & Green, 2007), studies have found affiliatory reasons, namely, the connection to the uniqueness of events (Ralston, Downward, & Lumsdon, 2004), including the spirit, atmosphere, or

[38] These include the Enoch Cree Nation, Samson Cree Nation, Ermineskin Cree Nation, Montana First Nation and Louis Bull Tribe, and Alexis Nakota Sioux Nation.

philosophy of the event (Moragas, Moreno, & Paniagua, 2000) as important incentives. Therefore, motivation is an important factor for sport event managers to consider in volunteer recruitment. In addition to understanding volunteers' initial motivation, scholars have advised sport managers to understand the importance of volunteer experience, for it is volunteers' actual experiences at events that influence their satisfaction, which further determines their commitment to current or future events (Allen & Bartle, 2014; Green & Chalip, 2004). As Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen (1991) noted, "People will continue to volunteer as long as the experience as a whole is rewarding and satisfying to their unique needs" (p. 281). It is therefore important for event managers and organizers to consider how volunteers can take away fulfilling and satisfactory experiences in their volunteer retention strategies (Cuskelly, Taylor, Hoye, & Darcy, 2006; Farrell et al., 1998; Getz, 1997).

Sense of community, belonging, and relationship. Evident in the literature on sport volunteerism is the value of relationships. More specifically, studies in various contexts have shown that an important means to recruit and retain volunteers is using opportunities for community involvement and social relations at a sport event or within an organization to cultivate and maintain an experience of belonging and attachment, which increases volunteers' desire to continue the work (Bang & Ross, 2009; Engelberg, Zakus, Skinner, and Campbell, 2012; Kerwin, Warner, Walker, & Stevens, 2015; Kristiansen, Skirstad, Parent, Waddington, 2015; Sheptak & Menaker, 2016; Welty-Peachey et al., 2013; Wicker & Hallman, 2013). Engelberg et al., (2012), for example, noted that volunteer satisfaction and commitment is heavily influenced by volunteers' relationships with the organization, peer workers, and their own perceived roles as individuals. Kristiansen et al., (2015) concluded that sport volunteering experience itself is "a way of expressing, celebrating and reinforcing one's commitment to, and identification with, the local community" (p. 265). Given how relationship and sense of community is identified as an important factor of volunteer

experience, it opens up an opportunity for volunteerism to be considered in conjunction within the context of Indigenous – settler relations. As one of the few studies in sport volunteerism that draws insights from Indigenous Peoples, Hoeber's (2010) research in Saskatchewan, Canada, shows that volunteerism can have very different meanings in Indigenous communities than it does in the context of mainstream event or organizational settings. This raises the question: What does this mean when non-Indigenous volunteers working at Indigenous Games?

Wicker (2017) and Wicker and Hallmann (2013) encouraged sport volunteerism researchers to devote more scholarly attention to how different environmental and institutional practices, goals, and values affect volunteer experiences; thus, I pay particular attention to the institutional and organizational setting of the WIN Games. Contrary to most events examined in sport volunteering literature, where non-Indigenous people are the primary stakeholders, which replicate and normalize the dominant position of non-Indigenous groups in settler societies, there was a shift of roles in WIN Games: Indigenous Peoples were not only the main participants of the event but also leaders of the organizing process. Conversely, non-Indigenous people played a more or less "supporting" role, including serving as volunteers. Considering this rare, special dynamic at the WIN Games, it is likely that volunteers might generally have different experiences than those involved with other conventional events. It might even mean that different notions of volunteerism might clash at the event, leading to confusion and frustration for those volunteering.

Sport volunteers expect to accomplish the goals they set out for themselves and to be successful (Bang & Ross, 2009), but when the event or organization cannot remove barriers for them to achieve their goals or fulfil their motivations to the expected levels, they are likely to experience frustration. Concerned with how frustration can affect sport volunteer experiences and long-term commitment, Sheptak and Menaker (2016) offered a useful

typology of frustration and highlight the need to address frustration in volunteer engagement in sport organizations: *task frustration* describes the types of frustration related to the volunteer tasks and occurs where volunteers face challenges to physically or emotionally perform an assigned task. For example, volunteers can feel task frustration when they feel unprepared for the job at hand, have limited autonomy or authority to complete the task, or if the tasks do not match well with their motivation or experience. Alternatively, *social frustration* describes a lack of sense of relevance that the volunteer experiences during and/or after the experience and can occur when volunteers do not feel a sense of belonging to the event or organization, perceive unclear communication, feel unaccomplished at either the individual or event/organizational level, and/or receive little recognition for their labor (Sheptak & Menaker, 2016).

Considering the potential social benefits that volunteering activities may leave for local communities (Cuskelly et al., 2006), understanding why some volunteers from a dominant group (settlers) chose to work for an event hosted for and by a marginalized group (Indigenous Peoples) and what their experiences were can provide important contributions to the body of knowledge in sport event volunteerism, particularly its value in facilitating community involvement and relation-building across social groups. This chapter explores non-Indigenous volunteers' experiences at the 2017 WIN Games, particularly their frustration (or the lack thereof), with a purpose to better understand factors that may affect volunteer recruitment and retention in these event settings. Did they experience frustrations? Can their experiences help illustrate the value of non-Indigenous people volunteering at Indigenous events? These questions drove my interest in understanding the experiences of volunteers in this context, with an overarching goal of understanding how non-Indigenous volunteers can address their responsibility and accountability in their relationships with Indigenous Peoples.

Research Method

Foregrounding the settler colonial context of Canada, with a caution that injustices and structural violence cannot be addressed through sport alone (Hartmann, 2003), this chapter sought to inform settlers scholars and practitioners' understanding of settler responsibilities by examining non-Indigenous volunteers' experiences and reflections at an Indigenous sport event, the 2017 WIN Games.

Data Collection

Given the chapter's purpose in understanding the personal experiences and reflections of non-Indigenous volunteers, semi-structured interviews (Kvale, 1996; Brinkmann, 2014; 2017) were used to collect data. One of the most widespread forms of interviews in qualitative research, semi-structured interviews is a technique that involves the asking of questions and recording and documenting of responses for the purpose of obtaining deeper meaning and understanding (Markula & Silk, 2011). This type of interview has some structure based on the researcher's research interest and interview guide but the semi-structured format also opens up possibilities for the conversations to flow away from pre-planned questions and allows the interviewees to provide spontaneous responses (Kvale, 1996; Brinkmann, 2014). They are based on open-ended questions that often start with "why" or "how", which gives respondents freedom to elaborate the question with their own words at some length (Brinkmann, 2017; Markula & Silk, 2011). The conversations are typically audio-recorded and are complemented with written notes by the interviewer (Markula & Silk, 2011).

The interviewing procedure included the following steps: developing appropriate interview questions, conducting interviews, and reviewing and transcribing interview data. An interview protocol was developed to outline the administration and implementation of the interviews, including an interview guide that contained the interview questions and specified

the issues to be discussed during the interview. This included a written informed consent letter (See Appendix A) and eight to ten open-ended questions to guide the interview (See Appendix B). Questions focused on volunteer intention, experience, and reflection on working at the games as a non-Indigenous volunteer.

As explained in Chapters 1 and 3, I worked as a volunteer for the 2017 WIN Games. My personal connections established during the events enabled me to recruit participants through a purposeful sampling method, before a snowball sampling method was adopted. Due to the limited pool of potential participants, a total of 13 participants were recruited.[39] Interviews were conducted between September and December 2018. All 13 participants were residents of Canada, 12 of them Canadian citizens, including five immigrants from other countries or territories (Brazil, El Salvador, Mexico, Colombia, and Hong Kong).[40] Four interviews were conducted at the participants' workplace, three in public spaces (e.g., cafeterias), and one at the participant's residence. Another two interviews were conducted via telephone as the participants were outside the country at the time. Interviews ranged between 50 and 90 minutes and were audio recorded for transcription; field notes were also taken. All transcriptions were returned to participants for comments and/or correction within two weeks of the interviews. All data were then anonymized to preserve the confidentiality of the participants. A pseudonym is assigned to each participant.[41]

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[39] There was not an official record of the number of non-Indigenous volunteers at 2017 WIN Games. However, an estimated number is 20.

[40] While racial/ethnic backgrounds of the participants are not the focus of this chapter, it is important to note that the participants in this study are diverse and their racial backgrounds include white/Caucasian, Latinx, Asian, and mix descent. Despite the fact that they, their families or ancestors are/were native to other territories, they all identify as non-Indigenous in the context of Canada.

[41] Each participant was given the choice to choose a pseudonym of their own preference. However, some participants gave consent to the author in assigning them pseudonyms deemed appropriate.

Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was employed to interpret the volunteer experiences of a special event and institutional environment examined in this chapter. Thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Braun, Clarke, & Weate, 2016; Nowell, Norris, White, & Moules, 2017) is a method for "identifying, analyzing, organizing, describing, and reporting themes found within a data set" (Nowell et al., 2017, p. 2) and is applicable to a variety of epistemological and theoretical approaches (Braun et al., 2016). While there is a wide range of methods to conduct thematic analysis (Braun et al., 2016), the data analysis of this chapter adopted a theory-driven approach, which is explained next.

Data analysis consisted of six phases (Braun et al., 2016). First, in the *data immersion* or *familiarization* phase, the interview transcriptions were read and re-read in order to search for meanings and patterns. Notes were also made about ideas for subsequent coding stages (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Second, a provisional template was created to develop initial codes from the data. In the third phase, coded data extracts were sorted into themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Braun et al., 2016), following Sheptak and Menaker (2016)'s typology of task frustration and social frustration, given my interest in understanding volunteering experience within the context of settler-Indigenous relations. In the fourth phase, the preliminary themes were reviewed and refined so that the identified themes constituted a coherent pattern. Next, themes were considered in terms of how they related to each other, the research question, and the theoretical framework. It is important to note that these six phases are not necessarily discrete from each other. On the contrary, the analysis is a recursive rather than a linear process (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In this chapter, for example, in attempting to explore appropriate coding schemes and themes that can better address the research question and the literature, I have gone back and forth amongst the third, fourth, and fifth phase many times when developing the themes. In the sixth and final phase, a concise report was developed that

reviewed how the themes together addressed the research question, referring back to the literature. This was then submitted to all participants for their feedback, as part of a member checking process. Overall, participants supported the themes derived from the analysis and provided useful feedback for refining the narrative and the presentation of findings.

Results and Discussion

In general, participants in this chapter were drawn to volunteer for the 2017 WIN Games because of the special, unique context of the event: an international Indigenous sport event taking place simultaneously with the "Canada 150" celebration. Most participants considered their voluntary engagement as a way to either fulfil their responsibility as non-Indigenous members of Canadian society or to learn from Indigenous peoples in this rare opportunity. While they gained various intangible rewards from their voluntary work at the event, their experiences were also characterized by frustration. The following section outlines the three major themes of the data analysis. As will be discussed below, the first theme, (un)Preparedness for the event and tasks, can be understood as forms of task frustration. The other two themes, Feelings of belonging and Feelings of accomplishment, are associated with social frustration.

(un)Preparedness for the event/tasks

The first major theme that characterizes the participants' experiences at the Games was their (un)preparedness for the event and/or the volunteer tasks. Not only did most participants have little experience working with any Indigenous communities in the past, they had rarely been to First Nations reserves before. With little information available from the event organizers, participants did not feel prepared to fulfill their volunteer roles for an event

in what was a new cultural setting to them.[42] They were worried about the absence of information regarding the exact schedule and location of the events, as well as the lack of instructions from organizers on their volunteer roles. For example, Alex (pronouns: they/them) recalled that volunteers received little communication until shortly before the volunteer orientation, which was only several days ahead of the Games' opening ceremony. With experience at other large-scale events, they had expected a similar process for volunteers to get acquainted with the event, which was not the case at the WIN Games:

> I absolutely had a lot of questions. Like "what should I bring? Do I need to bring my own lunch? Do I travel during the day?"...like so many logistical things so that I could be prepared to participate meaningfully.

Mike, similarly, admitted that he "really had no idea what to expect" and without clarification regarding his possible volunteer duties, he had questioned himself: "Am I actually going to be useful in any way? I don't know what skills I have to offer". In addition to the scarcity of information from the event organizers, participants felt unprepared also due to the unease surrounding their identity as cultural "outsiders" and relatedly their lack of confidence to perform appropriately as non-Indigenous individuals in an Indigenous cultural setting. Even though most participants understood the importance of being "culturally appropriate" in Indigenous communities, few had any experience working in Indigenous settings, which resulted in further anxieties in terms of their preparedness for volunteering at the event. For example, Mike described his caution as such:

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[42] An important contextual factor to note here is that the WIN Games organizers faced logistical constraints and challenges, notably a local public university's last-minute withdrawal from the partnership. Historically, Indigenous Peoples always have had to recalibrate and readjust as a result of settler violence in various forms including forced relocation, confinement in reserves, and land dispossession (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014; Estes, 2019). The staging of the 2017 WIN Games, therefore, should be considered a renewed phase in this struggle.

> I didn't want to say or do anything that would make people feel like uncomfortable that I was patronizing them. I also didn't want to commit any cultural faux paus …I wanted to make sure that I was doing something…genuinely helpful.

Sheptak and Menaker (2016) mentioned that when tasks are not well matched by volunteers' prior experience or motivation to volunteer, they are likely to experience frustration. In this study, I found that not only did participants in general felt unprepared prior to the event, the actual tasks they undertook at the event also resulted in frustration because the tasks seemed to demand more than their previous experiences or their initial motivations. For example, Alex was once invited to work at the Games' headquarters to welcome international delegations However, they were concerned that their lack of knowledge of local Indigenous communities, notably their unfamiliarity with the geography of the reserve and customary practices in welcoming foreign guests, could well prevent them from "being a good host".

The majority of the participants (11/13) noted how they ended up working far more than they initially expected while handing tasks far more demanding than they expected. This can be well illustrated with Ashley's example. Then a graduate student interested in "doing something" in "Canada 150", she initially planned to only volunteer for two days but stayed for the entirety of the event, working for more than 10 to 12 hours a day. In fact, she was tasked with an important responsibility: to interpret for various Spanish-speaking delegations from Latin America, one of the biggest contingents of the entire event. Although Ashley is a certified Spanish-English translator, she had never done live interpreting before:

> As a certified translator…I honestly thought I was going to be [just] writing when I signed up. I had no idea that [interpreting] was the work I was going to be doing. I'm terrified of public speaking and I didn't think there was going to be so many...such huge groups. I had no idea what I was getting into.

Notwithstanding this unexpected stress, she explained her decision to stay: “Being told directly that [if I left] I would be leaving people without means of communication, it made me stick…pretty straightforward. I didn’t want to, you know, do wrong by the folks I was interpreting for”. Ashley’s story indicates that even though she felt unprepared and had to overwork as a volunteer, the sense of attachment she had towards the event was also an important part of her experience. This will be discussed next.

Feelings of belonging

The second major theme that characterizes the participants’ experience is their feeling of belonging to the Games. Sheptak and Menaker (2016) noted that when volunteers do not feel that they are socially relevant to the event or organization, they are likely to feel social frustrated. On the contrary, the development of a sense of belonging and community might mitigate frustration amongst volunteers.

As mentioned above, due to the lack of experience working with Indigenous communities, participants in general felt unprepared for the volunteer tasks. However, the cultural differences they experienced at the event went beyond the completion of tasks to affect their own sense of belonging to the event and hosting communities. This can be well illustrated in the words from Diana. A staff member at a local college, Diana considered herself as generally comfortable in different cultural environments. However, she was concerned with how she would be perceived by the hosting Indigenous communities as a white settler entering the event:

> What will people think is my reason for being there? Is my reason for being there selfish? Or is my presence there a perpetuation of colonial…benevolence? Will my participation be appreciated? Does it need to be appreciated? Why am I thinking about that? ….Am I being “politely” accepted but in the back people are like “what

> is this White woman doing here?" Like "oh, all right. Nice white woman, we will welcome you here"…

As the event progressed, however, almost all participants were impressed by the distinctive spirit of the Games and started to experience a stronger sense of belonging. For example, Ashley, noted how the Games was "inspiring" to her, a recreational athlete, because the event turned out to be "more about relationships, building a healthy community, and sharing a common experience than about competition". Similarly, volunteer Cassini pointed out how he found the Games to be very different from other conventional sport events: "It wasn't so competitive, like…more normal sports activity is, even though it was called 'World' Games…It's more like a 'friendly' Games". Volunteer Beckie also praised the "informality" of the events that made her feel "just like you were part of it". She shared a memorable episode that happened to her during the event, when she was fortuitously requested to provide a transportation service to someone who turned out to be an important Indigenous elder at the event and "had a really lovely conversation with him". Gradually recognizing that the event was a welcoming, family-friendly setting, Diana, who earlier had doubts on whether she would be welcomed as a volunteer, eventually brought her younger family members to also experience the exciting and inclusive space:

> I think…it was the Swampy Cree from Saskatchewan... they were presenting the mountain dance. They started drumming, and my niece and my nephew love to dance, and they just went in and join the dance and didn't want to stop. They weren't embarrassed, they weren't shy, they weren't hesitant, they were just right in…

Some were even surprised by the degree of appreciation offered by Indigenous organizers and staff to their presence and contributions as non-Indigenous volunteers. Volunteers Cassini and Marcelo, a couple in their 60s, were pleasantly surprised by the welcome they

received as elderly volunteers when Indigenous staff members noticed their grey hair, as Cassini recalled: “we were treated so well because we were seniors, and I wasn’t expecting that. Because I often hear Aboriginal people talking about ‘elders’, so we were like...we became ‘elders’, it was just kind of exciting.” It was apparent from the interviews that the sense of belonging felt by participants at the event strengthened their previous stance on the need to build better relations with Indigenous communities. For example, volunteer Toni, an immigrant from El Salvador to Canada in the 1980s, admitted that he had little prior experience engaging with any Indigenous communities in Canada except that he was once wrongly profiled by a salesperson in Quebec as “indigenous” due to his skin color. He reflected on how his initial feeling of being an “outsider” was transformed at the event. With joy on his face, he recalled the following story: one day, as he arrived late to the event headquarters, most staff were working elsewhere, and the only people he saw were in the kitchen:

> I said “OK, what I was going to do here, waiting [for] the bus to come back?” I went to the kitchen and I said: “Can I help you?” The ladies said: “Do you think you can do this?” Oh my god, I used to work in restaurants, when they saw me cut the vegetables...because I had the experience...in my young age I cut vegetables with speed…They were so happy and I *became* a worker there. And they made jokes with me…The moment that they see me working, I was “adopted”…They don’t see me like a guy from another country. They treated me like someone from the community.

Similar to Toni, participants who were immigrants to Canada found the event to be a rare chance to connect with both Indigenous peoples in Canada and in some cases, Indigenous delegations from other territories across the world. This further enhanced their sense of belonging to the event community as a whole. Originally from Mexico, Juan found the experience very rewarding as he enjoyed meeting with Indigenous delegates from Central

America. He spoke fondly of the brief conversations he had with them, who reminded him of the Indigenous people he had known in his motherland Mexico. Edgar, a volunteer photographer at the event, was ecstatic to receive an inundation of "friend requests" on Facebook, as hundreds of friends and families of Indigenous athletes from across the world viewed and shared his event photos on the internet.

Feelings of accomplishment

Another major theme emerging from the data was related to participants' feelings of accomplishment, or the lack thereof, in their volunteer experiences, which may have important implications in their long-term commitment as volunteers (Bang & Ross, 2009; Sheptak & Menaker, 2016). This can manifest at two levels: they not only expect to feel valued and accomplished for their own contribution as individuals, but also want to see the success of the event or organization they devoted their labor to (Auld, Cuskelly, & Harrington, 2009; Green & Chalip 2004; Welty-Peachey et al., 2013). Accordingly, if volunteers feel unaccomplished at either individual or organizational level, they are likely to encounter frustration (Sheptak & Menaker, 2016).

Individual level. As discussed earlier, many participants were assigned with tasks whose requirements exceeded their previous experience and initial intentions to volunteer for. While participants experienced frustration, this also meant that they were undertaking some significant responsibilities that were important for the operation of the event. Therefore, it was not at all surprising that participants felt an elevated level of individual accomplishment. Ollie, who supported some important logistical tasks throughout the event, for example, was thankful for the chance to work under the supervision of a prominent Indigenous leader: "Having a person like her with a lot of experience managing stuff…she has experience, helped me to improve my skill set…I never had the opportunity to experience something like

that." Ashley, who worked as one of the few interpreters for the entire event, spoke about her feeling of accomplishment as such:

> I did a lot of learning and I feel like it did so much good on a completely "selfish" level for me…gaining understanding and raising awareness...I had never been out to a reserve before… As an interpreter, I was privileged to be able to listen and interpret things like ceremony, conversations between very diverse peoples, and elders' stories, which I feel that otherwise I would have not known how to participate in. And so it was just really exciting and really informing for me to go and be able to learn so much.

As mentioned above, participants were appreciative of the opportunity to interact and connect with the event's international delegations and Indigenous groups from other countries. This can be seen in Edgar's case. A naturalized citizen who immigrated to Canada from Brazil a decade ago, Edgar had gradually gained knowledge about First Nations in Canada. After hearing about the WIN Games on social media, especially the visiting delegation of Brazilian Indigenous communities – including the well-respected Indigenous leader Marcos Terena who chaired the first WIN Games in 2015 – he decided to support their visit as a volunteer. In fact, growing up and spending most of his adult life in urban areas in Brazil, Edgar acknowledged that he had never previously had contact with Indigenous communities there and that the WIN Games fortuitously presented such an opportunity for him. As a volunteer, he worked as the attaché for the Brazilian delegation during the Games and felt highly proud of this experience.

Organizational level. Contrary to feelings of accomplishment at individual levels, participants viewed organizational accomplishment very differently, particularly in regards to aspects such as event structure, scheduling, and clarity of organizational communication. Juan, for example, commented: "I have never been to other types of [sport] games. To be

honest...I did expect it [the WIN Games] to be a little bit better organized". Ollie described himself as making "200% effort" as a volunteer, which far exceeded his anticipated workload and he worried that if the bigger context of the situation was not understood, uninformed volunteers at the Games might take away a "very bad ideas about Indigenous Peoples and [the] reserve". Marcelo similarly echoed the sentiment that the organizing process could have gone better but also expressed empathy towards the resource constraints facing the event organizers: "[There was] a little bit of confusion, but it's understandable when you're organizing events. I just feel sorry for the organizers because they must be under a lot of stress to juggle those things".

As the participants (most of whom worked for the entire event) recollected the frustration as they felt that the event could have been better organized, they also pointed out how they were able to mitigate this frustration: Recognizing the uniqueness of this event and what it would require of volunteers. For example, acknowledging that event procedures taking place at the WIN Games differed from other conventional events, Beckie explained the principle that allowed her to enjoy the process - being flexible:

> …the most challenging part would be for someone who is quite rigid...and I'm a pretty flexible person. So I was quite willing to just go there and do whatever...and if you're really rigid and you expect to be there and to expect to be on a schedule and have a job and do it, you know, "at this place and this time for this", it's probably not the place for you. But if you go there with kind of an open mind and lots of flexibility and willing to just do whatever you can do, whenever you're asked to do it, then it's fine.

As with a few others, Alex was empathetic to the challenging situations of the event, but also realized that how they previously understood "events" might be limited: "maybe…I just had a different vision of what that reality was, or had a different concept of what a functional and

proud event would look like." This critical self-questioning of assumptions on event success was far from unique amongst the participants. An experienced event organizer in Salvadorian diaspora communities in Canada, Toni recalled his initial frustration and, later on, his reflection on the notion of "time" in relation to event organizing:

> When you arrive there, the program shows this, this, and this… your question is "What's the time [of the events]?" An Elder told me once: "we are going to start when we are going to be ready. Not before, not after…" I was like "Oh my god, I need to see the time". That was a typical North American white mentality, because we want to organize in terms of time...but the notion of time is different [in some Indigenous communities], and if we understand that situation, at that moment, we start to have a better conversation and understanding…

As shown in Beckie, Alex, and Toni's reflections, having an open mind to embrace the uniqueness of the event, particularly the different notions (e.g., event, volunteering, and timing) it carried with, was important for them to better cope with their own frustration. In retrospect, Mike stressed the how the organizational process of the event was negatively affected by a local public university's cancellation of support for the event,[43] which enabled him to further appreciate the organizers' accomplishment in staging the event:

> That was a testament to the like values and attitudes of the organizers: that they didn't give up…they just said, "okay well, now we have some problems that are like ten times harder to solve but we're just going to do it. We're just going to find a way to make this all happen". That was really admirable.

[43] The withdrawal of the university as a partner of the event was not publicly reported.

Contextualizing Frustration

The previous section reviewed the three main themes that emerged from the data, including (un)Preparedness with event and task, Feelings of belonging, and Feelings of accomplishment. As noted by Wicker (2017), a more nuanced understanding of why specific groups of volunteers get involved at certain events – a complex process - requires the consideration of the historical and contemporary context at play. In this section, I contextualize the three major themes presented above.

Alternative notion(s) of volunteering. Positive experience is crucial for volunteer retention and recruitment (Getz, 1997; Ralston et al., 2004) and therefore, event organizers need to adjust management practices to fulfil volunteer motivations as well as to optimize organizing processes that may prevent or reduce frustration, which have implications for long-term commitment (Farrell et al., 1998; Sheptak & Menaker, 2016). The findings of this chapter illustrate the need to deepen our understanding of volunteer experiences and more specifically, develop a more a nuanced view of frustration in different event or organizational contexts.

Frustration was an important element in the participants' volunteer experiences at the WIN Games. Many participants considered the event's organizational processes challenging as they experienced task frustration, feeling particularly unprepared for the tasks required at the event. While previous studies have noted that in mainstream sport contexts, frustration related to tasks are usually associated with lower levels of satisfaction (Rogalsky et al., 2016; Sheptak & Menaker, 2016), it is important to note the implication of the particular event context examined in this chapter: While experiencing task frustration, participants critically reflected on their observations, particularly new learnings from stories shared by Indigenous community members, which opened up for them alternative ways to understand notions such as "structure" and "timeliness", rooted in local Indigenous communities' worldviews and

knowledge systems. This resonates with Hoeber's (2010) findings of Indigenous sport volunteers in Saskatchewan, Canada: In the Indigenous communities surveyed, volunteering, with the purpose as simple as "help our people" (p. 350), is considered as an honor and community obligation (as a way to address a variety of social problems in communities) and should be better understood within the context of ongoing colonialism and exclusion. Volunteering in those communities, therefore, is more informal, laid back, and flexible in structure (Hoeber, 2010).

It is very likely, therefore, that the frustration identified by the participants in this chapter might be better understood as a result of the different notions of WIN Games organizers had on "volunteering" and accordingly, a set of different volunteer management practices deployed at the event. This illustrates another layer of the value that the non-Indigenous volunteers received at the WIN Games: not only can they develop a more nuanced understanding of Indigenous communities through personal immersion (de Costa & Clark, 2016), the reality observed in the Indigenous communities then served as a mirror to reflect the limitations of the notions and practices rooted in settler knowledge frameworks of perceiving the world (Ermine, 2007).

Addressing frustration: Springboard to action. In addition to frustration directly related to volunteer tasks, participants also experienced degrees of social frustration deriving from, primarily, their perceived identity as settler outsiders and their expectation that the event would/should be "better" organized. As noted by participants, many of these frustrations were mitigated during the volunteering process as participants increasingly felt a sense of belonging, individual accomplishment, and developed new understandings or deepened their pre-existing knowledge of Indigenous communities, even though they might not have a feeling of complete relief after the event. In other words, settler individuals might constantly encounter frustration as they are situated in a peripheral, "outsider" position in

Indigenous communities (e.g., cannot have all their questions answered), contrary to what they might experience in most other settings. In fact, about half of the participants (e.g., Toni, Alex, Beckie, Ashley, Diana, Mike) did point out the importance of living *with* these frustrations and productively addressing them, if meaningful relationship were to be nurtured and sustained. Reflecting on their lack of familiarity of the hosting communities as a volunteer, Alex realized the enormous amount of work ahead and the discomfort therein if settlers strive to be accountable in relationship-building work:

> It needs constant commitment. It's not just like, "oh, I'm going to zoom in and zoom out for this event." I can't drop in and suddenly know about this space and these relations. It needs to be a lot more sustained and nurtured in that way. The discomfort around knowing "when", "where" and "how" I should be involved in an ongoing sense is certainly lingering. Because I wouldn't want to just be there for this giant, international thing, and then never be seen again.

Similarly, Ashley highlighted the need to see her undertaking of settler responsibilities as a long-term initiative requiring sustained commitment:

> …folks like myself with particular privileges – White, Anglo, settler – even if I feel like I've learned and done something significant in the context of settler-Indigenous relations personally, this process of learning and reconciling is just that: a process. I'll never simply "arrive" at an understanding that will be enough. And no single, finite action will suffice to fulfill my treaty responsibilities. Basically…there will always be more learning and more work to do.

Reflections like Alex's and Ashley's resonate well with the concept of settler "unsettling" (Hiller, 2017; Regan, 2010), a process of interrogating settler identity, unlearning a normalized settler worldview, and a first-step in the potential transformation of social relations in settler states. Informed by Critical Race Theory and the settler microaggression

model (see Chapter 1), I argue that the fixated, normalized notions of event and event organizing can be seen as resulting from settler institutions that have historically marginalized Indigenous ways of knowing and social organizing, which itself is a result of settler macro-aggression: the daily perpetuation of settler occupation on Indigenous land and settler states' goal of Indigenous elimination. Figure 4 provides an illustration to contextualize work-related uncertainty based on a settler-colonial microaggressions model.

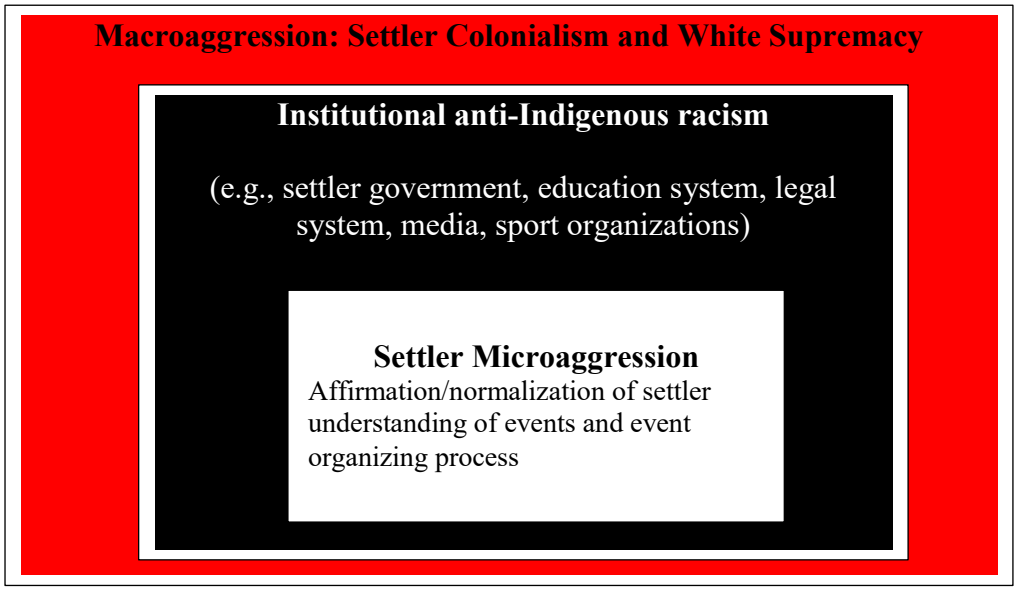

Figure 4. Contextualizing work-related uncertainty with a settler microaggressions model

As noted by Davis, Denis and Sinclair (2017), transforming social relations in settler colonial states is "not just a matter of befriending Indigenous people" but rather requires "developing long-term relations of accountability, engaging in meaningful dialogue, and respecting Indigenous laws and jurisdiction" (p. 394). Due to the enormity of work required in this process, settlers seeking to build ethical relationships with Indigenous communities need to accept and embrace frustration over self-complacency and self-congratulation (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015), treating negative feelings as a *springboard* to meaningful actions (Davis et al., 2017). In volunteering contexts comparable to the WIN Games, this means that non-Indigenous volunteers' experiences may often involve *frustrations* due to settlers' unpreparedness for Indigenous events and different notions regarding volunteerism. But the

presence of discomfort and frustration is a pre-cursor for an accountable and responsible relationship-building process. Like Ashley and Alex mentioned, relationship building demands constant and sustained commitment from settlers who hold "good intentions". As was also mentioned by other participants, showing up, learning to be flexible, and not having preconceived notions suggests that participating in Indigenous sport events as volunteers can be a valuable channel for non-Indigenous people to develop critically informed *allyship* (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015; Smith, Puckett, & Simon, 2016) with Indigenous Peoples and engage responsibly with Indigenous communities.

Implications

The 2017 WIN Games provided opportunities for non-Indigenous individuals to contribute as volunteers, and to learn from and build relationships with Indigenous communities. It shows that if invited, devoting volunteering work to events led by Indigenous communities can provide meaningful experiences for settler individuals who are motivated to undertake their responsibilities as settlers. Though well motivated to volunteer at the WIN Games, the participants' experiences were not exclusively filled with by "happy feelings" (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015) and instead involved task and social frustration.

As volunteers from all prior experiences and motivations all expect certain treatment from the event or hosting organization, event organizers or managers can influence satisfaction through effective communication, providing recognition for volunteers to relieve frustration (Cuskelly et al., 2006). Acknowledging the space for an organization or event to influence volunteer experiences, Auld et al., (2009) also noted that the culture of an event or organization cannot be easily changed to meet volunteers' individual preferences and that volunteer tasks cannot be tailored to fit everyone. This seems to be very much the case for Indigenous Games and non-Indigenous volunteers examined in this chapter: the customs, norms, and traditions of Indigenous communities influence how events are "organized" and

how volunteers are “managed”. Non-Indigenous volunteers might find it difficult for their preferences to be met and thus feel frustration. I now discuss its implication for non-Indigenous volunteers, Indigenous event organizers, and settler sport managers.

As was shown in the previous section, by going through challenging and even “frustrating” volunteering experiences, participants had the opportunity to gain a more nuanced understanding of local Indigenous communities, to make sense of the situations with the help of community members, and to reflect the limitations to their pre-conceived notions about sport events and sport volunteering. It is a great example to explain why settler *allies* who decide to take actions should not be afraid of feelings of frustration, as “anti-colonial learning (and unlearning) does not simply precede action; it occurs through action, through meaningful relationships with Indigenous peoples and with other engaged settlers, and through experimentation with activism of various sorts” (Davis et al., 2017, p. 394). I therefore suggest non-Indigenous volunteers can better understand the ethical demands of our/their volunteering roles in Indigenous communities by engaging in self-education beforehand and afterwards, particularly to be able to accept uncertainties and discomfort and to have our/their pre-conceived notions challenged. A more *rewarding* experience in this context might just be the process itself, with all its complexities.

As a settler scholar, I am not best positioned to provide suggestions for Indigenous community leaders or organizers. I am also cognizant of the resource constraints faced by Indigenous sport organizers across different settler states. The findings of this chapter, however, suggest that with available resources and capacity, Indigenous sport events may benefit from better amplifying the value of learning and relationship building in the recruitment and retention of non-Indigenous volunteers. It might also be useful for Indigenous event organizers to address the differences of volunteerism in different communities early on to make the expectations clear to non-Indigenous volunteers.

From this chapter, I believe that there is also much to be learned for non-Indigenous event organizers. Increasingly, mainstream sport and SfD organizations are in partnership with Indigenous communities in staging events, competitions, and/or other recreational activities, which requires volunteers from both communities. Non-Indigenous event organizers or managers might be better off by purposefully considering how their volunteer management practices can go beyond aiming to provide a "satisfactory" experience in its traditional sense, to also cultivate humility and cultural sensitivity, which may leave a much more significant social legacy – not only enhancing a sense of community at the surface level, but also enabling non-Indigenous individuals to engage difficult questions about accountability and responsibility as settlers on Indigenous land.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the experiences of a special group of non-Indigenous volunteers – at the 2017 World Indigenous Nations Games, an event of considerable socio-political significance within the context of "Canada 150", a widely questioned celebration of the settler state. It answered the call of Shaw and Hoeber (2016) to (re)define gaps in our knowledge in sport management and, in this case, explores how our understanding of sport volunteerism needs to be extended by incorporating settler colonial critiques. In doing so, it also resonates with what Wicker (2017) considered an important direction for sport event volunteerism research: to consider contextual and institutional influences on the volunteering phenomenon. This also speaks to the limitations of this chapter: the 2017 WIN Games is an event taking place in a very special socio-political context and therefore, the findings of this chapter should not be considered as universally relatable or applicable to Indigenous-settler relations in other geographical and cultural contexts.

Drawing upon settler colonial critiques, particularly the ethical demands for settlers (Macoun & Strakosch, 2013), this chapter adds to the sport event volunteerism literature with

new insights on frustration in event volunteering process in the context of Indigenous-settler relations. It confirmed Hoeber (2010)'s findings on alternative notions of volunteerism in Indigenous communities, highlighting that non-Indigenous volunteers' frustrations need to be contextualized with differences in worldviews and pointing to the opportunities for sport (events) to be leveraged to enhance settler (unlearning), wherein settlers can engage in responsible (un)learning and relationship building with Indigenous communities. The findings demonstrate the value of volunteering activities in Indigenous sport and cultural settings, especially for non-Indigenous people who seek to develop critically informed *allyship* with Indigenous communities. They may also be helpful for mainstream organizers and managers who partner with Indigenous communities in delivering events to consider the social implications of their volunteer management practices, especially how settlers can effectively learn from such opportunities to further their engagement. Future studies could explore non-Indigenous volunteers' experiences in other Indigenous event and organizational contexts, how experienced non-Indigenous volunteers can actively play a role in the peer-recruitment process for other events as event ambassadors or future recruiters (Ralston et al., 2004), and how mainstream sport organizers and managers can create opportunities for their volunteers to learn, unsettle, and reflect, through specially-designed or collaborative programs with Indigenous communities.

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CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

This dissertation derives from my (un)learning process as a settler of color pursuing a graduate degree at a major university in the territory known as "Canada". While my interests in the intersection of sport and social issues was already eminent at the inception of my PhD study, I was unaware of the ongoing structure of settler colonialism underlying the liberal-multicultural façade of the Canadian state, the complicit role that institutions like universities play in maintaining and legitimizing settler colonialism through knowledge production and "education". Also, with all the excitement and curiosity that came along with coming to a new country, I was far from forming a critical understanding of what knowledge I should produce as a scholar or what kind of researcher, teacher, or activist I need to be.[44]

This dissertation partially reflects my (un)learning process of settler colonialism, the complicity of the academy, as well as my own embedded position in the ongoing injustice on Indigenous land as a settler of color sport researcher. As I developed deeper understandings of sport by being immersed in social science of sport research, especially sport management in the last few years, I similarly gained insights from various intellectual streams and traditions, notably Postcolonial Studies, Indigenous Studies, Settler Colonial Studies, Critical Race Theory, and Third-World decolonial thoughts,[45] that problematize the social structure of various societies, including settler societies, in which sport, as well as knowledge about sport, are embedded. I asked the following questions in Chapter 1, which guide the entire research project: Why is settler colonialism invisible in sport management research? Can we visibilize settler colonialism in our research and then challenge it as settler scholars? As I started to struggle in thinking about ways in which I could be a more responsible member living on Indigenous land, two international Indigenous sport events, the 2017 World Indigenous

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[44] An example of the lack of understanding of research axiology.
[45] Notably scholars speaking from various positionalities in Latin America (e.g., Anibal Quijano, Enrique Dussel, Walter Mignolo, Maria Luganes), the Caribbean (e.g., Frantz Fanon, Aimé Césaire, and Sylvia Wynter) and Africa (e.g., Kwame Nkrumah, Walter Rodney).

Nations (WIN) Games and North American Indigenous Games (NAIG), both hosted in July 2017, provided me with an important case to explore settler colonialism, settler responsibility, and sport as a site for social change.

Summary of Research Findings

Chapter 2 focused on the mainstream media representation of the two Indigenous Games in the context of the "Canada 150" celebration. The chapter recognizes the historical complicity of mainstream media in the *othering* of Indigenous Peoples as well as the opportunities that large-scale sport events have been offering for marginalized groups in voicing the concerns of their communities. Foregrounding the significance of the "reconciliation" discourse and accordingly, two distinctive perspectives towards "reconciliation" in Canada, I used critical discourse analysis to examine Canadian mainstream media's coverage of the two events, particularly how various challenges facing Indigenous communities were represented. As the results show, while Canadian mainstream media did give various Indigenous stakeholders, including athletes, coaches, leaders and event organizers, much space to voice concerns about a multitude of social issues related to Indigenous communities, the representation emerged in the coverage almost exclusively fell into the mainstream, or TRC perspective, which focuses on more equitable distribution of resources, better informed education, and collective healing under the current political structure of power (TRC of Canada, 2015). On the other hand, the second perspective sees the ongoing occupation of Indigenous land and subjugation of Indigenous Peoples under settler colonial structure as the fundamental problem. It therefore, challenges the legitimacy of the settler state and espouses the ideas such as *Indigenous Resurgence* (Alfred, 2005; Corntassel, 2012; Simpson, 2016) and *decolonization* of settler societies (e.g., Tuck & Yang, 2012), and emphasizes the restitution of land and restoration of Indigenous ways of governance. This perspective, however, did not emerge in the mainstream media coverage.

Therefore, I concluded that while it is laudable that Canadian mainstream media dedicated coverage to the two Games and allowed adequate space for Indigenous stakeholders to speak, there are limitations to this coverage in that it predominantly presents one vision for the society – both settler and Indigenous communities – to go forward in addressing the problems resulting from ongoing colonialism, one that poses no explicit challenge on the seemingly *inevitable* structure of the settler state.

Chapter 3 adopted an analytical autoethnographic approach to illustrate my personal (un)learning process revolving around my volunteer experience at the two Games. Concerning the invisibility of settler colonialism in not only the literature of sport studies but also in the lived experiences for many people of color, the chapter sought to highlight the importance for sport scholars (especially PoC scholars) who are situated in settler states to question our own belongings to settler states, to de-naturalize settler colonialism, to visibilize own complicity in the ongoing exploitation of Indigenous land and marginalization of Indigenous people, and to engage in praxis that challenges settler colonialism.

This autoethnography consists of two major storylines. The first one documented my struggles in understanding the settler colonial reality in Canada: As an East Asian visitor and an international student, I once had a narrow vision that *only* focused on a degree in a prestigious higher education institution in the West. This became complicated as my lived experience brought about some previously unknown aspects of Canada and the university, contradictory to my prior belief. The second storyline focused on my volunteering experience at the two Games, occurring at the height of "Canada 150" celebration. My volunteer experience was filled with uneasiness, tensions, and sometimes embarrassment, but it also enabled me to establish invaluable relations and start to gain more insight into not only the ongoing injustice facing Indigenous Peoples in settler states but also my own responsibility as a settler on this land. Drawing upon non-white scholars that highlight the responsibility of

people of color on Indigenous land (e.g., Day, 2015; Fujikane, 2008, Pulido, 2018; Saranillio, 2013) and through presenting my own story, I hope to provide an account that many other settler scholars and students, especially settlers of color, could relate to, which can then help contextualize their own experience in settler states and reflect on ways in which each could build responsible and accountable relations with various Indigenous communities. This does not mean to position Indigenous struggles higher than struggles faced by many other marginalized communities in settler states – this itself reflects the logic of the Oppression Olympics, which often serves to alienate communities whose struggles are intimately interconnected (Hancock, 2011). Rather, foregrounding the notion of "settler of color" highlights the common responsibility shared by various communities of color towards Indigenous communities and it indicates the limitations of civil rights/multicultural framework if settler colonialism as a structure remains untouched.

Chapter 4 examined the experience of non-Indigenous volunteers at the 2017 WIN Games. If settler people are willing to engage responsibly with Indigenous communities, where can they find such opportunities? Volunteering in Indigenous sport events, as suggested by Indigenous leaders like Dr. Wilton Littlechild and Marcia Trudeau-Bomberry, are such an opportunity. But what are the barriers, challenges, and tensions involved in this process? How can they contribute to the community meaningfully and establish or maintain accountable relations? When there are differing notions of volunteering and organizing at an Indigenous event for settler volunteers, do they experience frustrations? If so, how do they make sense of these frustrations? Within the rich literature in sport volunteerism, few have looked at the particular dynamic where non-Indigenous people, or settlers, engage in the voluntary work for Indigenous sport events. The involvement of non-Indigenous people as volunteers, and its implications for our understanding of volunteerism and settler responsibility (de Costa & Clark, 2016), had yet to be examined.

Despite the political tension around "Canada 150" celebration, the WIN Games still attracted a small number of non-Indigenous individuals to volunteer, including myself. The unusual dynamics of non-Indigenous volunteers working for Indigenous Games, as well as the events' special timing, therefore, presented an important case to broaden our understanding of sport event volunteerism, particularly the social legacy this type of involvement can leave for non-Indigenous communities seeking to build meaningful and responsible relations with Indigenous Peoples. 13 non-Indigenous volunteers were recruited through purposeful sampling and snowball sampling methods. Semi-structured interviews were conducted in Edmonton between September and December, 2018. Thematic analysis (Braun et al., 2016) was used to analyze the audio-recorded interview data. Sheptak and Menaker's (2016) *typology of volunteer frustration* informed the data analysis.

Overall, three main themes emerged from the participants' experiences related to frustration when volunteered at the event, including *(un)Preparedness for the event/tasks*, *Feelings of belonging*, and *Feelings of accomplishment*. While experiencing both task and social frustrations, the participants also engaged in further self-reflection on these frustrations: Some of them realized the differing notions of events and volunteering in Indigenous communities; some others gained a more nuanced understanding of the daily challenges facing the communities; still others better grasped the ethical demands for settlers to build responsible relationship with Indigenous Peoples. In event contexts similar to the WIN Games, this means that non-Indigenous volunteers may often experience frustration. This, however, is integral for an accountable and responsible relationship-building process (Battell Lowman & Barker, 2015), illuminating the need for settlers who aspire to develop critical *allyship* to understand the ethical demands of their roles by engaging in self-education, particularly in being ready to accept discomfort and to have their pre-conceived notions challenged (Davis, Denis, & Sinclair, 2017). These findings add new insights to

understanding sport event volunteerism and are useful for non-Indigenous individuals and groups that are willing to contribute to Indigenous events in meaningful ways.

Implications and Directions for Future Research

Making Settler colonialism *visible* is the first step to challenge it (Macoun & Strakosch, 2013; Rifkin, 2013). As this dissertation has shown, settler colonialism can be engaged as an important construct for sport studies, including sport management. As noted by Cherokee scholar Driskill (2010), settler scholars should integrate new insights from Indigenous theories and articulations of settler colonialism into their critical work without necessarily changing the subject of the inquiry. This will depend on each settler scholars' different social and geographical locations. Inspired by Wilson (2008), I asked several questions in Chapter 1 to encourage sport management researchers in reflecting on their research axiology. I provide my answers to these questions below in Table 2 with the hope that they could help further illustrate the rationale behind this dissertation:

Table 2. *Questions and my answers on the axiology of this dissertation research*

Questions	**My Answers**
What is the social location that I speak from?	I speak as a cis-gender, able-bodied male settler of color who currently resides on Treaty 6 territory, in what is known today as Edmonton, Alberta, "Canada". I also speak from a privileged position of having received what many would consider as high quality education.
As a settler scholar, is it possible to acknowledge my presence on Indigenous land and maintain objectivity and neutrality in my work?	As a settler scholar, it is not possible to acknowledge my presence on Indigenous land while maintaining "objectivity" and "neutrality" in my work. In other words, my work is not politically neutral or objective. Nor do I desire them to be.
Who am I as a researcher?	I am a researcher who is concerned about upholding my accountability to various communities that I am in relation with, particularly Indigenous Peoples, considering that I received no invite from them to visit Indigenous land, whereby I have gained enormous benefit.

What was the experience that may have been embedded in settler colonialism that led me to pursue this topic?	I pursued the research topic in this dissertation because I was deeply troubled when gaining a gradual understanding of settler colonialism's invisibility yet omnipresence in my experience as an international student and how that injustice has profound influence on the material reality and daily actions of all people living on this land.
Which community's interests are at stake in my research?	In my research, the interests of Indigenous communities in settler states, settler of color communities, and academic communities in general and sport studies academic communities more specifically, are at stake.
Who are the people that my research should be held accountable to?	My research should be held accountable to Indigenous Peoples, settler communities (especially settler of color communities), academic communities in general and sport studies academic communities more specifically.
Who will benefit from this research?	I hope other settler scholars who are willing to take on the responsibility to challenge settler colonialism as it intersects with various other forms of oppression, will directly benefit from this research.
Will this knowledge reinforce the legitimacy of settler colonialism, or challenge it?	I hope my research can help delegitimize and challenge settler colonialism.

As shown in Chapter 2, mainstream media coverage of the two Indigenous Games presents both opportunities and limitations. Future research can further explore the media representation of Indigenous-settler relations with critical lens (Alia, 2010). Media studies on sport events, equipped with a settler colonial lens, can help illuminate the alternative ways of understanding the settler colonial structure for the public. Also, scholars can also undertake comparative projects that look at how non-mainstream media, (e.g., media affiliated with Indigenous communities) cover Indigenous sport events.

As shown in Chapters 3 and 4, Indigenous sport events present important opportunities for non-Indigenous people to start building accountable relations and engage in

(un)learning processes. Future research can further explore how sport, in its various forms and contexts, can be deployed by various stakeholders (both Indigenous and non-Indigenous) as a site for facilitating meaningful, responsible exchange between settler and Indigenous communities – exchange that not only entail learning but also unlearning – the questioning of settler colonial common sense. An intersectional approach that foregrounds settler colonial violence and connects it to other injustices based on race, class, gender, sexuality, and ability, can be highly generative for scholars who examine the struggles of other marginalized communities in settler states. Although as Tuck and Yang (2012) mentioned, the interests of Indigenous Peoples and other marginalized settler groups are *incommensurable*, this does not foreclose the possibility or space for common interests to form, for strategic coalitions to forge and adapt. In fact, as many scholars have noted, Indigenous communities and communities of color have had strong relations in various locales (Amadahy & Lawrence, 2009) and settler scholars can contribute by (re)discovering these "usable past"[46] (Gaudry, 2015) that could help us envision an alternative future outside the division of the "pie" of resource in settler states (Arvin et al., 2013).

Last but not least, scholars should further examine how universities, and more specifically, sport studies programs, render settler colonialism invisible (Henhawk, 2013), and how they enable or constrain scholarships that challenge settler colonialism. For universities and sport studies departments, what are the necessary strategies to be implemented so that they can be held more accountable to Indigenous communities? How do we make sure that domestic staff and students as well as newcomers (e.g., in my case illustrated in Chapter 3) can develop a critical, nuanced understanding of settler colonial

[46] Gaudry (2015) praised settler scholar Emma Battell Lowman's approach to one research project, which primarily concerns with settler responsibilities without relying extensively on Indigenous resource. A positive result of this approach, Gaudry argues, can be a "usable past" that demonstrate with nuances, past examples of relationship building between settlers and Indigenous communities (p. 262).

violence in which they might be unwittingly participating? There are no easy answers to these intimidating questions if we recognize that the Western academy is founded upon colonial exploitation and dispossession (Chatterjee & Maira, 2014; Daigle, 2019; Grande, 2018; Kelley, 2016). Yet if I, a naïve, if not ignorant, visitor from China can engage in such an (un)learning process, I have strong reasons to believe that opportunities for change do exist.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INFORMATION LETTER AND INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Study Title: Lessons learned from non-Indigenous Volunteers at Indigenous Games

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Background

- You are being invited to be in this study because you have contributed to the 2017 World Indigenous Nations Games (WIN Games) as a non-Indigenous volunteer.
- I got your contact information with the courtesy of the volunteer coordinators from the WIN Games.
- The results of this study will be in support of my dissertation, as well as for teaching and presentations. The data will be used for academic purposes only, not for commercial interests.

Purpose

- The purpose of this research is to understand the experience of non-indigenous volunteers in the Indigenous Games held in Canada in 2017. While sport is believed to have positive impact on society, we have little knowledge on how events like the Indigenous Games may help ameliorate or hinder the development of relations between Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous residents of Canada. Why did some non-Indigenous individuals decide to volunteer their time and energy for the Indigenous Games? We believe that there are the valuable lessons that you can share with other community members. Therefore, this research will not only add to the current knowledge of Indigenous sport events but also help more people to understand the potentials in which sport can be a useful means to achieve reconciliation in the Canadian context, as well as its limitations.

Study Procedures

- This study uses interviews to collect data. You will be interviewed between September 1, 2018 and December 31, 2018. Participants will choose the location and time of the interview. Each interview will be approximately 40 to 60 minutes in length and will be recorded with a digital voice recorder.
- After the interviews are transcribed to written texts, all the data will be returned to you in order for you to verify the data. You will have up to two weeks after the transcription of the data to decide not have your data included in the study.

Benefits

- An important benefit of this research to you is that your efforts in supporting the Indigenous Games as non-Indigenous volunteers will contribute to new understandings of sport and reconciliation that is not widely explored before. After all, it is not an easy decision for many non-Indigenous Canadians to spend their valuable summer time to travel to the reserves to work with the Indigenous community members. Through sharing your stories in a meaningful way, this study will likely to amplify the impact that you

hoped to make in their volunteering work and to encourage more people to take on the work that you undertook in contributing to the reconciliation project.
- There will be no costs involved in being in the research.

Risk
- You might feel psychologically or emotionally stressed, worried, anxious, or challenged, e.g. description of painful or events. You might experience cultural or social risk, e.g. loss of privacy or status or damage to reputation.
- There may be risks to being in this study that are not known. If we learn anything during the research that may affect your willingness to continue being in the study, we will tell you right away.

Voluntary Participation
- You are under no obligation to participate in this study. The participation is completely voluntary. You are not obliged to answer any specific questions even if participating in the study.
- Even if you agree to be in the study you can change your mind and withdraw at any time. You can have your data withdrawn from the study at any point up to 2 weeks after the date of the interview.

Confidentiality & Anonymity
- Data collected from this research study may be used to publish research articles, as well as for teaching and presentations. The data will be used for academic purposes only, not for commercial interest or gain. Participant's identities will only be disclosed on the signed consent form, which will only be available to Chen Chen and Dr. Daniel S. Mason at the Faculty of Kinesiology, Sport, and Recreation, University of Alberta.
- Only the researcher will have access to digital audio files and any other data pertaining to the research. The electronic data will be password protected or encrypted. This data will be kept for in a locked filing cabinet for five years. After five years, all data will be shredded or deleted.
- Unless you choose to be identified (please see at the end of the form), you will be assigned a participant number or code so that your identity remains confidential.
- You will receive a copy of a report of the research findings if you inform us of your interest in receiving such materials during and after the research process.

Further Information
- If you have any further questions regarding this study, please do not hesitate to contact Chen Chen (cchen3@ualberta.ca) and Daniel S. Mason (dmason@ualberta.ca).
- The plan for this study has been reviewed by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. If you have questions about your rights or how research should be conducted, you can call (780) 492-2615. This office is independent of the researchers.

Consent Statement

I have read this form and the research study has been explained to me. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. If I have additional questions, I have been told whom to contact. I agree to participate in the research study described above and will receive a copy of this consent form after I sign it.

*Do I voluntarily elect to be identified in this study and its publication? Yes / No

_____ _____
Participant's Name (printed) and Signature Date

_____ _____
Name (printed) and Signature of Person Obtaining Consent Date

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE

- How long have you been in Canada? If you were not born here, what did you need to know about Indigenous Peoples?
- Describe your previous knowledge and understanding of Indigenous issues.
- Had you been involved in other Indigenous-related events/programs before the Games? Describe your previous experience in these events/programs
- How did you find information about these Games?
- Why did you decide to volunteer at these Games?
- What are the biggest questions and concerns that you had before the Games?
- Did you share your decision to volunteer at the Games with your families and friends? What were their reactions to it?
- What positive experiences did you have? What was good about them?
- What service or person or resource has helped you the most during the event(s)?
- What is the most difficult part of the volunteering process and why?
- If you could change something about the way that you prepared and worked as volunteer at the Games, what would it be and why?
- Tell me about a challenging experience you had at the Games. How did you solve this problem?
- Has any of your perceptions changed after the experience? How so?
- What information do you feel that you still need to learn and cannot find about Indigenous peoples (in relation to being a non-Indigenous person)?
- Would you like to see more non-Indigenous people come to volunteer at Indigenous sport events? What do you think might be the barriers to that?