Canada's Second People: Reconciling Ourselves

by

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Abstract

The primary research question for this thesis was: How have we, as colonizers, been impacted by settler colonialism? Questions that followed were: how have settler Canadians experienced historical and intergenerational trauma, in what ways have settlers experienced losses, and how do settlers continue to experience losses and trauma today? Settler colonialism is seldom considered detrimental to settlers due to their/our positional power and associated material privileges. Therefore, for many people this question has a degree of 'shock value' because it makes settler Canadians, not Indigenous people, the object of analysis. Nonetheless, this is a crucial aspect of reconciliation that has received little attention from settlers - the second people to live with and on these territories that are now called Canada.

As little scholarly work has been generated on the topic, this thesis addresses a significant research gap. To explain, reconciliation efforts have largely been actions 'for' Indigenous peoples (Regan, 2010, p. 11), but this study contributes knowledge to understand the settler colonial relationship and how it can be reconciled differently. To do so, settler Canadians, and the settler Canadian culture, values, relationships, and behaviours (Ghostkeeper as cited in Jobin & Letendre, 2017), were critically examined and nuanced from Indigenous perspectives (Innes, 2010, p. 2). The aim is to reframe settler society through Native Studies – a discipline that "conducts research that benefits Native people and/or communities" through "research methods and theories that will achieve these goals" (Innes, 2010, p. 2). Native Studies "seeks to understand the experiences and lives of Aboriginal people and communities past, present, and future – not on their own but in their relationships with those of settler society" (https://apps.admissions.ualberta.ca/programs/ns/ns010/ns10).

Knowledge was gathered from twelve open-ended interviews and was confirmed in a focus group. Study participants were Indigenous and non-Indigenous people who were recruited through a partnership with Reconciliation in Solidarity Edmonton (RISE). The thesis analysis combined interview contributions, focus group data, and secondary research that was drawn from a diverse set of disciplines, including Native Studies, Women's and Gender Studies, Epidemiology, Sociology, Philosophy, Law, and Political Science.

This study was exploratory in nature and used qualitative research methods. A co-constitutive research methodology was utilized where participants were approached reciprocally. The theoretical framework incorporated concepts of mutual liberation, found in Indigenous feminism (Anderson, 2010), and interrelatedness, from the Cree and Métis natural law of *wâhkôwtowin* (Cardinal & Hildebrandt, 2000) and Medicine Wheel teachings. The study drew comparison to men's liberation within patriarchy by comparing settler relationships and consciousness to men-women relations and men-men relations (Whitehead & Hearn, 2006).

As a result, settlers are found to experience harms and poverties in the physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual realms. Evidence is provided to demonstrate how settler colonialism separates settlers from our own humanity, the humanity of others, and from non-human beings, in a distinct structure that dispossesses Indigenous peoples of their lands and operates alongside capitalism and racism. Settler harms and poverties result from participation in settler colonialism and are consequences from living within the settler colonial structure. As such, settler harms and poverties are indicators of wellbeing and exist theoretically alongside settler privileges. Accordingly, this study establishes the theory that settler colonialism is a societal determinant of *settler* health and posits that the settler colonial culture and value system have highly influenced settler wellbeing, in addition to Indigenous health and wellbeing.

By centering Indigenous worldviews about interrelatedness and colonial power in the study, the results uncover new ways to understand and approach reconciliation. This study assists settlers to realize and acknowledge the harms and poverties that are experienced within the structure of settler colonialism to facilitate intrinsic motivation and mutual liberation. It is hoped that nuanced settler discourses, ideologies, and beliefs will contribute to efficacious solidarity work. Ultimately, the intention of the project is to shape settler consciousness, as a way to bring about cultural change, in order to advance Indigenous self-determination and the return of lands.

The study's analysis, visuals, and theory can enhance pedagogies in higher education and Indigenous awareness training. This exploratory work can be built upon in future research in a myriad of ways, through action research and in collaboration with other disciplines, such as Education, Psychology, Sociology, and Epidemiology and Public Health.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Avery Letendre. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, "Canada's Second People: Reconciling Ourselves," August 29, 2017.

Dedication

This thesis project is dedicated to Jarod, Isabelle, and Myles Letendre. Thank you for the many ways you have carved out space for this thesis to be completed as it has required sacrifice and effort on your parts. I love you.

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I would like to acknowledge, with gratitude, the scholarship funding received during my graduate studies (Queen Elizabeth II Graduate Scholarship (2016 and 2018) and the Alberta Graduate Student Scholarship (2018)). I am also indebted to the Indigenous Governance and Partnership Program for the employment opportunities that have been made available to me - highly relevant work experience that has enriched my academic learning through praxis.

I would like to acknowledge the contributions of the twelve interview participants who contributed to this thesis in significant ways. You have been generous with your time, hearts, knowledge, and life experiences. In so doing, you have educated me and greatly enhanced this topic. Thank you! Thank you to the RISE Guiding Council for partnering with this project so that knowledgeable participants could be sought out and these conversations could take place.

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I wish to extend a thank you to my colleagues, including Faculty of Native Studies graduate students (especially Johanne Johnson and Javed Sommers) and staff from the Indigenous Governance and Partnership Program (Kirsten Lindquist and Dr. Adam Gaudry). Finally, from the bottom of my heart, I would like to thank my friends and family for the many conversations we have had related to this topic and for the support I have received from each of you.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In this introduction, I will explain the research topic in greater detail, how it evolved, why it is important, and how it fills a research gap. To begin, the research problem and questions will be introduced and I will discuss how they were designed to subvert negative views about Indigenous peoples in Canada. I will explain, through presenting the concept of structural determinism, how settler[1] ideologies and discourses have social, economic and political implications. I will also introduce how an accurate understanding of settler culture and values is fundamental in order to transform settler colonial relationships and behaviours. Key concepts for this thesis are presented, including interconnectivity, bottom-up change, and intrinsic motivation. Then, a literature review will be provided of academic work that has relevance to this topic.

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1 The terms 'settler' and 'non-Indigenous' are disputed categories. For example, Snyder expressed that "open dialogue about the very basic identity terms on which the TRC operates is required, online, and in the rest of the TRC's work" (2010, p. 44). Mitra pointed out that settlers are often understood to be European, binarily excluding "the multicultural reality of Canadian society" (2011, pp. 276-277). Further, there are "differently positioned people" (Snelgrove et al., 2014, pp. 11 & 15) who require non-binary consideration, such as refugees or those who have descended from slaves. Considering these complexities underscores that non-Indigenous peoples in Canada cannot be equated as being the same (Sehdev, 2011, p. 265; Phung, 2011, pp. 290-297; Lowman & Barker, 2015, pp. 16-17; Snelgrove et al., 2014, p. 16; Green, 2003, pp. 60-61).

I use the terms 'settler' and 'non-Indigenous' to refer to those who, individually and familially, came to this land from elsewhere and benefit from the dispossession of Indigenous peoples. While the term 'settler' is not in popular use outside of a particular cohort of people (Davis, Hiller et al., 2016, p. 8), it "serves as a reminder of the continued conditions of settler colonialism" (Baloy, 2014, p. 14) and can reflect "the more complicated structural conditions that we live with and through today and the identities produced through these processes" (Baloy, 2014, p. 15).

Explanation of the research topic

Reconciliation has become a frequently referenced term in Canadian society as a result of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), the work of partner organizations, the media, and educational changes that have begun. These reconciliatory efforts have been aimed at educating the public about harms committed against Indigenous peoples in Canada, residential schools, remediating and compensating for these injustices, and addressing inequitable socio-economic conditions that exist today. Yet, often these efforts are unidirectional, meaning they move in one direction, and focus on Indigenous healing and culture (Baloy, 2014, p. 223). Stan McKay wrote that a guiding principle for reconciliation would include healing and "transformation in Canadian society. The perpetrators are wounded and marked by history in ways that are different from the victims, but both groups require healing" (2008, p. 107). Hence, this history is inextricably linked to the present relationship that exists between non-Indigenous and Indigenous peoples today.

The current discourses about Indigenous peoples in Canada utilize a deficit-based lens and this has obscured introspection and reflection by settler society. Reports, news stories, and discourses about Indigenous peoples are generally negative and accompanied by a litany of alarming statistics that outline the myriad of socio-economic conditions that need to be addressed (Walter & Andersen, 2013). Accordingly, the deficit-based lens reifies and takes for granted that the Canadian and provincial governments will need to be responsible for addressing these issues, rather than framing the issues as being related to a lack of Indigenous self-determination and power due to colonization; so the sovereignty and authority of the Canadian levels of government continue as unquestioned (Barker, 2009, pp. 343-347). Similarly, on a micro-level, the poor socio-economic conditions experienced by Indigenous individuals are largely addressed by employing non-Indigenous professionals in education, health, law, policy, and government (Stevenson, 1998, p. 46). These professionals are unquestioned as those who are best equipped, and trained to address the issues at hand. By maintaining the deficit-based lens, the unreflective nature of settler society continues.

Settler beliefs are steeped in ideologies of superiority and justify non-Indigenous domination and 'help' (Rice & Snyder, 2008, pp. 53-54; Green, 2015, pp. 206-207; Thira, 2014). The natural outcome is the settler colonial belief that Indigenous peoples in Canada do not have

'capacity,' need protection (Memmi, 1965, p. 82), "are not capable of governing themselves" (Memmi, 1965, p. 95), and, in the latest context of reconciliation in Canada, are "damaged" (Mackey, 2013, p. 54). However, what remains silent and unquestioned is our own dominant position as non-Indigenous people. Hence, the primary research problem I have established asks, in what ways do non-Indigenous people have considerable deficits and issues that need to be addressed? I seek to find answers to this problem as we consider our individual positions, and those of our ancestors, regarding settler colonialism in Canada.

Settlers have generally failed to consider, and often do not acknowledge, their/our own role in colonizing behaviours and politics. Accordingly, the effects of settler colonialism remain overshadowed and settlers do not understand how it touches them. Willie Ermine has written about Western worldviews and how they mask settler colonial impacts on non-Indigenous people in Canada.

> Continuing breaches and ruptures between Indigenous peoples and the state is in large part a result of the continuing influence of this established undercurrent of values, interests, and assumptions brought to the encounter between the human communities. The rules of Western dominance we have experienced in this country are archaic and have impeded the fullest development of our humanity. (Ermine, 2007, p. 199)

In agreement, I posit in this thesis that what is commonly viewed as an "Indian problem" now needs to be more accurately rendered as a "settler problem" (Lowman & Barker, 2015; Epp, 2003, p. 228; Regan, 2010, p. 236).

The treatment of Indigenous peoples in Canada acts as a barometer to assess and indicate the level of our own national health and wellness. John Bond (2008) drew comparison to Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy, "that a country could be judged by the way it treats its most disadvantaged citizens" (p. 273). Similarly, Ermine (2007) wrote:

> Currently, the situation, and very often the plight of Indigenous peoples should act as a mirror to mainstream Canada. The conditions that Indigenous peoples find themselves in are a reflection of the governance and legal structures imposed by the dominant society. Indeed, what the mirror can teach is that it is not really about the situation of Indigenous peoples in this country, but it is about the character and honor of a nation to have created such conditions of inequity. It is about the mindset of a human community of people refusing to honor the rights of other human communities. (Ermine, 2007, p. 200)

Native Studies scholarship has a distinct ability to mirror (Chang, 2016, pp. x-xiv & 27) the health and wellness of non-Indigenous society back to us because it centers Indigenous worldviews, the importance of non-humans, Indigenous epistemologies, and ontologies.

After becoming more familiar with the history of Canada as a settler-colonial nation-state, and the present-day ramifications that exist relating to Indigenous peoples, I view reconciliation through a different lens. This has taken place due to many factors, including a reconsideration of my own history, the history of Canada, and 'flipping' the definitions of rich/poor, well/unwell, successful/unsuccessful, and able/unable. In my mind, the 'channel' was changed to consider how settlers may be, historically and contemporarily, a type of colonial subject that have experienced harm as a result of settler colonialism in Canada, too. What could happen if we[2] changed the frame to a 'we' line of thinking, instead? Little scholarly work has been generated to explore how mainstream settler-society has been impacted by colonialism. Therefore, this topic addresses a significant research gap that I feel is best addressed within the discipline of Native Studies because otherwise - exterior to Indigenous epistemologies, ontologies and worldviews - I have little confidence that we, as settlers, will be best able to identify our own 'blind spots.'

In fact, postcolonial scholarship has been criticized for its Eurocentrism and inability to adopt non-Western perspectives (Loomba, 1998, p. 256). To address these blind spots, Paulette Regan has identified that "what is missing is a corresponding research emphasis on understanding our own experiences as the descendants of colonizers and the primary beneficiaries of colonialism" (2010, p. 33). Likewise, Val Napoleon "observes that a settler lack of critical self-reflexivity is highly problematic … [and] that many cross-cultural sensitivity training programs are designed solely to educate settlers about Indigenous people without any

[2] I write myself into this thesis as much as possible because the topic is personal for me and it is congruent with Indigenous research methodologies. To write in this way ensures that the analysis does not become externalized or become a topic that is studied in an objectified fashion, as conventionally happens within Western research methodologies. It has also been important for me to reject any notion of exceptionalism or "moves to innocence" that may creep up in my mind (Tuck & Yang, 2012). For these reasons, and to encourage the development of a settler consciousness, I periodically write using the term 'we,' referring to settlers as a group.

reciprocal sharing" (as cited in Regan 2010, pp. 33-34). In contrast, reciprocal sharing would engender "a mutual relationship with a two-way exchange of ideas and information that is founded on a desire to build and maintain trust in order to facilitate the fair negotiation of interests" (Blackstock, 2006, p. 66). Without this shift, the historical phenomenon of 'Aboriginal people under glass' may continue; therefore, settler self-understanding and the reframing of Canadian history and present-day realities are critical (Napoleon as cited in Regan 2010, p. 34). The research undertaken for this thesis has sought to address these gaps in the field.

Research question and rationale

My primary research question is: How have we, as colonizers, been impacted by settler colonialism? Questions that follow include: how have we experienced historical and intergenerational trauma, in what ways have we experienced losses, and how do we continue to experience losses and trauma today? How could this knowledge be important to approach reconciliation genuinely in Canada? These questions hinge on the view that oppressive practices are damaging both to the perpetrators and victims of colonialism as it is a political and economic project that leaves nobody untouched (Césaire as cited in Loomba, 2005, p. 24). Likewise, Jean-Paul Sartre wrote, "if colonization destroys the colonized, it also rots the colonizer" because "to dehumanize others, you must first have dehumanized yourself" (Sartre, 1965, pp. xvii-xviii). Therefore, this research lens develops a more nuanced approach to the colonized/colonizer binary by interrogating the 'us and them' that prevails (Memmi, 1965, p. 85).

By contrast, this thesis topic rests upon interconnectivity, a shared concept across many, but not all, Indigenous societies (Cardinal & Hildebrandt, 2000, p. 34). To illustrate, the nêhiyawak (Cree) principle of *wâhkôwtowin* ("the laws governing all relations") is a familial concept that emphasizes relationality and interconnectivity between humanity, the Creator, and non-human beings (Cardinal & Hildebrandt, 2000, pp. 14-33). As another example, "Me to We" is a social enterprise with the vision "to empower people to transform local and global communities by shifting from 'me' thinking to 'we' acting" through the concept that "we are all connected" (metowe.com/about-us/). Further, the Tsalagis (Cherokee) have "a word, digadatsele'i, which means 'we belong to each other'" (Snelgrove et al., 2014, p. 3).

Many people intuitively understand the concept of interconnectivity. It is often said that we are connected by 'six degrees of separation' or that 'it is a small world.'[3] While this is widely held in popular culture, it is less conventionally thought that non-Indigenous Canadians are connected to Indigenous peoples. To the contrary, often it can be understood that Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples live separately and are disconnected. This (mis)understanding underscores how settler colonialism has widely become viewed to have only affected Indigenous peoples. It follows that reconciliation becomes approached 'for' Indigenous peoples (Regan, 2010, p. 11).

The creation of 'us and them' did not happen coincidentally. Colonialism has been predicated on being against something, "the Indian" (Simpson 2014, p. 78), and for something, allegedly development and civilization. This happens in tandem with capitalism/domestication/exploitation and racism/extermination in order to develop a national identity that obscures settler colonialism and settler complicity (Simpson, 2014, p. 78; Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 37; Hage, 2016, p. 127; Memmi, 1965, pp. 70 & 149). For instance, settlers carry out settler colonialism by considering Canada our rightful home, rather than as a place that we have colonized (Simpson 2014, p. 78). Having said that, my thesis project necessarily considers links to capitalism and racism in order for reconciliation to be effective, transformative (Snelgrove et al., 2014, p. 21), and liberate all people from the harmful consequences of colonial structures in Canada (Lowman & Barker, 2015, pp. 111 & 117).

To contribute to mutual liberation, this study was designed to unsettle participant consciousness as "a form of critical praxis" (Hiller, 2016) and to locate the results of settler colonialism. I did this by inviting participants to inform the topic, and provide empirical data from their experiences and knowledge, and enter into a different discourse that was made available to them in the study. To do so, I was fortunate to be in partnership with RISE (Reconciliation in Solidarity Edmonton) to recruit participants. RISE is "a group of citizens in the Edmonton region committed to supporting reconciliation in words & actions" (https://www.facebook.com/pg/RISEdmonton/about/). They are a group of people that come from a variety of backgrounds and became established in 2015. The empirical data from the study's participants was integrated with interdisciplinary secondary research, read from an Indigenous Studies lens, and presented in a new way in order to answer the research question.

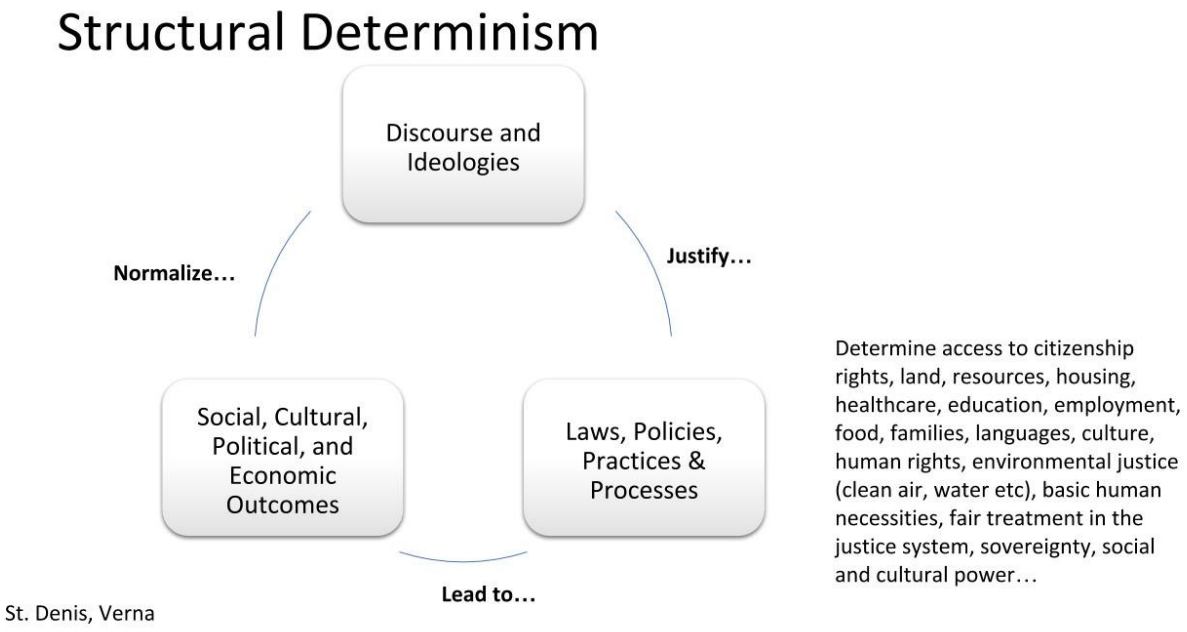
[3] Six degrees of separation is a concept commonly attributed to Stanley Milgram.

Bidirectional academic literature, that makes settlers the objects of analysis, can be used for solidarity work and to pursue decolonization because it offers a more fulsome understanding of the problems that we, as settlers, have ourselves.

Therefore, the objective of this project was to work from the 'bottom-up,' by reconciling ourselves as settlers, who constitute the overwhelming electoral majority in Canada and who have collective power to make change (Govier, 2003, p. 79). Similarly, Menno Boldt (1993), contended that justice for Indigenous peoples "will be realized only if Canadian people demand that their politicians and courts render it" (p. 63). So, the anticipated outcome of this research was to stimulate a different trajectory of thought for settlers, and "differently positioned people" (Snelgrove et al., 2014, pp. 11 & 15) along the binary, who are starting to decolonize and reconcile themselves. When a different trajectory of thought is stimulated, through participation in this study and dissemination of the results, settlers may, in turn, motivate people in their collective spheres of influence to effect change.

Bottom-up change, through transformed discourse, relates to a theory developed in critical race scholarship called the triad of structural determinism (St. Denis, 2017 in Jobin & Letendre, 2017, pp. 8-10). By definition, structural determinism outlines how there are structural elements and processes in place that propagate societal beliefs, practices, and outcomes for and between groups of people. The interplay between these beliefs, practices and outcomes make up a structure (Figure 1). To explain, in settler societies, the negative settler ideologies and beliefs held and shared about Indigenous peoples translate into negative policies, laws, and procedures. Thus, these ideologies, beliefs, policies, laws and procedures culminate in specific, negative outcomes related to Indigenous peoples. So, negative outcomes become interpreted as a confirmation of the erroneous beliefs and these negative outcomes amplify the ideologies and beliefs that started the cycle. In other words, it becomes self-fulfilling and is simultaneously blind to its origins. When that takes place, the policies and procedures remain unquestioned and actually deepen in the flawed direction. Figure 1 (Jobin & Letendre, 2017, pp. 8-10) demonstrates how the cycle works:

Figure 1: Structural Determinism (St. Denis, 2017)



To counteract a negative cycle, like the one described about settler views towards Indigenous peoples, something has to change - there needs to be a rupture to settler ideologies and beliefs.

Alternatively, there could be different laws, policies, practices and processes put into place, but this is unlikely to happen, or be sustained, without a change in settler discourses and ideologies, first. Once there are changes to settler discourses, beliefs and ideologies, the policies and procedures that follow will be altered and the resulting outcomes will change (Jobin & Letendre, 2017, p. 10). Then it will become a continuously positive, reaffirming cycle that dilutes the erroneous ideologies and beliefs over time. Changing settler discourses can impact laws, policies, practices, and processes and this would change the outcomes experienced in Canadian society as they relate to Indigenous peoples - the objective of Native Studies.

Settler ideologies and discourses have undergirded Canadian laws, policies, practices, and processes. These ideologies and discourses have been generated by settler culture and values. To illustrate, Métis Elder Elmer Ghostkeeper,[4] from Buffalo Lake Métis Settlement, Alberta, has explained that culture has a predetermining impact on our values. Elder Elmer pointed out that our *culture* determines our *values*. Accordingly, our *values* are significant

[4] In addition to serving as an Elder, Elmer Ghostkeeper holds BA and MA degrees.

determinants of our *behaviours.* As a result, these *behaviours* directly impact the types of *relationships* we have. Therefore, it is very important to get to an understanding of settler culture, because this determines our beliefs and values, *before* attempting to approach any issues surrounding behaviours or relationships (Ghostkeeper as cited in Jobin & Letendre, 2017). Thus, when we interrogate our culture, it will impact the values we hold, the behaviours we have, and the relationships that settlers form with Indigenous peoples (Ghostkeeper as cited in Jobin & Letendre, 2017).

Despite this, Canadians struggle to identify a shared culture and this relates to how culture is problematically conveyed in Canada (Writer, 2008, pp. 3-4). For example, the Canadian Multiculturalism Policy (1971) associates culture with another group that is not the mainstream, because the mainstream is read as 'white,' homogenous, and without a stated culture (consider the 'ethnic' aisles in grocery stores or restaurant listings). Therefore, we have policies that are based on discourses and ideologies of a 'white' majority, read as a group without a culture, and a 'non-white' minority, based on race (Moreton-Robinson, 2015, pp. 96-98). While multiculturalism creates tolerance of difference, "it will not end racism" or "permit racial justice or a new and just relationship with Aboriginal people" (Sehdev, 2011, p. 268). So, Canadian culture requires analysis, even while we do so with caution to avoid "assumptions of monoculture" (Snyder, 2011, p. 844), in order to understand settler values that have determined the ideologies and discourses that currently exist.

Introspection and reflection on the part of non-Indigenous Canadians has been largely overlooked and is necessary to understand our history and reconcile ourselves (Regan, 2010, pp. 33-34). To facilitate settler introspection, Indigenous feminism is the theoretical approach taken in this thesis wherein liberation is seen to take place when men and women are both unrestricted by patriarchy and unequal relations of power that are based on gender (Anderson, 2010). Likewise, settler Canadians are restricted by colonialism, that operates with capitalism and racism, and in this thesis, settler colonialism is contended to be a structure (Glenn, 2015, p. 55; Wolfe, 2006, pp. 388-390) that is a societal determinant of settler health, in addition to Indigenous health and wellbeing. Thus, settler Canadians can only be liberated when settler colonialism is undone and power relations become just and equitable. Through this view, Indigenous and settler liberations can be seen as linked, but in different ways because of the myriad of differences that characterize these various groups.

Therefore, this project analyzes the results of settler colonialism through looking at how settler colonialism is enacted, who sustains it (Snelgrove, Dhamoon, & Corntassel, 2014, p. 22), and what it *does*,[5] rather than only what settler colonialism *is*. In this thesis, I will explain more about settler culture, values, behaviours, and relationships. I contend that the Canadian settler colonial structure has contributed to harms and poverties (physical, mental, emotional and spiritual) that are experienced by settlers, in addition to Indigenous peoples. These harms and poverties are in addition to settler privileges and the concept of privilege is necessarily redefined. To elucidate settler harms and poverties, evidence is provided about how settlers are separated from humanity and non-humans as a result of settler colonialism.

Thus, I assert that, as settlers, we need to understand ourselves as having deficits and need to re-evaluate our modes of existence because they have largely turned away from mutuality and reciprocity. Then reconciliation will begin to be reciprocal if we critically review *our* identities and cultures (Snyder, 2011, p. 834). By doing so, this research addresses a practical need - the ideologies and beliefs we have about ourselves, Indigenous peoples, Canada, settler culture, and the place settlers occupy in the settler colonial political project. When our ideologies and beliefs are fulsomely analyzed, we may have greater intrinsic motivation for change.

This research focuses on intrinsic motivation because one of the most effective ways to stimulate change is to establish motivation from within rather than attempting to act 'for' someone else. The concept of intrinsic motivation aligns with the interest convergence principle that is found in critical race theory. The interest convergence principle purports that dominant groups do not consider change unless it advances their interests (Castagno & Lee, 2007, p. 4). By example, when the interest convergence principle is used to assess anti-racism efforts, that are conventionally pursued through calls to action on moral or ethical grounds, it holds true: appeals made for anti-racist behaviours and goodwill have not had great success (Hage, 2016, p. 126). This confirms Elder Elmer Ghostkeeper's teachings - a lack of success results when first attempting to address behaviour rather than culture and values. Thus, change is contingent upon the values that are held. For settlers, we have to look within to understand how settler

[5] This view was first introduced to me by Dr. Malinda Smith who suggested that analyzing racism is most efficacious when considering not just what it is, but what it does.

colonialism impacts us and the changes we can make, while acting to implement the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* and the TRC *Calls to Action*.

A different understanding about settler culture and values would be transformational because it would reveal the ideologies that are held, demonstrate why it does not advance settler interests as well as we might think, and contribute towards our capacity to take up agency as "differently positioned" (Snelgrove et al., 2014, pp. 11 & 15) colonial subjects (Loomba, 2005, p. 153). While agency always has limitations, and powerful structural forces exist, we can take up our power to form a different reality, through the freedom we have in our minds, to subvert dominant narratives. Drawing comparison to Indigenous peoples, many have resiliently taken up their agency by using original place names, in Indigenous languages, to raise consciousness in the face of settler colonialism. Settler-allies can utilize the strategy of alternative naming and consciousness raising (Robinson, 2004, pp. 1392-1393), as well. This study uses alternative naming by considering how colonialism has been disadvantageous to us, how Indigenous peoples have valuable knowledge that has been overlooked, to our mutual detriment, and how the domesticating mode of existence, distinguished by an emphasis on domination, extraction and the creation of otherness (Hage, 2016, p. 128), has been overvalued. With this understanding, it is hoped that a different consciousness will be established in the reader, that settler introspection will be facilitated, and there will be different discourses pertaining to Indigenous self-determination and return of lands.

However, there are many decolonial approaches that could be taken and they each have their supporters. For example, Indigenous peoples could attain self-determination through international law becoming enforced, uprisings, or other insurgent means to induce change. Some would be satisfied with greater self-determination within the apparatus of the Canadian nation-state if equity replaced the current relationship that is based on dominance (Veracini, 2011b, p. 5) and racism. On the other hand, decolonization would take place if settlers were to depart from Canada. But, on a global scale there have been huge challenges posed by decolonization and the after-effects are readily seen today. Many decolonized, racialized peoples are emigrating only to experience continued marginalization, just in a different setting (Memmi, 2006). Therefore, political decolonization alone will not be enough unless there is a coming together of the racialized oppressed and white oppressors based on "what unites them rather than what distinguishes them" (Memmi, 2006, pp. 141-142). This would require a different

consciousness, intrinsic motivation to establish "more equitable distribution and better management of wealth" in Canada, and greater power sharing globally (Memmi, 2006, p. 142).

Consequently, I take the view that bottom-up change could be constructive. When a full awareness of settler colonialism materializes in settlers' minds, identifying ourselves as both colonized *and* colonizer (Veracini, 2011a, p. 214), there may be an impetus for bottom-up change. But, critics of this research topic may argue that it invokes a re-centering of settlers or of whiteness *over and above* the needs of Indigenous peoples. If that were the case, it could not be reasonably situated in Native Studies (Innes, 2010, p. 4). For definition, Native Studies is a discipline that values Indigenous perspectives and knowledge and focusses on "the complexity of Indigenous issues and thought" (https://www.ualberta.ca/native-studies/about-us/vision-goals). Native Studies "researches how Aboriginal communities and the countries in which they live influence and define each other," "suggests fundamentally new ways of understanding Aboriginal people and their relations with non-Aboriginal societies and governments," and "aims to build bridges that will help create a better Canada" (https://www.ualberta.ca/native-studies/about-us/what-is-native-studies).

Moreover, critical Indigenous Studies uses "Indigenous-centered approaches to knowledge production" to study "colonizing power in its multiple forms, whether the gaze is on Indigenous issues or on Western knowledge production" in order to "develop theories, build academic infrastructure, and inform our cultural and ethical practices" (Moreton-Robinson, 2016, pp. 4-5). In this thesis, Indigenous theoretical frameworks and concepts are used, such as *wâhkôwtowin*, Medicine Wheel teachings, Elder Elmer Ghostkeeper's teachings, and the importance of non-human beings, to study settler power and re-evaluate colonial society (Andersen, 2009, p. 94). Further, disciplinary boundaries are pushed through an inclusive approach that utilizes interdisciplinary theories (Jobin, 2015, 94) and knowledge. "As the discipline continues to mature, more Indigenous Studies theories and methods are being developed and interdisciplinary theories and methods continue to be adapted to fit within an Indigenous Studies paradigm" (Jobin, 2015, p. 122). As such, this thesis develops a Native Studies theory that depends on Indigenous epistemologies, ontologies, and worldviews, but is also interdisciplinary. The results have value for Indigenous communities – the constituents of Native Studies (Cook-Lynn, 1999, p. 23) – because they contribute to the study of colonizing power and can be applied to decolonizing work.

We have an opportunity to review our histories, and present circumstances, in a new light as the second people on these lands we call Canada, so we can better understand how we have been harmed by colonialism. Today's age of reconciliation offers us a ripe space to more readily contemplate Indigenous ways of being that can benefit us all. Once we begin to decolonize ourselves, as settlers, we will be closer to achieving a form of reconciliation that is active and enduring, and not reduced to a buzzword that will eventually lose its luster (Freeman, 2000, pp. 458 & 461). Now, the literature review will be presented to introduce scholarship that has direct relevance to the research question.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This thesis topic triangulates the literature about settler identity, reconciliation, and settler colonialism in Canada. It expands on and critiques what currently exists in the literature by merging these three areas into one topic. Currently, there is a good deal of literature on the topics of settler colonialism and reconciliation in Canada. Much of it focusses on what has taken place in Canada regarding settlers, Indigenous peoples and settler colonialism, why it has happened, what is taking place now (present-day settler colonialism), and what should happen going forward (reconciliation and Indigenous self-determination). For instance, this scholarship revises the accounting of Canadian history (Logan, 2015; Asch 2014), considers the authority, roles and responsibilities of the Canadian government historically and contemporarily in relation to reconciliation (Asch, 2014; Henderson & Wakeham, 2009), and works to deconstruct commonly held views and myths in Canada (Regan, 2010; Rice & Snyder, 2008). On the other hand, there is an emerging area of literature that assesses settler identity (Baloy, 2014; Dale, 2014; Davis, Hiller et al., 2016; Hiller, 2016; Lowman & Barker, 2015) and settler complicity (Regan, 2010; Snelgrove et al., 2014; Govier, 2006; Henderson & Wakeham, 2009). Moreover, there has been a greater emphasis on individual settlers in recent years, as discussed by DeCosta & Clark (2016):

> An important theoretical movement over the last decade or so has seen a much greater attention to the 'settler colonial' experience, in particular its distinctiveness from a colonial mode characteristic of 'resource colonies' where European settlement was marginal. Recent investigations in this field have started to move from broad historical accounts to a concern for the lived modalities of settler colonialism. (DeCosta & Clark, 2016, p. 192)

Additionally, there is an emerging body of scholarship that nuances settler identity and complicity by considering racial differences. The intent of this thesis topic is to nuance the existing literature on settler colonialism, reconciliation, and settler identity.

This literature review will address these three topics in separate sections in order to provide the theoretical lens, key concepts, and terminology for the study, summarize and analyze the relevant literature, and identify the important ideas and debates in order to demonstrate the gap that exists. To contextualize the topic of settler harm, identities, and reconciliation, I will begin by introducing the structure of settler colonialism, including its systems, culture, values,

behaviours and relationships. Accordingly, I will provide a visual model of settler colonialism (Figure 2) to contextualize the analysis that will be provided in later chapters. In particular, I will define the individual (micro), social network (mezzo), and societal (macro) levels and discuss their interrelationships. The concept of *wâhkôwtowin* will be presented to explain how humans and non-humans are interconnected and implicated within settler colonialism.

Then, in the following section I will summarize the scholarship about reconciliation in Canada and introduce settler philosophies that are based on dominance which impede upon genuine decolonization. Finally, in the last section I will elucidate the settler identities that currently exist in Canada and establish the relationship this has to the concept of settler harms and poverties. Following the literature review, there is a chapter on methodology to explain the study's methods, methodologies, and theoretical framework, and to demonstrate how this study connects to the discipline of Native Studies.

The Structure of Settler Colonialism

Colonialism and settler colonialism can be viewed as having similarities and distinctions. There are areas of overlap, because both operate through interference and invasion in a territory not their own, and distinction because colonialism and settler colonialism are two different structures (Veracini, 2011a, p. 205). Specifically, colonialism separates "'home' and 'colony,' a separation that settler colonialism inevitably complicates by collapsing settler 'home' and colonial locale" (Veracini, 2011a, pp. 205-206). Settler colonialism claims settler sovereignty and possession of land (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 5) - settlers come intending to stay and to become part of a story that does not plan to "be turned back" (Veracini, 2011a, p. 206). To illustrate, Canadian myths operate by claiming 'discovery' of a 'New World' and frontier (Regan, 2010, pp. 105-110). In actuality it is "an act of non-discovery" (Veracini, 2013, pp. 321-324), not only because it is a theft and takeover of another's land and livelihood (Monaghan, 2013, p. 493), but also because settlers to Canada have brought and implemented British social, economic and political structures (Stasiulis & Jhappan, 1995, p. 97; Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 25).

Canada's political, economic, and social structures are settler colonial because they are based on British systems, white dominance, and permanence. Historically and today, Canada is significantly linked to Britain in the global politico-economic context as a dominant, hegemonic nation-state. Moreover, Canadian settler colonialism is located within the international arena of white dominance (Tuck & Yang, 2012, pp. 31-35; Applebaum, 2010, pp. 8, 15-17). It does so with "underlying systems of beliefs, practices, and institutional systems that undergird the racialization and management of" racialized Others to acquire their land and exploit their labour (Glenn, 2015, p. 69). In saying that, "settler colonialism's response to undesirable exogenous others has often swung (and still does) between the poles of 'elimination' and coercive 'exploitation'" (Glenn, 2015, p. 62). So, the disappearing of Indigenous peoples and history is integral to Canada's survival as a nation-state (Veracini, 2013, pp. 321-324; Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 30). Thus, the settler colonial system has been implemented using British systems and processes, rests on white dominance, and is intended to be permanent where settlers view themselves as naturalized (Lowman & Barker, 2015, pp. 3, 12-13 & 58-59; Tuck & Yang, 2012, pp. 15-16; Woolford & Benvenuto, 2015, p. 380).

Contemporarily, Canada legislates Indigenous peoples to be subordinate and mandates colonial structures – by example, the Indian Act's mandated band council governments for First Nations - while simultaneously reinforcing narratives of Canada being 'home,' (Veracini, 2011c, p. 3). An everyday example that demonstrates this narrative of 'home' is found in the Canadian national anthem and the lyrics 'our home and Native land.' This embeds national myths and reifies Indigenous peoples' alleged non-existence (Barker, 2012). Further, Indigeneity is viewed as disruptive and as an impediment to progress (Barker, 2012; Siegel, 2016). The result is a normalization and invisibility of settler dominance (Regan, 2010, pp. 86-88), also reflected in the global context of white dominance, where hegemonic power over racialized Others is the norm.

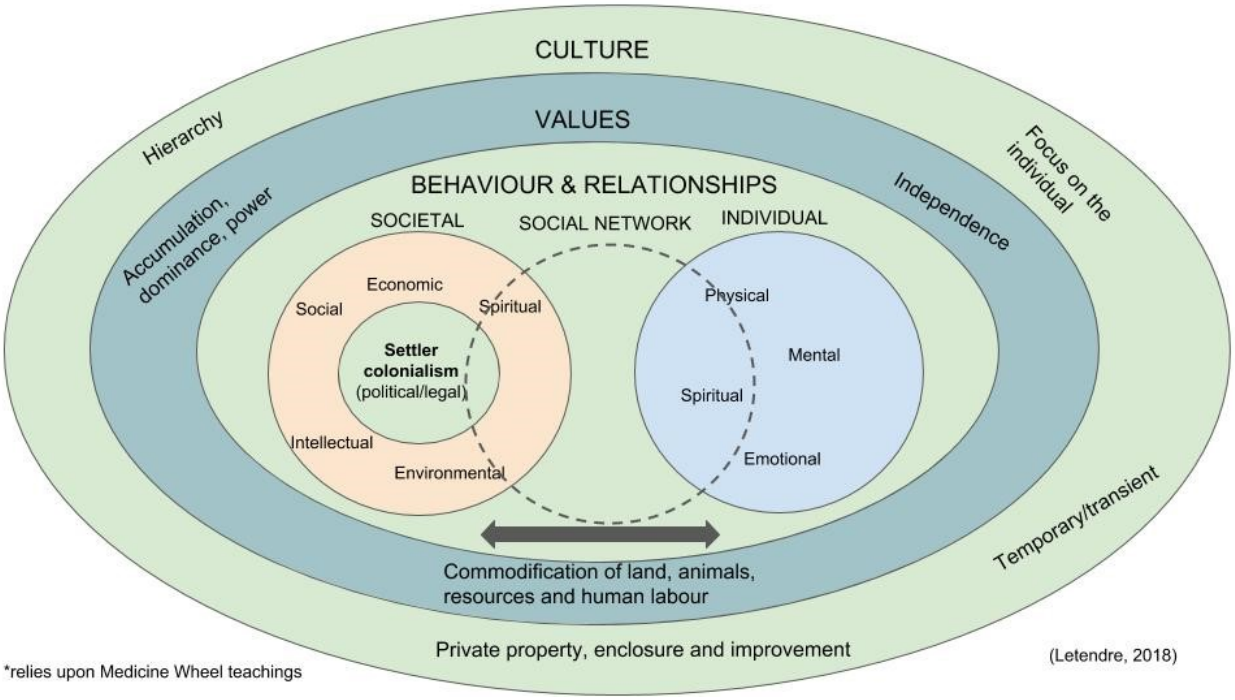
Assimilation is a key strategy of Canada's settler colonialism. Some examples include enfranchisement, policies that have separated people from their communities (for instance, in the Indian Act women have been disentitled from Indian status), forced removal of children through adoption and foster parenting, residential schools, and Indigenous languages and cultures becoming lost or endangered (Dickason & McNab, 2009; Lowman & Barker, 2015, pp. 12-13). Assimilation and attrition are central settler colonial ideologies and they can be even more effective than extermination because they are insidious (Wolfe, 2006, p. 402; Woolford & Benvenuto, 2015, p. 379). After all, "settler colonialism destroys to replace" (Wolfe, 2006, p. 388) and "this violence is not temporally contained in the arrival of the settler but is reasserted each day of occupation" (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 5). Therefore, Canada fits the political structure of settler colonialism through strategies of elimination, assimilation, exploitation, settler invisibility, and settler permanence.

It is imperative that settler colonialism is understood as a structure (Glenn, 2015, p. 55; Wolfe, 2006, pp. 388-390) which is made possible due to a specific culture and value system. This is largely invisibilized (Arvin, Tuck & Morrill, 2013, p. 13) and many people are unaware of how it is a present form of governance. Mark Rifkin has established the term "settler common sense" to denote how settler behaviour is "symptomatic of an unstated set of nonnative inclinations, orientations, modes of perception, forms of networking, and durable lived assemblages shaped by processes of settlement and experienced as the stability of the given" (Rifkin, 2014, p. 7). Hence, settler common sense makes the structure of settler colonialism invisible and settler Canadian culture, inclinations, and orientations remain largely undefined and unexamined, causing even more confusion when the topic of reconciliation is broached.

Importantly, settler colonial governance intersects with racism, capitalism (Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 37), patriarchy, and heterosexism (Davis, Denis & Sinclair, 2017, p. 394). These systems are based on particular norms, differences, and binary thinking. As such, the processes of settler colonialism depend upon power structures that stratify race, class, sexual relations and gender in order to accumulate and maintain capital and power in disparate ways (Glenn, 2015, p. 57). The impacts from these intersecting systems have harmed Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples profoundly and uniquely through the ways our lives entangle, converge, and concurrently resist each other (Logan, 2015, pp. 447-448). Hence, the intersections with other systems of oppression complicates its analysis, but understanding these connections is critical to fully comprehend historical and contemporary settler colonial governance, as well as relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada (see Barker, 2009, p. 333).

For the purposes of this thesis, settler colonialism is defined as a structure that dispossesses Indigenous peoples of their lands and sovereignty, uses a myriad of societal systems, social networks, and individual settlers, and is grounded upon a particular culture and value system that connects the intersecting systems of oppression together. As a result, it is helpful to visualize the settler colonial structure, systems, and inherent ideologies. Although it is unusual to have a graduate student model in a literature review, this provides a graphic overview of this section on settler colonialism. I created Figure 2 (below) prior to meeting with any participants and it was foundational to the direction of the research study.

Figure 2: Model of Settler Colonialism



This model visually consolidates literature about settler colonialism with Elder Elmer Ghostkeeper's teachings (about how culture determines values, and these in turn determine behaviour and relationships). To explain, I define culture as "the way of life, especially the general customs and beliefs, of a particular group of people at a particular time" (Cambridge Dictionary, 2018). I define values as influential, shared principles about what is important and desirable. These beliefs shape the behaviours and relationships that exist in Canada. This model is provided to help represent the "phenomenon" of settler colonialism and could be an aid for decision making (Bhattacherjee, 2012, p. 14).

Societal level

Beginning at the center (Behaviour and Relationships), Figure 2 depicts the macro, mezzo and micro levels as being in relationship with one another and as being mutually reinforcing. As such, Figure 2 contests the notion that an individual stands alone. Starting with the societal level, this visual depicts how settler colonialism is determined, influences and

upholds the other systems and institutions it is employed with (economic, spiritual, environmental, intellectual and social). Central to settler colonialism is the legal system that codifies rights to land, power, and governmental authority. Settler colonialism must operate with and through a specific set of economic, spiritual, environmental, intellectual, and social systems and institutions that are aligned with, and sustain, its ideologies and methodologies. Notably, these are all upheld through colonial law. In sum, Figure 2 shows that 'society' is not something that can be externalized (Johnson, 1997, p. 20) - society is co-constituted with individual actors and social networks. This is particularly relevant to my research project because of its focus on how individual settlers can reconcile themselves for the purpose of societal decolonization. The societal level is often understood from the human vantage point, but human societies also have relationships to non-human societies.

The structure of settler colonialism, and systems found within it, involve humans, plants, waters, animals, and air, impacting each in a particular, detrimental way.[6] In Figure 2, the lives and networks (ecology) of plants, waters, animals and the earth are depicted with the title 'Environmental' to demonstrate how non-human societies interact with human societies, networks and individuals. All of these interconnections are found within the Cree and Métis natural law of *wâhkôwtowin.* To explain, Métis Elder Maria Campbell wrote about *wahkotowin*:

> Today it is translated to mean kinship, relationship, and family as in human family. But at one time, from our place it means the whole of creation. And our teachings taught us that all of creation is related and inter-connected to all things within it. Wahkotowin meant honoring and respecting those relationships. They are our stories, songs, ceremonies, and dances that taught us from birth to death our responsibilities and

[6] Johnson (1997) identifies "the changing relationship of humans to nature" (p. 47) as being connected to patriarchal control and dominance, including control of agriculture, human reproduction, and animals (through domestication), as "conducive to seeing the rest of the natural world as a nonhuman 'other' to be controlled" (French as cited in Johnson, 1997, p. 46). Johnson also connects patriarchy to heteronormativity. Citing Elizabeth Fisher (1979), "the split between humanity and the rest of nature sowed the seeds for a more general and profound disconnection in social life. It did this by providing a model for control and domination based on the distinction between self and other, an 'us' and a 'them'" (Johnson, 1997, p. 47).

> reciprocal obligations to each other. Human to human, human to plants, human to animals, to the water and especially to the earth. And in turn all of creation had responsibilities and reciprocal obligations to us. Many of us use the metaphor of circle all the time and we also use words and phrases like "wholistic" and "all my relations." (Campbell, 2007).

Wâhkôwtowin teaches that "we are all related to each other" as human and non-human beings (Jobin, 2014, pp. 158-159). This concept is incorporated because it has relevance to the place I live and to the instruction I have received as a student in the Faculty of Native Studies. *Wâhkôwtowin* is just one example of how the structure of settler colonialism is grounded in settler common sense, but it need not remain this way (Rifkin, 2014, pp. 38 & 193; Loomba, 1998, p. 232). When considering the societal systems that make up settler colonialism, the 'Environment' can be understood differently when seen through the concept of *wâhkôwtowin* - as humans interacting with non-humans.

Mezzo level: Social networks

In addition to non-humans being overlooked, often settlers are considered individually or as a large, societal group, overlooking the mezzo (social network) level settlers interact with. The social network is undefined on Figure 2, but includes families, communities of practice, communities of faith, physical communities where people live, workplaces, schools and so forth. The mezzo level has different features that include "size, transitivity, density, homogeneity" with characteristics like "frequency of face-to-face and non-visual contact, organizational participation (attendance), reciprocity of ties, multiplexity, and intimacy" (Berkman & Krishna, 2014, p. 242). To explain, there is a "larger chain of causation" along the continuum from the macro to the mezzo and then, finally, to the micro level (Berkman & Krishna, 2014, p. 243). Social networks nest between the overall societal level and our individual lives, as our social community, and have great influence. As such, these networks overlap across the societal and individual realms because they are influencers of, and determined by, both. Thus, the influences from our social networks can be strong, weak, positive and/or negative, depending on the features within them. The inclusion of the mezzo level depicts how individuals and social networks possess agency and influence, but also encounter limitations.

Figure 2 demonstrates how the macro, mezzo and micro levels overlap, coincide, and reinforce one another (Burke, Joseph, Pasick & Barker, 2009, p. 66S), rather than simply having a linear direction. This is because "it is *people* who construct institutions, *people* who must function interactively within them, *people* who will implement and adapt their organizational rules" (Govier, 2006, p. 17). These three levels are co-constitutional and they all impact settler and Indigenous health and wellbeing in unique ways.

Individual level

Finally, Medicine Wheel teachings are depicted at the individual level, with the view that individuals have physical, mental, spiritual and emotional aspects (Graham & Leeseberg Stamler, 2010; Bopp, Bopp, Brown & Lane, 1984, p. 12). Individual health and wellbeing is complex and is influenced by a myriad of factors. For example, the 1946 preamble to the World Health Organization Constitution states that "health is a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" (as cited in Birn, Pillay, & Holtz, 2017, p. 51). Notably absent is spiritual health or the connection between human and non-human health. As such, my research differs from conventional depictions of settler health and wellbeing because it is holistic and includes the connection to non-human beings.

A view towards holistic settler health was undertaken through reliance on the Medicine Wheel teachings, respectfully applied as a settler researcher doing work in Native Studies, because the physical, emotional, mental and spiritual harms that are in this analysis connect to these teachings. To explain, in the book, *The Sacred Tree*, the Medicine Wheel is described as a mirror that can assist people to grow into a different consciousness through their volition (Bopp et al., 1984, p. 14). "The medicine wheel can be used as a model of what human beings could become if they decided and acted to develop their full potential" (Bopp et al., 1984, p. 35). Hence, the Medicine Wheel can illuminate things that were previously unseen "to help us see or understand things we can't quite see or understand because they are ideas and not physical objects" (Bopp et al., 1984, p. 9). Therefore, settler privileges, harms and poverties can be better understood when considering how they relate to non-humans and to the whole, as taught through the Medicine Wheel.

Importantly, the teachings are to be taken up through an understanding of human responsibility. Accordingly, Bopp et al. write about the potential for establishing a different awareness and way of acting.

> When the medicine wheel is used as a mirror by sincere human beings, it shows that within them are hidden many wonderful gifts that have not yet been developed. For the medicine wheel can show us not only as we are now, but also as we could be if we were to develop the potential gifts the Creator has deposited within us. (Bopp et al., 1984, p. 33)

Being humble, with genuine intentions, and looking toward a different future path is important when seeking to understand the teachings.

Medicine Wheel teachings are followed by many Indigenous people and "provide the values, beliefs, and characteristics for many Indigenous cultures" (Jobin, 2005, pp. 13-14). Though, Rob Innes has pointed out that "contemporary Native communities are complex, with a diverse range of cultural expressions" (2010, p. 3) and it is important to underscore that Medicine Wheel teachings are viewed and practiced divergently. Nevertheless, Figure 2 contrasts with the way that "dominant society segregates and separates" (Jobin, 2005, p. 17) by using concentric circles, multidirectionality, and the integration of holistic principals at the individual level, found in the Medicine Wheel teachings. While this holistic approach fits well in Native Studies, holism is not followed by all Indigenous people, or non-Indigenous people, yet it is an approach that is applied in this thesis as integral to my own interpretation and observations as the researcher. To summarize, all settler relationships and behaviours are encased within the societal, social network, and individual realms and these are further located within settler colonial culture and value systems (Loomba, 2005, p. 30), as depicted on the outer layers of Figure 2.

Settler colonial culture and values

To explain the outer layers that make up Figure 2, I will begin at the bottom of the model. The disciplines of History and Native Studies have demonstrated that settler colonialism in Canada was implemented by imposing ideologies and laws pertaining to private property (Tough, 2013), enclosure, and improvement (Wood, 2002, pp. 36-37, 79; Polanyi, 1957, p. 36).

In fact, John Locke's philosophies on improvement (Wood, 2002, pp. 107-115) were integral to Canadian settler colonialism and to capitalism. This has been operationalized by permanently occupying land, cultivating land, and extracting resources through the means of genocide and slavery (Glenn, 2015, p. 67). Thus, the historical imposition of private property, enclosure, and improvement stood in stark contrast to Indigenous ways of life. Previously, a similar process took place in England where the way of life was transformed by agrarian capitalism and then radically changed by the Industrial Revolution (Wood, 2002, pp. 81-87). As Wood stated, "once British capitalism, especially in its industrial form, was well established, it was able to impose capitalistic imperatives on other economies with different social property relations" (2002, p. 149).

Moreover, the commodification of land and labour was fundamental to the development of a capitalist market system. Capitalism replaces human values with a value on money and commodities (Loomba, 2005, p. 28), is established through social relations of self-reliance (Wood, 2002, pp. 74-79, 105), is patriarchal (Johnson, 1997, pp. 41-44), and is hierarchical through many other categories (race, age, ableism and so on). Further, the culture of the individual is codified in Canadian (settler) law, through individual human rights, by comparison to how Indigenous laws reinforce collective governance practices, responsibilities, and kinship relations (Molly, personal communication, September 28, 2017).[7] Beyond that, this relates to the neoliberal approach that the Government of Canada has pursued beginning in the 1980s that places a high value on the individual. Therefore, Canada primarily exists with a capitalist system (market economy) and the social relations that accompany it are, in general terms, individual in nature, rather than collectively oriented.

To provide a few examples of how social relations are individualized (Maté, 2003, p. 223), this can be clearly observed in Canadian living arrangements. These are overwhelmingly separate where individuals or nuclear families live apart from their extended family (Angel, personal communication, October 30, 2017).[8] For instance, housing is designed to facilitate individualism and group homes or living with extended family are deemed as exceptional arrangements or non-normative. Individualism and the ideal of private property ultimately

[7] From a thesis participant interview.

[8] From a thesis participant interview.

sustains capitalism and encourages individual ownership of land, goods, and the highest level of consumerism (accumulation), rather than communal ownership systems where there would be a decrease in units purchased in the marketplace.

To facilitate capitalism, livelihoods are pursued through wage-labour jobs that are performed and pursued individually. Ultimately, this upholds the value of individualism and independence, as described by the intellectual, author and activist, J. Sakai.

> In the settler tradition it's "every man for himself." They have no class goals or even community goals, just private goals involving private income and private consumerism ... The most significant fact about the real consciousness of the Euro-Amerikan masses is how anti-communal and private it is. Settlers recognize no common bond with the rest of humanity. That is why everything they build is perverted. (Sakai, 2014, p. 358)

Likewise, Martin Brokenleg (1998) identified Western culture and values as "Dominator values: individualism, winning, dominance and affluence." Notably, it is through the values of dominance and power that the patriarchal connection is most clearly understood because "above all, patriarchal culture is about the core value of control and domination in almost every area of human existence. From the expression of emotion to economics to the natural environment, getting and exercising control is a continuing goal of great importance" (Johnson, 1997, p. 85). Individualism and independence are connected to the capitalist, patriarchal settler culture of hierarchy that places value on accumulation, dominance, power and competition.

Bearing that in mind, inherent within the culture of hierarchy, individualism, and improvement is transience and temporariness (Packard as cited in Deloria Jr., 1973, p. 73; see Loomba, 2005, pp. 151-153). To explain, the place that one lives is often not considered to have primacy, as it does for many Indigenous peoples (Deloria Jr., 1973, pp. 70 & 81). Rather, it is viewed as extraneous to the pursuits of individual attainment. By contrast, "within Indigenous contexts land is not property, as in settler colonialism, but rather land is knowing and knowledge" (Arvin, Tuck & Morrill, 2013, p. 21) and land is viewed, by many, as a place you come from and "have a relationship with" (Meyer as cited in Arvin, Tuck & Morrill, 2013, pp. 21-22). Thus, the features of hierarchy, individualism, improvement and transience all connect to dominance, to the patriarchal culture of control, and to the social and market relations that hold up capitalism, racism and settler colonialism.

Societal conflicts

To conclude this section, it must be understood that settler colonialism is closely related to many of the governance issues and societal conflicts in Canada today. "Canada's failure to confront the profoundly colonialist, racist and sexist white settler ideologies which have driven its history has ensured an enduring legacy of deeply rooted conflicts" (Stasiulis & Jhappan, 1995, p. 127). Conflicts have emerged in many ways, including Indigenous rights resistances and oppressions (e.g. the Red River Resistance, the Oka Crisis, Idle No More, numerous blockades, Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women, Girls, and Two-Spirited people), racialized peoples' conflicts (Black Lives Matter, Islamophobia, criminalization and police brutality), feminist struggles, and anti-capitalism movements, such as Occupy. Having a society that is riddled with conflict is harmful to its citizenry, because it reduces levels of social trust, cohesion, and goodwill, and this leads to further conflict and violence.

Colonial domination and interference continues to be what Indigenous leaders are up against (Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 35). The result is that Indigenous livelihood is threatened from racism, marginalization, violence and oppression (Wildcat, 2015; Holmes, Hunt & Piedalue, 2014; Epp, 2003, p. 228); this leads to material socio-economic and cultural repercussions. While culture is fluid and there is exchange between Indigenous and non-Indigenous cultures in Canada, such as "the application of Indigenous customary law developed through the interaction between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples" (Borrows, 1997), it has been the exception rather than the rule by which settler colonialism operates. There is legislative consideration for Indigenous peoples through Supreme Court of Canada rulings and in section 35 of the Canadian Constitution. These, however, could be considered pragmatic moves that aim to maintain the cohesiveness of the Canadian-state (Lowman & Barker, 2015, pp. 61-62).

Settler colonialism was meant to succeed in eliminating the Native, it was never meant to be defeated or compromised and, for many people, the discontinuation of settler colonialism "remains unthinkable" (Veracini, 2011a, pp. 207-208). In fact, some celebrate Canada's 3 Pillars (English, French and Indigenous Canada) and regard the Canadian Constitution as a successful model to the world (Russell, 2017). Yet, Stasiulis & Jhappan (1995) demonstrated how "the white settler society construct as applied to Canada is useful" but "its explanatory potential is deficient in four major ways" (p. 98). They pointed to how Indigenous peoples play a major role in Canada, how immigration and settlement ultimately is ethnically and racially diverse (p. 98),

how French and English colonizing powers continue to be in conflict (pp. 98-99), and how androcentric assumptions are circumvented in actuality, by considering women's roles and influence in spite of these policies (p. 99). When these factors are taken into consideration, Canada's settler colonialism can be seen as unsuccessful because of its failure to build a white, English speaking, settler society and its inability to eliminate or assimilate Indigenous peoples (Freeman, 2000, p. 458).

Despite colonial domination and interference, Indigenous resistances, livelihoods and cultures persist. The context of settler colonialism in Canada clarifies the societal conflicts and unrest that have surfaced (Woolford & Benvenuto, 2015, pp. 382-383). This knowledge allows settlers to understand how we are paramount to a project of invasion, individually and collectively, and it facilitates a more complete understanding of reconciliatory processes. Understanding settler colonialism and racism is foundational to reformulate relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. This can be undertaken by writing and speaking more accurately about Canadian settler colonialism and racism (Manuel & Derrickson, 2017, pp. 76-81), building awareness in society, and nuancing the curriculum across all levels of education. Better nuance will be achieved when settler colonial implications, for settlers, are understood. Taken together, the aim is to make headway on governance conflicts that are taking place in Canada and to approach reconciliation in a bi-directional fashion (Regan, 2010) where colonized and colonizer work together towards our mutual liberation. Thus, in the next section, the topic of reconciliation and the relevant academic literature will be introduced.

Reconciliation in Canada

Contemporary reconciliation efforts are taking place in Canada to address our settler colonial history and present. This is largely due to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), the international shifts regarding Indigeneity around the globe, and the United Nations *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP) (MacDonald, 2015). UNDRIP was accepted by the Harper administration in 2010, though they initially opposed it at the United Nations, and is pledged to be implemented by the Liberal government under Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (Fontaine, 2016). Consequently, many non-Indigenous Canadians are grappling with our history and present-day reality of being on lands that were pre-possessed by First

Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples (Hiller, 2016, p. 2). As a result, Canadian history is being revised and retold because these lands continue to be contested (MacDonald, 2015) and settler Canadians are responding to the TRC and UNDRIP.

Reconciliation is a contentious topic, especially when framed as an issue of settling 'the colonial past.' While reconciliation is an imperfect process in Canada that is in its infancy, reconciliatory initiatives are nevertheless instrumental to work towards the establishment of postcolonial institutions (Veracini, 2011a, p. 211). There is an area of scholarship that analyzes the concept of reconciliation and the processes of reconciliation and redress. This scholarship addresses a wide range of global human rights abuses and redress processes, in addition to writing about settler colonialism and the TRC (Govier, 2015; Govier, 2006; Govier & Prager, 2003). Therein, reconciliation is conceptualized diversely - both the micro and macro levels are considered because both social and physical structures have been built and require transformation to be reconciliatory (Govier, 2006, p. 17). For this section of the literature review, I will outline some of the scholarship about reconciliation and introduce settler philosophies that underscore how reconciliation is approached. Finally, the last section of the literature review will introduce scholarship on settler identities, harms, and poverties.

Individuals, society and non-humans

For the purposes of this thesis, I consider the micro level of reconciliation to be a process where individual settlers shift from hate, disrespect, or mere tolerance to having respect for Indigenous peoples, accompanied by a mutual honouring of each other's dignity (Christian, 2011, p. 73), establishing "a new model of interrelating" with "peaceful coexistence" (Christian, 2011, p. 78). The micro level of reconciliation concerns improved human relationships (Aboriginal Healing Foundation (Canada), 2010, p. 1; Govier, 2006, p. 17), "closure, forgiveness, or moving on," "making peace between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, and making amends or apologizing" (Environics as cited in Aboriginal Healing Foundation (Canada), 2010, p. 3). For example, Epp (2003) emphasized that "the most meaningful work of reconciliation ... will lie in small, face-to-face initiatives" (p. 238). Similarly, Govier (2003) stated that acknowledgement is important for meaningful restitution and change (p. 71). Hence, the micro level of reconciliation encourages individual settlers to gain a greater historical

understanding about themselves and their family (Aboriginal Healing Foundation (Canada), 2010, p. 35) and to face shared, inherited histories (Epp, 2003, p. 235).

However, micro level reconciliation can be problematic. Carol Prager (2003) wrote that "the values on which reconciliation rests are liberal, Enlightenment, humanistic values such as liberty, human rights, and democracy" (p. 13; Green, 2016, pp. 202-203). Similarly, Sara Ahmed has cautioned against equating the development of a "social bond" with "a sign of justice" (as cited in Green, 2016, p. 203). Moreover, Robyn Green (2016) emphasized that pursuing social cohesion is secondary to establishing Indigenous autonomy (p. 203). In that vein, Epp (2003) stated that "reconciliation in a liberal society may turn out to mean only the ability of strangers to live together in pursuit of individual projects" (p. 228). In sum, individual, micro level reconciliation is important, but not an end in itself.

There is overlap between micro and macro reconciliation. For definition, macro reconciliation takes place when structural changes begin and is signified by returned lands and authority to Indigenous peoples, in a nation-to-nation relationship (politically and economically) (McCarthy, 2016, p. 280). The overlap between the micro and macro levels is found in the emphasis on the role of education, dismantling myths, conveying Indigenous strengths, and addressing views of settler superiority and Indigenous inferiority (Ross, 2008, p. 158). In addition, the macro level conceives of reconciliation as led and facilitated by governments in Canada and by the TRC. A broader list can include governmental investigations, changes to laws, policies, and procedures, compensation to victims, enforcement of sanctions, and action to reform institutions, develop civic cohesion and trust (Crocker as cited in Prager, 2003, p. 3). However, macro policies of reconciliation in Canada are largely developed with the assumption of Indigenous inclusion (assimilation) into mainstream Canada, with the goal of creating equality (Green, 2016, pp. 118-119). Of importance to this thesis study, the TRC's methods have been critiqued for affecting settler understandings of being 'outside' of the issues (Green, 2016, pp. 201-202). Thus, macro reconciliation is important, but currently has limitations.

Reconciliation should be understood as having pertinence to non-human beings, as well. This is one of the limitations that exists and is often overlooked in the analysis of reconciliation, but is pointed out by Indigenous teachers. To illustrate, McKay broadened the concept of reconciliation in this way:

> Our relationship with each other as humans is now an issue for discussion in the context of the earth and its capacity to support life. One Aboriginal perspective would be to talk about 'all our relations,' a formula that concludes Anishinaabe prayers, affirming our connectedness with all peoples, living beings, and the earth itself. Is it possible to speak about reconciliation without the conversation including discussion of the health of the whole creation? (McKay, 2008, p. 104)

On this view, reconciliation takes place between humans on a micro and macro level, but also needs to take place between humans, animals, plants, waters, and air.

The view towards non-human reconciliation represents a fundamental difference in philosophies between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. For instance, "Art Solomon, an Anishinaabe Elder and teacher, places the challenge before us in his writing and teaching about our significant differences, as demonstrated by our philosophies of life" (McKay, 2008, p. 103). Specifically, Solomon wrote:

> There are two different philosophies which have always been the fundamental difference between the people of the land, and the strangers who came from Europe. One is a philosophy based on the concept of materialism: ownership of land and possession of things ... The philosophy of the original people was based on the timelessness and the harmony and the power of the Creation and humanity's place and purpose in it. (Solomon as cited in McKay, 2008, p. 103)

Thus, the contributions from McKay, Solomon, and others extend the conventional approach to reconciliation. By contrast, there is typically a reliance on revised behaviours and policies contained within the current social, political, legal, environmental, and economic (colonial) structures. Hence, when adding the pertinence of non-humans to the micro and macro literature on reconciliation, it becomes clearer that reconciliation requires transformed settler philosophies and self-awareness. In sum, conversations that relate to reconciliation are fundamentally "about perspectives on the meaning of life" (McKay, 2008, pp. 103-104).

Processes of reconciliation

Academic literature critiques the processes of reconciliation based precisely on these differences in perspectives on life (Snyder, 2011; Snyder, 2010; Green, 2016; Green, 2015; Mackey, 2013). For example, Green (2015) demonstrates how reconciliation is presented by the

Canadian government as an economic investment that "is used to bypass Indigenous peoples' assertions of self-determination and to ensure the economic success of the settler state" (p. 474). Green (2015) asserts that by doing so, Indigenous-settler relationships, historically imbued by a drive for "capitalist accumulation," continue to be related to as "market relations" (pp. 478-479) and "the colonial project is reproduced in Indigenous peoples' quest for historical redress" (p. 484). However flawed, in this way reconciliation *partly* shifts toward the idea of something that is shared and valuable for all Canadians (i.e. economic prosperity), rather than being approached as something that is 'for' Indigenous peoples. Notwithstanding, this phrasing is problematic because it does not address self-determination or pursue a nation-to-nation relationship, but instead deepens neoliberalism and settler dominance (Green, 2016, pp. 26-27). As Green has pointed out, settler colonialism continues in these ways when Canadian territorial sovereignty, authority, and legitimacy is re-exerted, even as a governmental apology is made and a Truth and Reconciliation Commission is established (Green, 2016, p. 121; Rifkin, 2014, pp. 15-19).

Accordingly, reconciliation has been described as a process that re-victimizes Indigenous peoples in its attempt to provide justice (Campbell, 2017; Green, 2016, p. 13). It does so through a "system of accounting" that establishes the compensation that will be received (Green, 2016, p. 128). For instance, the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, which issued Common Experience Payments and could be conceived as an act of reconciliation, has been critiqued for individualizing survivor experiences and detracting from the role of the Canadian-state and colonial policies (Green, 2016, p. 129). This shifted the focus to the victims and their individual repercussions from residential schools (Green, 2016). Thus, it conveyed that the Canadian-state had "the authority to define and separate 'normal' identities and behaviours from the 'abnormal' or dysfunctional" (Green, 2016, p. 139). In sum, this literature demonstrates how the hegemony of the colonial nation-state of Canada is reinforced through reconciliation. Rather than providing justice, it has been shown to be a process of re-victimization and it continues to conceal the role of settlers, and the implications that exist for settlers, related to settler colonialism.

Therefore, the next section serves to uncover the settler philosophies, based on dominance, that bely and hinder reconciliation efforts. I will offer an explanation for why cultural change is needed and how this connects to settler recognition. After that, there will be a section that describes settler identities in Canada and the concept of settler harms and poverties in order to frame the study and demonstrate how it fills a research gap.

Settler philosophies and dominance

As the processes of reconciliation demonstrate, the Canadian settler colonial regime is centrally premised upon the notion of European dominance (more specifically, white dominance), universality, and Indigenous inferiority (Ermine, 2007, p. 198). Settlers have sought to subsume and displace Indigenous societies and peoples in the attempt that they become 'just like us,' sometimes taking the form of charity or sympathy, where Indigenous societies and worldviews are made out to be invisible (Ermine, 2007, p. 199; Glenn, 2015, p. 67). In order for this to occur, the belief in settler dominance, and especially white European superiority (Barker, 2009, p. 341), is historically established (see Daschuk, 2013, pp. 127-158 for a description of domination through sexual exploitation, murder and starvation).

> Some held that Europeans had reached the pinnacle of civilization through a long and arduous process. In this view, the other peoples of the world had been held back by such factors as climate, geography, and migration. Through a civilizing process, Europeans could, however, raise the people of the world up to their level. (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, p. 18)

This quote illustrates the historical settler mentality, but this outlook is perpetuated today in reconciliation. To illustrate, "settler insistence on the universal applicability of *their* worldview, *their* way of life, *their* legal and political systems, is the problem blocking relations of equality and recognition between indigenous and settler peoples" (Bell, 2014, p. 172). While the root of this universalizing philosophy is found in white European superiority, these frames of thought are evident among settlers more generally in Canada today (Siegel, 2016, p. 11).

On the other hand, it may be argued that Canadian "philosophical traditions" (Bell, 2014, p. 175) are not based on hierarchy and dominance because our stated values include tolerance, inclusivity, openness, and liberalism. Specifically, settler thought could assert that we need to align our stated values with our actions, policies, and laws because most Canadians do not have a propensity towards dominance, we just need to become better educated and then we will rationally determine how to behave differently with Indigenous societies. But, the reason I am focusing on settler culture and values as being hierarchical, based on dominance and power is because *that is what they are in practice*. Could it be possible that our actions signal what our primary values and philosophies actually are? Could these values be of lesser importance than

we have allowed ourselves to believe? To explain, these actions, policies and laws did not come about coincidentally or against any express opposition from the Canadian electorate (Loomba, 2005, p. 30). Rather, Canadian systems of dominance, that are endemic to settler colonialism, have been intentional and have been co-constituted between the Canadian electorate (individuals and social networks) and the state (Barker, 2009, pp. 332, 339-341). In other words, settler culture and values, based on hierarchy and dominance, have determined settler behaviours and these, in turn, have influenced our subjectivities. I write this gently as this is a hard pill to swallow, one that I have contended with for some time, but ultimately needs to be soberly understood.

Considering the disconnect that exists between settlers' stated values, historical and contemporary actions, I contend that genuine reconciliation will be unsuccessful if approached from within settler philosophical traditions, or, in other words, settler philosophies. Settler philosophies are evident in the settler relationships, behaviours, culture, and values that have been described so far and these are derived from the ideologies that implemented settler colonial systems. By contrast, reconciliation needs to be transformational.

> Reconciliation must support Aboriginal peoples as they heal from the destructive legacies of colonization that have wreaked such havoc in their lives. But it must do even more. Reconciliation must inspire Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples to transform Canadian society so that our children and grandchildren can live together in dignity, peace, and prosperity on these lands we now share. (The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, p. 114)

Accordingly, reconciliation cannot be successful with a change of behaviour or based on settler philosophies alone, though this could influence our subjectivities, because true reconciliation requires decolonizing thought and action that must be enacted through different values and culture (see Figure 2). Thus, decolonizing thought and action, enacted through a different culture and value system, can only come about through different philosophies that center Indigenous worldviews and are outside of settler philosophical traditions.

Avril Bell (2014) suggested that decolonizing thought and action, for settlers, be established through applying Lévinas' ethic of respect, with settler philosophical traditions. Further, decolonizing thought and action would establish a "middle ground" that would resist the co-optation of Indigenous philosophies, would resist universalism (2014, p. 175), and establish a

third way. To explain, Bell's analysis is based upon Lévinas' view that people realize and acknowledge their limits to ever fully knowing another person by maintaining a level of humility and uncertainty. Hence, if this limitation to fully knowing others is embraced, it would serve as an antidote to domination. Humbly acknowledging the limits to possessing knowledge about others is said to result in an ethic of respect that is based on responsibility and care (2014, pp. 173-177). So, settlers would then resist categorization and understand that "human others necessarily escape our horizons of understanding" (Bell, 2014, pp. 175-176). Then, settlers' dominating tendencies would be minimized because the propensity towards domination largely surfaces due to a key settler characteristic - being certain. Thus, if this characteristic was shed, settlers would be more comfortable in positions of non-dominance and, in effect, be unsettled and able to establish a middle ground (Lévinas as cited in Bell, 2014, p. 177). Yet, Bell feels that, by following this ethic of respect, a middle ground could be found within settler philosophical traditions. This departs from my contention that different settler philosophies need to be established through the centering of Indigenous worldviews.

While I agree that the settler propensity towards knowledge and certainty requires abandonment, I assert that a middle ground developed from our own philosophical traditions will be ineffective. To explain, I question whether this could take place without a fundamental reorientation of settler culture and values as this is what makes up our mode of existence (inclusive of settler colonialism, capitalism, heteropatriarchy, and racism) and identities. To provide an example, Vine Deloria Jr. wrote about it this way:

> *It may not be sufficient, therefore, to advocate a higher ethical content* to political, religious, and business activities or to seek in education an answer to what must presumably be a philosophical attitude toward existence rather than a specific belief or set of beliefs about existence. Attempting to shift the American/Western/Christian outlook from a preoccupation with a particular history and the great concern with time to an examination of spaces, places, and lands requires more than the relatively simple admission of guilt before ecological gurus. Rather *a total reorientation as to the impact of viewing life in different categories must be established.* (Deloria Jr., 1973, pp. 73-74, emphasis added)

Since a change in ethics is a change to our values and behaviours, this would necessitate changes in our culture in order for relationships to change. Thus, while Bell's analysis and suggestions

are compelling, I contend that it will be impossible to create a middle ground or an ethic of respect from within settler philosophies. This is because identities and philosophies form non-linearly in relation to culture, values, behaviours *and* relationships.

Therefore, understanding settler culture and values, through Indigenous worldviews, will establish a stronger base for settlers to form a decolonizing ethic that does not come from our own philosophical traditions. This is best accomplished through characteristics of "humility, uncertainty, [and] vulnerability" (Bell, 2014, p. 191; also Butler, 2005, pp. 69, 111 & 136), as different values, that could assist settlers in understanding our culture differently. Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie stated that "culture does not make people, people make culture" and "culture is about continuity and preservation of a people" (2012). My contention is this: shifting the settler culture would facilitate the crafting of a different society - one that has greater overall wellness for all Canadians and one where Indigenous peoples have economic equity (land and resources) and equal power to determine their own governance ("continuity and preservation for each of our societies") (Adichie, 2012). Bearing that in mind, the imperative of this thesis is not to needlessly critique Canadian culture, but to offer up a view on how to reconsider and shift settler culture. By understanding settler culture and values, and how they present harms and poverties for us, a new orientation can be formed towards Indigenous societies and towards ourselves in order to establish a different culture and a decolonized society.

Connected to the topic of settler harm, change may come about through an acknowledgment that settlers have been harmed by settler colonialism as part of the "pyramid of petty tyrants" (Memmi, 1965, p. 17). To illustrate, Judith Butler wrote about how self-transformation takes place through true acts of recognition.

> ... if we are to follow *The Phenomenology of Spirit*, I am invariably transformed by the encounters I undergo; recognition becomes the process by which I become other than what I was and so cease to be able to return to what I was. There is, then, a constitutive loss in the process of recognition, since the ''I'' is transformed through the act of recognition ... An encounter with another effects a transformation of the self from which there is no return. What is recognized about a self in the course of this exchange is that the self is the sort of being for whom staying inside itself proves impossible. One is compelled and comported outside oneself; one finds that the only way to know oneself is through a mediation that takes place outside of oneself, exterior to oneself, by virtue

> of a convention or a norm that one did not make, in which one cannot discern oneself as an author or an agent of one's own making. (Butler, 2005, pp. 27-28)

So, true acts of recognition occur when authentically interacting with someone and/or something outside of oneself and the result is tangible change. Hence, my argument rests upon the centrality of Indigenous worldviews for cultural change, and decolonization, to take place.

Even though reconciliation initiates an important work, it has fundamental shortcomings that block true decolonization (Siegel, 2016; Davis, Hiller et al., 2016, p. 10) because settlers are not recognizing ourselves anew through an interaction with Indigenous peoples or worldviews. By contrast, when a full awareness of settler colonialism materializes in settlers' minds, identifying ourselves as both colonized *and* colonizer (Veracini, 2011a, p. 214), there may be an impetus for change. Then, a very different response may be elicited compared to what has typically taken place - tactics of deflection, denial and distancing (Lentin, 2016) and decolonial work that has resulted in settler "moves to comfort" and exceptionalism (Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 99). In order for settlers to centralize Indigenous worldviews and form a different recognition of ourselves, it is important to understand the harms that settlers have experienced within settler colonialism.

Settler-identity formation is fundamental to future changes in Canada's colonial approach to Indigenous peoples (Lowman & Barker, 2015, pp. 108-110). Accordingly, this thesis study contributes to settler consciousness and identity formation as an emerging area of scholarship (Davis, Hiller et al., 2016, p. 14) because "public perceptions fuel public policy" (Mankiller as cited in Writer, 2008). Once we, as non-Indigenous Canadians, rightfully identify ourselves as privileged and impoverished, there is a greater likelihood of land being restored, self-determination being realized, and rights becoming the reality for Indigenous peoples (Davis, Denis et al., 2016, p. 394). In order to do so, understanding settler identities, harms and poverties is helpful, so this topic will be discussed next.

Settler Identities, Harms and Poverties

In the face of Indigenous resistances, non-Indigenous Canadians are increasingly compelled to more accurately determine our own identities and consider the processes and histories of how we come to be here. Specifically, "Indigenous movements contest the very

foundation of the Canadian state as a colonial construction" (Ladner, 2014, p. 228) and this "reflects a continuity with the past histories of the relationship between Indigenous nations and settler societies" (Ladner, 2014, p. 249). Naturally, settler identity formation takes place in many forms and has significant complications. Settler identity is complicated, in no small part, because settler Canadians have multiple countries of origin, varying lengths of time on these lands, and multiple languages, cultures, and experiences with racialization or racial invisibility due to whiteness (Veracini, 2011c, pp. 9-11). As well, there can be shared origins of oppression or colonization (Lowman & Barker, 2015, pp. 72, 82-84; Dale, 2014). Further complicating the term 'settler' is the hybridity in our populations' ancestries, problematizing the rigid binaries of non-Indigenous and Indigenous as some, but not all, would understand it (Green, 2003, p. 53; Lowman & Barker, 2015, pp. 16-17). These complexities are important to keep in mind in order to approach settler identities with nuance, rather than flattening them out and negating the power differentials that exist (Snelgrove et al., 2014, p. 16) in the name of equality (Green, 2003, pp. 60-61; Baloy, 2014, pp. 172 & 178).

This section will examine settler colonial identities and consider public consciousness in Canada about being settlers, not immigrants, of Turtle Island (Tuck & Yang, 2012, pp. 6-7; see Chang, 2016, pp. 250-252). It will consider what settler and non-settler identities have formed, how they have been constructed, and will demonstrate how we largely misrecognize ourselves. To do so, this section considers to what extent, and in what ways, non-Indigenous Canadians identify as settlers, summarizes the processes that have been implemented to affirm and deny settler identity, and demonstrates what prevents settlers from identifying as such. I will also explain how settler identities intersect with racism and whiteness. Then the concept of settler harms and poverties will be discussed. After all, settlers have much to gain from "self-reflection and self-critique" to avoid being "trapped in maladaptive patterns of thought and behavior" – these patterns are symptomatic of Western monoculture and are destructive in economic, political, social and environmental ways (Siegel, 2016, pp. 14-15).

While reconciliation often attends to Indigenous peoples and remediation, in this thesis the mirror is being turned towards settler society (Chang, 2016, pp. x-xiv, 27) because it is us, as settlers, who hold responsibility for the colonial project that exists in Canada. Beyond that, I agree that "we must ask ourselves who is really sick and in need of healing, those who were the victims of the system or those who created, implemented, and maintained it for over a century"

(Chrisjohn as cited in Regan, 2010, p. 117). In my view, true reconciliation cannot take place until settlers grapple with being the second peoples of Canada (Siegel, 2016, p. 14), commit to decolonizing ourselves, and ally with Indigenous peoples in a way that centers Indigenous nationhood, ways of being (ontology) and ways of knowing (epistemology).

Before this section begins, it is essential to point out that "the rise in use of the term 'settler' can only be understood through the rise of Indigenous resurgence" (Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 7). Indigenous scholars have been highlighting the dearth of academic material on settler colonialism and Indigeneity in Political Science, Indigenous Studies, and many other disciplines (Mihesuah & Wilson, 2004; Bruyneel, 2012). Although this has taken place, Indigeneity is often conceived as a voluntary area of study that is outside of the main priorities of scholarship (Bruyneel, 2012). These disciplinary gaps are in no small part due to a shortage of Indigenous scholars being hired into faculties (Henry et al., 2016, p. 7), their inadequate support to excel in their work (De Leeuw, Greenwood & Lindsay, 2014; Henry et al., 2016, p. 3), and barriers to having their work published or recognized (Henry et al., 2016, p. 6). In fact, many people view educational edifices as the epitome of colonialism (McCarthy, 2016, pp. 154-155), so these disciplinary gaps are hardly surprising. Before settler identities are outlined, and an explanation is given on how to decolonize these identities and ally with Indigenous people effectively, it must be reinforced that this awareness is a result of Indigenous peoples' resurgence and resistances.

Settler society and identities

Settler identity is nebulous, in many respects, because settler colonialism is widely unrecognized in Canada. Accordingly, settler colonialism was meant to disappear (Veracini, 2011a, p. 206). "Settler colonial narrative orders often display a special narrative for emphasizing decline from settler colonial to inordinately non-settler" (Veracini, 2011a, p. 208). To illustrate, "the hegemonic structures and practices within bureaucratic systems, and the unequal power relations that define colonial violence, remain for the most part invisible to non-Native people" (Regan, 2010, pp. 86-87). Therefore, most Canadians view themselves (or their ancestors) as immigrants to Canada, not as settler colonizers, and this relates to a lack of identification as settlers. This is not a coincidence, but rather a result of an intentional shaping of reality in settler nations that purposely develops narratives of permanence, legitimacy, and

certainty (Mackey, 2014, p. 239). Specifically, Mackey (2014) demonstrates how there is materiality in law for being an unquestioned, sovereign Crown authority. Thus, the Canadian legal system constructs settlers and Indigenous peoples along a continuum of legitimacy and illegitimacy where settlers are "characterized by permanence and 'indigenous' by fragility" (Veracini, 2011b, p. 6).

For many settlers, the details of the lands we are on, and the distinct nations and peoples we seized them from, remain unfamiliar (Baloy, 2014, p. 78). However, there is visibility and invisibility to the experience settlers have with Indigenous peoples, through spectacle and spectrality, that is "available for sightseeing and under the surface or hidden from view" (Baloy, 2014, p. 99). Often settlers' interactions with Indigenous societies and cultures are mediated through events such as festivals or museum exhibits where the format is a public display for a spectator, something that can be viewed or is taken in as entertainment, but not actively engaged with. Simultaneously, it is common for settlers to understand Indigenous peoples as being 'in the past,' as a result, or to understand Indigenous societies as having disappeared. Therefore, the topic of settler identity presents many challenges and requires more discussion.

Figure 3 (Dale, 2014, p. 9) visually demonstrates how settler identities can have an affirmative and negative dimension and how there is a large group within settler society that view themselves as non-settlers.

Figure 3: Types of Canadian Settlers (Dale, 2014)

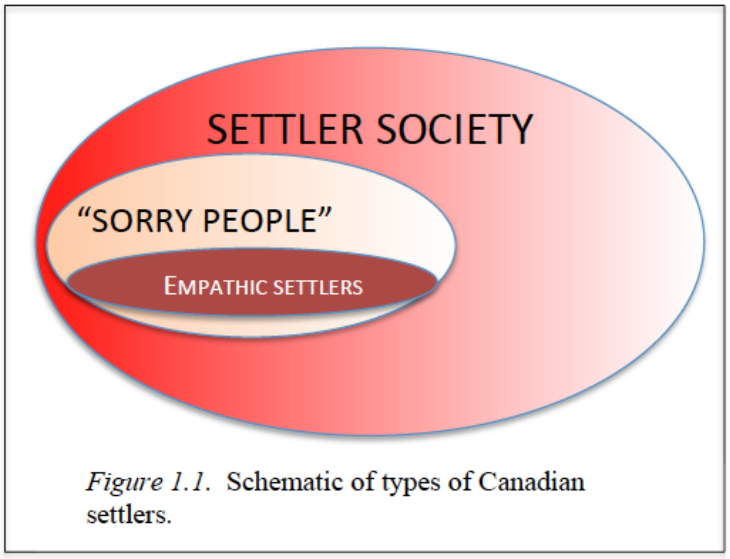


Figure 1.1. Schematic of types of Canadian settlers.

Affirmatively, there are two small, nested categories of settlers who are classified as "sorry people" and "empathetic people" (2014, pp. 9-11). These identities will be discussed later on. The larger group, that identify negatively as non-settlers, will be examined first.

Non-settler identity: progress and historicization

Canadians that identify as non-settlers disregard Indigenous claims and feel as though 'moving on' is what needs to happen (Siegel, 2016, p. 5). For non-settlers, settler colonialism is relegated to history, "Aboriginality is historicized, over-and-done-with and situated in the past" (Baloy, 2014, pp. 154 & 156). The construction of Indigeneity as 'past' allows these settlers to be invisible as settler colonizers and disregards Indigenous peoples' political relevance today (Bruyneel, 2017, p. 52). Certainly, media depictions and movies have been fundamental to historicization taking place (Dale, 2014, p. 101; Gorham, 1999) because they cement stereotypes, myths and distorted realities. As a result, settlers can distance themselves by justifying oppressions through reference to other times/places/people throughout history. Also, responsibility can be deflected due to similarities to other settler colonial powers, such as the United States or Australia. It is felt, by the group that wants to 'move on,' that the Canadian-state 'always has been and always will be' (Baloy, 2014, pp. 95-96; Mackey, 2014, p. 239). Ultimately, this view promotes the colonial status quo and views Indigenous narratives as a

disruption (Siegel, 2016, 2). In these ways, Indigenous peoples remain an Other and are relegated to "outside of the everyday ... outside the ordinary" (Baloy, 2014, p. 24).

This dismissal demonstrates that "what settler Canadians want is progress, pursuit of what First Nations want equals the pursuit of ancient things and the disruption of progress" (Siegel, 2016, 6). The non-settler desire for progress and certainty is synonymous with neoliberalism. Neoliberalism asserts that people are "able and willing to help themselves, to make an individual choice to improve their life conditions" (Baloy, 2014, p. 168). As such, neoliberalism incommensurately impacts "equity-seeking groups" (Henry et al., 2016, p. 7) because of its emphasis on individual choices, rather than structural reform. Non-settler thought demonstrates a desire to be rid of our past, once and for all, and is contingent upon the Canadian need for certainty (Baloy, 2014, p. 169). This is identical to the Canadian-state's neoliberal approach, where "certainty is often conceptualized as an unequivocally desirable and positive state of affairs" (Mackey, 2014, p. 236). Those who identify as non-settlers do so through neoliberal thought. Therefore, Indigenous political, economic, and social views are considered exterior to the real settler Canadian agenda (Barker, 2012) and are seen to disrupt progress and certainty.

Neocolonial governance and contemporary non-settler thought is nearly indistinguishable from historic settler mentalities that initiated settler colonialism in Canada (Barker, 2012). Non-settler thought can be seen in contemporary scholarship that discusses settler superiority and Indigenous peoples. For example, Tom Flanagan (2000) imbued notions of advancement "both in technology and in social organization" when considering settler colonialism historically and drawing comparison between European societies and Indigenous peoples (p. 6). He considered the free market to be "the only economic system that has brought a high standard of living to a complex society" (p. 9). Flanagan's scholarship, that aligns to views about neoliberalism, progress, advancement, superiority, and certainty, is characteristic of the non-settler identity and is congruent with historic settler mentalities that initiated settler colonialism.

Non-settler thought patterns, neoliberalism, and settler colonialism are co-constitutive. The overall question of identity must be seen in this light, rather than limiting responsibility to individual settlers or to the structure of settler colonialism itself. To explain, "colonial activity in Canada (and elsewhere) was motivated by the search for wealth for mercantile and capitalist investors and their political sponsors" (Green, 2003, p. 54). Economic motivation was and is

jointly pursued by individuals and colonial society. In the context of reconciliation, settlers and the Canadian state face uncertainty and this can elicit defensiveness and anger from those who identify as non-settlers. “States of anger about uncertainty implicitly construct an opposite normative state of affairs in which settlers and the settler nation-state did, or believed it did, have certain and settled entitlement to the land taken from Indigenous peoples” (Mackey, 2014, p. 239). However, the attitudes of entitlement are increasingly questioned by Indigenous peoples who continually remind settlers about “a colonial past,” conveyed by Baloy (2014) as spectres that unabatingly haunt (p. 96). The reminder is exceedingly uncomfortable and unwanted by non-settlers because settler colonialism’s regime does not entertain an end (Veracini, 2011a, p. 208). Therefore, the non-settler identity is held at both the micro and macro level and responsibility is required at each level.

Non-settler identity: guilt, exceptionalism, and inevitability

Another form of the non-settler identity seeks exception in response to anger, uncertainty and discomfort. These settlers do so by stating “that the actions of our ancestors were morally suspect” but they disavow connection to these actions and “cast themselves as morally superior to them” (Regan, 2010, p. 108). Of course, this has similarities to how racism is denied when society is believed to be post-racial, claiming that racism is only in the domain of those who are ignorant, behind-the-times, and unenlightened (Aquino, 2016, pp. 113-114). This non-settler identity presents another form of denial because the claim is “to have already learned the hard lessons of history” and the resulting focus is on how Canada is working hard to improve conditions today (Regan, 2010, pp. 108-109). It attempts absolution from complicity, sometimes by forthrightly claiming guilt. This takes place without soberly regarding Canada’s (and Canadians’) treatment of Indigenous peoples, without a focus on structural changes to how and where power is held, and without interrogating the settler colonizer position that exists in the present.

Due to guilt, those identifying as non-settlers can tend to distance themselves from being responsible for the past (Siegel, 2016, p. 5) and may cognitively separate the past from the present. For example, from an Environics poll of 2016, “a growing majority of non-Indigenous Canadians report being aware of the discriminatory treatment that Indigenous peoples endure,” however “6 out of 10 do not see themselves benefiting from it” (Hiller, 2016, p. 2). Often,

discussions about settler colonialism can be outwardly focused, rather than engaging individual settlers to identify benefits they have received (Davis, Hiller et al., 2016, p. 13). It is instructive here to recall the differences in privilege across variously-positioned settlers, where racialized settlers have benefited incommensurately by comparison to white, non-racialized settlers (Jafri, 2012). Perhaps this is a partial explanation for the Environics results on this subject. Therefore, guilt, and not accountability, can become the end goal (Lowman & Barker, 2016, p. 101) when those identifying as non-settlers do not have a "critical awareness of themselves as colonial beneficiaries who bear a responsibility" (Regan, 2010, p. 47).

On the other hand, there are settlers who are working out the past and its presence in their lives today. Chris Hiller, in her research study during a doctoral fellowship, references the experiences of Euro-Canadian participants and how they were working through white settler guilt and specific responsibilities that relate to white supremacy "that are specific and proportional to the benefits received, both past and present, from Indigenous dispossession and displacement" (2016, p. 16). For them, this meant facing insecurity and anxiety related to potential loss of land, admitting to pulls towards complacency, re-shaping their views on Indigenous communities as spaces of danger, and confronting their fears of "Indigenous retribution" (Hiller, 2016, p. 16). This active, rather than passive, response centralizes the priority of human dignity and justice for all, rather than the ease and comfort of some.

Granted, there are many underlying reasons for non-settlers to resist history's present importance, such as a societal lack of education, the role of race and racism in Canada, and the myriad of emotional responses that surface, including denial (Baloy, 2014, pp. 235 & 237) and guilt.

> Whether or not we acknowledge its presence, we know intuitively that this history is still alive. But because we cannot change the past, we try to ignore it. Talking about the burden of history makes us feel frustrated and overwhelmed. We don't know how to put the past behind us, so rather than engaging in meaningful dialogue, we get stuck in destructive monologues. We talk past each other, not hearing the deeper truths residing in stories that are troubling for both teller and listener, albeit for different reasons. (Regan, 2010, p. 20)

Hiller (2016) provided a useful diagram and explanation about guilt and the emotional process that is involved in reviewing history, depicted as an interconnected upward and downward spiral

(designed by Willie Ermine) when Western and Indigenous thought worlds collide (2016, p. 10). The upward spiral focusses outward when settlers attentively hear and confront colonial history and grapple with the present reality that dispossesses Indigenous peoples (Hiller, 2016, p. 9). The downward spiral focusses on the self, looking inward at our views, assumptions, and "entrenched colonial mindsets" (Hiller, 2016, p. 9). To be sure, this is a process that will drastically differ for racialized people and people of European descent, who are marked by white settler privilege (Hiller, 2016, p. 12). On the whole, settler re-education and acknowledgement will take years, even decades (Hiller, 2016, pp. 12 & 14) or a lifetime, to be worked out where settler's macro and micro worlds are reconciled, understood, and balanced (Dale, 2014, p. 83).

Decolonization is further complicated because non-Indigenous peoples have the "privilege of looking and looking away" (Baloy, 2014, p. 105) at Indigenous peoples, at the impacts of settler colonialism, and at ourselves as settlers. Denial is a privilege that only works for settlers. Further, the notion of settler neutrality or avoidance is more accurately defined as "an expression of settler symbolic violence, or power over, Indigenous people" (Regan, 2010, p. 39). Thus, the nature of this denial is an overarching pattern of Indigenous-settler relations (Regan, 2010, p. 39). Denial has led to oppression, as the "silent majority does nothing" (Regan, 2010, p. 42) and continues to have material effects if one considers statistics on Indigenous peoples' lived experiences and the "continuation of colonial violence in Canada. Moreover, the refusal to respond adequately, itself a form of structural violence, mutually reinforces settler denial" (Nagy, 2012, p. 361). Consequently, when settlers encounter the injustice and oppression that Indigenous peoples experience, it serves to haunt us through visibility and this confronts our sense of neutrality and culpability (Baloy, 2014, p. 106). Therefore, the colonial present can be a very difficult, emotional reality to face, it involves a long process of confrontation, with oneself and Canada as our nation-state, and it implicates people differently.

Finally, non-settlers can seek exception by offering excuses and rationalizations based on personal and/or family history with being colonized or emigrating to escape oppression (Dale, 2014; Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 103). This can be historical, such as how Europeans fled to obtain a 'better life' for themselves. It can also be contemporary, such as how the Québécois view themselves under the British in Canada or how many people have experienced dire situations in their home countries that have led to their arrival in Canada. It is important to nuance settler identities without obscuring "the differences between Indigenous peoples

displaced on their own lands, and diasporic or migrant peoples seeking to construct their new homes on those same lands" (Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 55). While there are many reasons people come to Canada for refuge from unbearable circumstances (Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 83), as "nonsovereign displacement" without absolute choice (Bell, 2014, pp. 35-36), settler families grow and expand on these lands, typically with increasing power over the generations, despite the circumstances that have preceded their arrival. As a result, non-settler exceptionalism, based on guilt, can be related to personal histories, but these histories do not serve as exemptions for responsibility.

There is a view on history that contributes to the non-settler identity, established by Tom Flanagan, who was a close advisor to Prime Minister Stephen Harper (Nagy, 2012, p. 362) at the beginning of his elected term (less so towards the end of the Harper mandate). This aspect of the non-settler identity considers all people in Canada as settlers or immigrants, at one time or another, including Indigenous peoples in times past. Flanagan critiqued Indigenous resistance claims by stating that "Europeans are, in effect, a new immigrant wave, taking control of land just as earlier aboriginal settlers did. To differentiate the rights of earlier and later immigrants is a form of racism" (2000, p. 6). On the first part, there is reliable archaeological and linguistic evidence, as well as oral history, to demonstrate a long-standing presence of Indigenous peoples as distinct societies (Dickason & McNab, 2009) and therefore it is not a credible argument. On the second part, this claim of reverse racism towards whites has gained popularity in recent years, particularly in the United States (Bruyneel, 2017, pp. 46-47), as well as in Caledonia during the Haudenosaunee protests over the 2006 Douglas Creek Estates housing development (McCarthy, 2016, pp. 111-112 & 152-153).

Claims of reverse racism are not a new phenomenon. Shana Siegel points out that "oppressor groups are likely to construct narratives that transform them from members of the oppressor group into members of a group victimized by those they oppress" (2016, p. 7). Foundational is the belief in settler innocence and the simultaneous dehumanization of the Indigenous Other (Siegel, 2016, p. 7; Lowman & Barker, 2015, pp. 99-105). As a result of this approach, Indigenous grievances can be pushed to the side and settlers can be "freed from responsibility," can continue advocating for continuous dispossession of Indigenous land, and can escalate the repression of Indigenous resistances (Siegel, 2016, pp. 9 & 15). Drawing comparison to South Africa, "common amongst whites who supported apartheid is that they see

themselves as a besieged minority; clearly this is not the case with non-Indigenous Canadians" (Nagy, 2012, p. 355). Ultimately, the non-settler identity disregards settlers' entry to these territories on the grounds that Indigenous peoples were 'immigrants' and now seeks exception based on grounds of reverse racism.

Non-settler identity and racism

Another point advanced by Flanagan is that European societies were more advanced than Indigenous societies and "the European colonization of North America was inevitable" (Flanagan, 2000, p. 6). He claimed that "aboriginal government had not achieved the level of organization and formality that characterizes civilized states" (Flanagan, 2000, p. 23). In other words, there are civilized and primitive societies, there is a superior human race that is justified and predetermined to rule, and settler-governmental takeovers are excused by virtue of this civilization and superiority. These are chilling words that should instill healthy fear in the reader, especially because this view is not isolated to Flanagan and is shared by many others in Canada who hold a non-settler identity. Siegel (2016) conveys non-Native narratives similarly in her study about a 2006 Haudenosaunee land reclamation that was opposed. "The elimination of Indigenous peoples as distinct peoples, and the complete colonization of indigenous lands, thus represented not only the expected course of events, but the essential course of events" (Siegel, 2016, p. 7). This was because settlers deemed themselves to "know better than Indigenous peoples what is 'good' for Indigenous peoples" (Siegel, 2016, p. 7) and this logic was required to justify colonizing these peoples and lands.

As such, non-settler identities, like those purported by Flanagan and others about settler colonial inevitability/civilization, continue to operate today. This is because settler colonialism and settler identities are highly influenced by racism and whiteness. The *creation* of racial identities connect colonization and racism because racial classifications came first - they preceded colonization and were necessary to its aims. To illustrate, it may be helpful to view settler colonialism as a system that triangulates the three created racial identities. There are Native identities (Glenn, 2015, p. 69) for those Indigenous to these lands, ethnic identities for racialized minorities (Monaghan, 2013, p. 488), and settler identities for the white majority (Glenn, 2015, p. 69). Indigenous and racialized identities are established on the idea of racial

Othering and this often occurs along a black-white binary (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, pp. 67-71). This is readily understood when one observes how non-white Indigenous and racialized minorities are often lumped together as 'visible minorities' (Writer, 2008), effectually coding people of colour as the only people with a race, as Other, and even as those with 'abnormal' conduct or behaviour (Monaghan, 2013, pp. 490-492). Therefore, Indigenous and racialized identities occur along a black-white binary and, as a result, racialized people experience empirical marginalization in their life chances and endure negative psycho-affective impacts from racism (Essed, 2013). But, there are key differences and similarities to their experiences and realities related to racism and colonialism. In addition to being racialized, Indigenous peoples incur consequences as colonized peoples because they are denied the territories that are integral to their collective identities and fundamental to who they are as "rooted in land and place" (Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 50).

For white settlers, whiteness and "settlerness" (Veracini, 2011c) converge and need to be reconciled. Whiteness refers to processes and beliefs that centralize white people and this "is considered normal and everyday" (Gillborn as cited in Henry et al., 2016, p. 4). White settlers, who are in a position of dominance, often falsely believe we are deserving of privilege and possess this privilege on account of superior capability (Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 72). In this way, we have been harmed by colonialism by being deceived about how we have become positioned in the world (Govier, 2003, p. 72). "Individuals raised in a racist society absorb attitudes and stereotypes often without even knowing. Such racism is deeply embedded in white people's psyches and influences behavior in subtle yet pernicious ways" (Applebaum, 2010, p. 11). This misrecognition, both of oneself and of others, is highly problematic (Applebaum, 2010, p. 167) and demonstrates how white settlers *are* simultaneously colonizers of Indigenous peoples, colonized (Veracini, 2011a, p. 214), and oppressors of racialized peoples because we are differently impacted within the settler colonial systems, with the privileges it affords us and the associated poverties and harms. This is a different experience than that of racialized settlers or Indigenous peoples, but if white people require decolonizing thoughts and actions, it stands to reason that we are also colonized in a unique way.

White privilege comes about through the active maintenance of racially oppressive systems that extract resources from people of colour (Applebaum, 2010, p. 33). It involves "protecting a type of moral certainty, arrogance and innocence" (Applebaum, 2010, p. 34). In

other words, it is not a coincidence that within Canada, and globally, white populations maintain vast privilege and wealth. Whiteness takes place through invisibility (of our own whiteness, but also of Indigenous subjects; Simpson, 2014, p. 23), claims to innocence, and ignorance - the ways white dominance is maintained as a system. Barbara Applebaum wrote:

> White ignorance is a product of an *epistemology* of ignorance, a systemically supported, socially induced pattern of (mis)understanding the world that is connected to and works to sustain systemic oppression and privilege ... Most significant, these white delusions about racism also function to protect white people from having to recognize their own racism. (Applebaum, 2010, p. 37)

White invisibility, ignorance and claims to innocence are some of the ways that unjust systems of racism and colonialism are actively maintained and escape challenge.

Those who hold a dominant position, white settlers, have the privilege of avoiding, and oftentimes being entirely ignorant of, questions about these systems they embody (Applebaum, 2010, p. 37). This resonates with me as I reflect on the ways I have misunderstood race, settler colonialism, and the systems that I embody. Regardless of ignorance or knowledge, privilege cannot be individually denounced anyway, as it is structurally assigned (Applebaum, 2010, p. 15). Hence, white settlers are implicated despite our will, but we can take up our responsibilities to be in solidarity with racialized and colonized people nevertheless. Understanding the intersections between racism and settler colonialism is critical to fully comprehend historical and contemporary governance and relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada (see Barker, 2009, p. 333). By understanding and recognizing these systems, there is a greater likelihood that they will become transparent, rather than continuing to be opaque (Henry et al., 2016, p. 5).

Norman Dale (2014) wrote that "we question least the things we have always seen - and been" (p. 57). The non-settlers view about settler colonial inevitability strives for a monoculture that "seeks to impose itself on all other cultures" (Shiva as cited in Siegel, 2016, p. 11). The monoculture that is underscored by notions of inevitability and civilization is a non-settler and Western worldview. "Jack Forbes has referred to this process as 'the greatest epidemic known to man,' and as a form of cannibalism ... John Trudell has likened this to a virus and a mining process" (Siegel, 2016, p. 11). The depiction of viruses, epidemics and cannibalism are accurate renderings of non-settler and Western worldviews if they remain unchallenged, without critical,

ongoing analysis. In my view, these arguments made by Flanagan, and non-settlers, are myopic, defeatist and narrow visions of our potential, as human beings, to create a society that brings dignity and justice to all. They dismiss oppression and convey little openness towards creative solutions. Accordingly, alternatives are viewed as too difficult, without historical precedent in other nations, and deemed unnecessary. Before moving on to other settler identities, the next section will present the sorry settler identity.

Sorry settler identity

There are many settlers who would be considered "sorry people" (Dale, 2014) and this settler identity is coming to light in the context of reconciliation in Canada. The "sorry people" identity maintains a perpetual state of remorse that actually circumvents personal reflexivity. The sorry settler's guilt paralyzes this settler as "an end goal in itself" and stalls movement towards "accountability and action" (Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 101). This is not to trivialize the importance of regret and sorrow over residential schools and other colonial histories that are surfacing. But on its own, regret can lead to a superficial understanding of reconciliation, one that becomes defined by actions that need to be done 'for' Indigenous peoples - an approach of social lifting (Barker, 2009, p. 347).

"Pondering the news, settler thought asks: 'What is wrong with them? Why do they lead in every social indicator of dysfunction and ill-health ... rates? ... What is it they really want? And, what is to be done?'" (Dale, 2014, p. 4). This thought process relates to Western notions of solving problems, achieving certainty, and being comfortable (Lowman & Barker, 2015, pp. 105-107). It can deflect the emphasis to charitable work over the pursuit of structural change, what is needed to shift power and contribute to self-determining Indigenous societies (Nicoll, 2004, p. 6). By only engaging charitably, as a result of guilt, superiority and power imbalances continue to be reinforced.

The sorry settler understands Indigenous individuals and communities to be "deviant" and "damaged," a reproduction of dehumanization that simultaneously works alongside reconciliatory language of healing and change (Mackey, 2013, pp. 53-54; Thira, 2014). It is framed around equality, "a comfortable discourse in the Canadian lexicon. It is compatible with human rights and the 'peace-maker' myth that are part of Canadians' self-image" (Davis, Hiller et al., 2016, p. 2). Further, it has undertones of saving Indigenous people and for men it can be

further complicated when it relates to saving Indigenous women (Dale, 2014, p. 136). Naturally, this takes place when Canadians do not have an adequate understanding of the current settler colonial structure that is foundational to Canada, but are instead focussed on socio-economic problems and national shame. The sorry settler consciousness requires caution and careful examination; it is dangerous because "there is a distinct possibility that we may not only fail to achieve reconciliation but will actually deepen the divide" (Regan, 2010, p. 62).

Notably, dominance, a lack of respect, deficit thinking, and universalism were all part of the paternalistic consciousness that inspired colonization of Canada in the first place (Davis, Hiller, et al., 2016, p. 5). Not to be forgotten, Indigenous peoples were viewed as primitive and in need of modernity and civilization (Rice & Snyder, 2008, pp. 53-54). Benevolence is a key concept behind North American colonization where settler "society believed that the bestowing of their culture and religion on aboriginal people was a priceless gift" (Freeman, 2000, p. 446). Incidentally, these ideas about benevolent work continue today and consistently bring settlers into contact with Indigenous peoples, sometimes perceived as exotic Others (Dale, 2014, pp. 150-151), via vocational roles that are primarily dominant. Therefore, benevolent work justifies colonial dominance, through an emphasis on social lifting, "while failing to empower Aboriginal people in their struggle with the official mind for social justice" (Blackstock, 2006, p. 67).

As outlined in the introduction, there are vast amounts of non-Indigenous Canadians employed in positions involving Indigenous populations in law, health, education, protective services, economic development, and non-profit work, including social services and religion. Although, there are complexities around the work that is required in the 'here and now' that cannot be completely extricated from broader, macro and structural work that is necessary, being sorry can be inextricable from pity and can engender an Other and an unequal, hierarchical relationship based on those that are dominant and non-dominant (Mensah & Williams, 2017, p. 8). In so doing, Indigenous agency would be unacknowledged and Indigenous peoples would be viewed as "mere victims, we cannot respect them, we see them only as pitiful beings who 'lost' their culture and have nothing of value to offer the rest of the world" (Freeman, 2000, p. 462). Thus, sorry settler colonial thought, that continues to view non-Indigenous Canadians as benevolent and helping, perpetuates an unjust system of dispossession and violence (Davis, Hiller et al., 2016, p. 2). Actually, this is to be expected in the present context of reconciliation because reconciliation is framed by the federal government as "'moving forward' for the benefit

of ‘everyone’ ... closing the door on a dark chapter of history” (Davis, Hiller et al., 2016, p. 10). When the sorry settler colonial consciousness relegates settler colonialism to history, rather than acknowledging its presence (Regan, 2010, pp. 105-106), it reproduces the same dehumanizing processes.

Importantly, there are material impacts of sorry settler consciousness as well. By example, common reconciliatory language addresses cultural damage rather than issues of land (Mackey, 2013, p. 54; MacDonald, 2015). The material aspects can be located at the macro level, as Dale points out.

> Sympathy, alas, usually has its strict limits depending on how directly redress would affect one’s own material interests. Within my experience, many sorry people feel the need to be what they call ‘realistic,’ about all this long-ago history, meaning that indigenous communities must fit without too much fuss into the dominant contemporary political-legal-economic system. (Dale, 2014, pp. 10-11)

Furthermore, the material aspect can be located at the micro level when benevolent vocational work makes a living off of helping (Baloy, 2014, pp. 160-162). In order for material changes to occur, the contemporary relationships that persist (dominant and non-dominant) must be considered in the context of our shared histories. Sorry settlers must question how these structures can be deconstructed as they do work involving Indigenous people, as individuals and communities. Who is doing the work, who is not, how is it being done, and whose worldview is at the center? “Finding a balance between service and domination” requires a great deal of reflexivity (Dale, 2014, p. 14) because settlers sometimes “take up too much room within spaces of engagement, putting ourselves and our specific contributions forward. These moments represent paternalistic re-impositions not only of agenda and process, but of analysis, values, and ways of knowing and being” (Hiller, 2016, p. 14). Therefore, reflexive contemporary relationships are required to create genuine change rather than the continuation of mere benevolence, universalism or regret.

Empathic settler identity and allyship

Settler identity can be obscured when there is the belief that we are singularly in solidarity with Indigenous peoples’ needs, wants, and activism. This has been demonstrated through misconceptions around a shared defense of the environment, rather than changing our

relations with the land and worldviews of non-human agency (Davis, Denis & Sinclair, 2016, p. 394). There have been instances where settlers have misconceived of a shared solidarity towards anti-capitalism, such as with the Occupy movement, while the underlying ownership and dispossession of Indigenous land went unchallenged (Lowman & Barker, 2015, pp. 77-79). Further, there have been other misconceptions around shared anti-racism (Lowman & Barker, 2015, pp. 73-74) and shared feminism that are worth noting here. In fact, it can be quite surprising for settlers to find out that "our generous conferral of recognition" is not appreciated or being valorized, "how ungrateful, we may think!" (Dale, 2014, pp. 312-313; also Racism in Contemporary Aotearoa, 2008, p. 35). These ideas of solidarity all relate to a lack of knowledge about how settler colonialism is a system, how it differently impacts all its subjects, and relates to the complexities of making necessary structural changes - a daunting and unclear task.

Contrasted with the sorry settler, "the empathic settler sees colonial injustices as ongoing and ... tries substantially to do something about that ... But it is far more difficult to sense and make sense of one's own settler psyche" (Dale, 2014, p. 11). Interrogating one's own settler self and psyche, and working to deconstruct colonial systems in Canada in favor of Indigenous self-determination, distinguishes sorry settlers from empathic settlers (Green, 2016, p. 241). This is the last form of settler identity discussed in this section: the settler-ally or empathic settler (Dale, 2014). "In its basic form, to be an ally is to align oneself and to work cooperatively and collaboratively with a group other than one's own" (FitzMaurice, 2010, p. 352). These settlers view settler colonialism as a present reality, are actively working to deconstruct it, and endeavor to refuse colonial participation (Dale, 2014). By example, Audra Simpson (2014) describes how the Mohawk of Kahnawà:ke undertake refusal. "Their political consciousness and actions upend the perception that colonization, elimination, and settlement are situations of the past" (p. 33). Empathic settlers understand themselves to be harmed by colonization and see others' dehumanization as stemming from, and inextricably linked to, their own (Sartre, 1965, pp. xvii-xxviii). While the empathic settler may be sorry, and may have begun as a sorry settler, they do not stay only sorry as this would be counterproductive.

Settler-allies emerge through a variety of means, but all do so in opposition to, and in spite of, the settler colonial political project that prevails in Canada (Phung, 2011, p. 296). Although empathic settlers have not successfully eliminated all forms of racism and colonialism from their minds, they are cognizant to work against both systems as lifelong, imperfect wrestles

(Memmi, 1965, pp. 19-44). To illustrate "… the enemy is not the white man in racial terms, it is a certain way of thinking with an imperialist's mind' (Alfred as cited in Regan, 2010, p. 233). Accordingly, in order to oppose settler colonial mindsets it is important to be uncomfortable and "reject the imperialist's mind in favour of living in truth" (Regan, 2010, p. 233). Many Indigenous people refuse the colonizer's gaze and actively disengage from state recognition through focussing on resurgence (Simpson, 2014, pp. 106-107). Likewise, settlers can take up the freedom we have in our minds to form an empathic consciousness, to create and advocate for alternatives to imperialism.

Settler-allies "openly critique and disapprove of colonial systems" (Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 103) because there is power in everyday acts of resistance that act as a buttress against settler colonialism being maintained (Dale, 2014, p. 52). Still, there is an element of backlash because these settlers are turning against their 'own' people, which in effect challenges "their very existence and endangers the very homeland which they represent in the colony" (Memmi, 1965, p. 21). Nevertheless, settler-allies regard their own fear, disorientation, uncertainty and discomfort as part of decolonizing oneself (Davis & Shpuniarsky, 2010, p. 343) and as a signal that they "are probably in the right place" (Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 106). In fact, these feelings directly contradict the settler culture of comfort that many non-Indigenous Canadians have been brought up with (Lowman & Barker, 2015). By contrast, empathic settlers work to build their knowledge about Indigenous perspectives and realities, and unlearn colonial knowledge, in concert with other settler-allies and Indigenous peoples (Lowman & Barker, 2015, pp. 108-111) to resist settler colonialism's hegemony.

Transformation of settler consciousnesses is complex, dynamic, and an ongoing endeavour that needs to occur individually and collectively (Davis, Hiller et al., 2016, p. 14). Personal decolonization should be centered around Indigenous worldviews of being in relationship (Lowman & Barker, 2015, pp. 116-120). This does not, however, mean that settler-allies have confusion about becoming Indigenous themselves. Rather, personal decolonization is undertaken in a variety of forms and is not to be conflated with retreating from modernity or taking up an essentialized view of Indigeneity (Lowman & Barker, 2015). Specifically, it does not begin and end with a confession of privilege or wrongdoing (Lowman & Barker, 2015; Nicoll, 2004) that could more rightfully be regarded as a "speech act" or "nonperformativity" (Ahmed, 2006). "Decolonization as an ethic and guiding principle for collective struggle is both

the ending of colonialism and also the act of becoming something other than colonial" (Lowman & Barker, 2015, p. 111).

In sum, empathic settler identity formation has been stalled because of myths and valorized histories that have crafted our identity as being immigrants to Canada, rather than colonizers of Turtle Island (Davis, Hiller et al. 2016, p. 2; Bell, 2014, pp. 40-42). While there is a small group of non-Indigenous Canadians who are empathically working to decolonize Canada, there is a larger group that identify as non-settlers or could be classified as "the sorry people" (Dale, 2014), misrecognizing themselves and Indigenous peoples. Therefore, it will be important to engage ethically (Ermine as cited in Hiller, 2016, p. 2) and unsettle the spatial consciousnesses that "undergird the subjugation of Indigenous peoples and the continued theft and destruction of their lands" (Siegel, 2016, p. 2).

To do so, in the next section I will analyze the concept of settler privilege, harms and poverties that contributes to empathic settler identity formation and explain how this is currently understood through Western intellectualism. I will explore the potential dangers of binary thinking and provide an explanation for why this topic is additional to, but not replacing, the important topic of settler colonial oppression as it relates to Indigenous peoples.

Settler Health

Settler health repercussions are largely unseen and unacknowledged in Canada. Settler invisibility greatly impacts the thinking about settler normativity and privilege and this is why this thesis addresses a research gap. To illustrate, the settler Canadian mode of existence can often be seen as 'normal' - that which cannot be helped. Tad Hargrave writes specifically about whiteness:

> Being white in North America in these times is a complicated thing full of invisible and unearned privileges and poverties. And full of forgetfulness ... we (white folks) see these privileges and poverties as normal - the way it is everywhere now and *the way it has always been.* (Hargrave, 2015)

Notably, this does not refer to economic poverty, the most common usage for this word, or to any notion that white people are persecuted or facing difficulty (Hargrave, 2015). So, settler invisibility and normativity affects our thinking and how we (mis)understand privileges, harms and poverties and this is especially so for white settlers.

The gauge for success or harm is usually based on physical and material factors for an individual (i.e. conveniences, power) in their isolated life span. When seen this way, it is easier to understand how Canadian settlers (who experience longer life expectancies and economic affluence by comparison to Indigenous people) are deemed to be unharmed, and only privileged. For instance, "the largest challenge in identifying our poverties is that, to us, they don't look like poverties. They look like progress. They look like convenience. They look like efficiency. They look, in every form, like a good idea" (Hargrave, 2015). Importantly, this relates to the way that the individual, the human, and linear time is favored. Moreover, it also relates to settler culture and values because being at/near the top of the hierarchy, accumulating goods and power, and individual 'progress' are all conventionally understood as indicators of success! The following excerpt illustrates this well.

> Cars. Electricity. Running water. Money. The nation state system. The internet. Literacy. The nuclear family model. Nuclear power. Guns. The highway system. Cars. Cell phones. Facebook. Old folks homes. Hospices. The personal growth industry. Life coaches. Books on parenting. The seemingly unending array of options and choices to us available at every moment from what exact colour of lipstick to get to where to live to what culture of the moment we'd most like to identify with or what name we want to be called.
>
> All of them are signs of human innovation and genius. But, more so, they are evidence of something that happened to our people a long time ago that makes all of these things seem like a good idea. (Hargrave, 2015)

The understanding of privileges, harms and poverties are drastically different when understood through a lens that privileges the collective, the non-human, and place, through the discipline of Native Studies.

By contrast, Canadian intellectual systems (primary, secondary and post-secondary institutions) are based upon European scholars and educational pedagogies (Battiste, 2017): science, rationalism, objectivity, evidence-based approaches that often require numerical proof. This is unquestioned, seen as the only way to approach education, in many cases, and regarded as a privilege. Yet, these intellectual systems are narrow because of their failure to know and incorporate epistemologies and ontologies from around the globe. In fact, Canadian education systems have a direct effect on settlers as they privilege the physical, seen, material aspects of

life. To illustrate, Deloria Jr. (1973) wrote, “world history as presently conceived in the Christian nations is the story of Western man’s conquest of the remainder of the world and his subsequent rise to technological sophistication” (p. 122). By contrast, Deloria Jr. (1973) emphasized the importance of implementing global pedagogies, epistemologies, and ontologies. “A major task remains for Western man. He must quickly come to grips with the breadth of man’s experiences and understand these experiences from a world viewpoint, not simply a Western one” (p. 123). Specifically, consider how emotional and spiritual aspects of knowledge are disregarded and seen as lacking credibility. Similarly, settler intellectual systems relegate non-Western epistemologies and ontologies to the side - as inferior.

When discussing the topic of settler harm, the topic of whiteness must be taken into consideration, because of the power and influence that whiteness has in Canada and globally, but this does not mean that only those with European ancestry are taken up into the culture and ideologies of whiteness. Through the example of European educations that all Canadians are subject to, it becomes evident that every person who has come to these territories, regardless of their home country, has entered into a structural space of whiteness (Nicoll, 2004, p. 6). Therefore, it is important to understand the origins of education and systems of thought that settlers are brought up into and through, including whiteness. These have implications for the resulting worldviews and subjectivities that will be held by settlers of all races. As a result of Canadian education and the role of whiteness, the understanding of settler privileges, harms and poverties have been overlooked.

With that being said, it is important for contemporary scholarship to counteract the insidiousness of whiteness (Molly, personal communication, September 28, 2017) and settler thought that is based upon European and Western foundations of objectivity, rationality, and scientific notions of proof. As noted, these privilege the physical realm and they rest on binary thinking. Consequently, settler harms and poverties have become largely invisible due to binary thinking about who is superior/inferior, often rendered as objective and quantifiable categories. Thus, using objective, quantifiable approaches necessarily would ask: Who is the most harmed and whose harm/what harm counts the most? In other words, who is directly harmed? Who is the victim? This line of questioning would undermine the importance of indirect harm and it would also assign more weight to the physical aspects of harm, such as physical safety, financial wellbeing, and physical health.

Additionally, objective, quantifiable approaches could cancel out the possibility that more than one group of people could be experiencing direct harm. So, the material, seen, numerically-proven data would be privileged and other aspects of harm and impoverishment would be dismissed. Further, objective/quantifiable thinking would necessitate the 'proving' of how "settlerism" (Baker, 2017) harms settlers materially (i.e. economically, bodily safety), and how that, in and of itself, should motivate change. Beyond that, it would reinforce the physical and material aspects at the expense of the emotional, mental, and spiritual aspects of an individual, especially if the latter were deemed less dire than harms experienced by Indigenous peoples. Questions about harm, victimhood, and legitimacy illustrate how binary thinking is endemic to settler mentalities and this becomes clear through the discipline of Native Studies.

Third-wave feminism is working to make settler mentalities visible by exposing binary thinking in a more thorough manner. One example is found in the duality of nature and culture (Mack-Canty, 2004), based upon the historical association of men with culture, order and reason and the conception that women are associated with nature and disorder. The duality of nature and culture was fundamental to "classical liberalism (e.g. Hobbes and Locke)" (Mack-Canty, 2004, p. 155). This connects to colonization because, later, enslaved and colonized people were conveyed as 'other' and this frame of mind extended to the view that women and nature were 'other,' as well (Mack-Canty, 2004, p. 156). So, with respect to settler harms and poverties, this duality illustrates the binary thought about what people and ways of life are valued and seen as desirable (white, human, male). Specifically, the dual or binary way of thinking about life catalyzes the domination of Indigenous peoples, women, and nature - undertaken through the privileging of rationalism (Mack-Canty, 2004, p. 171). Thus, contemporary scholarship must move away from rationalism and binary thinking in order to re-conceptualize settler colonialism and the implications for settlers.

The topic of settler harms and poverties changes how privilege is viewed. This does not mean it is always readily obvious, though, even to myself as the researcher who has been pursuing this topic for over a year. Naturally, I have 'caught' myself, numerous times, in my own cognitive dissonance - *still* not fully comprehending myself as harmed or impoverished. To illustrate, Butler writes about how our self-understanding is caught up within our social realities and how, through discourse, normative thought can be disentangled:

> I become dispossessed in the telling, and in that dispossession an ethical claim takes hold, since no ‘‘I’’ belongs to itself. From the outset, it comes into being through an address I can neither recall nor recuperate, and when I act, I act in a world whose structure is in large part not of my making—which is not to say that there is no making and no acting that is mine. There surely is. It means only that the ‘‘I,’’ its suffering and acting, telling and showing, take place within a crucible of social relations, variously established and iterable, some of which are irrecoverable, some of which impinge upon, condition, and limit our intelligibility within the present. And when we do act and speak, we not only disclose ourselves but act on the schemes of intelligibility that govern who will be a speaking being, subjecting them to rupture or revision, consolidating their norms, or contesting their hegemony. (Butler, 2005, p. 132)

Consequently, the theory of settler harms and poverties, and the redefining of privilege, largely contradicts the conventional, Western upbringing - including my entrenched mindset that ‘I am privileged’ and have nothing to resist. This redefinition of privilege was an instrumental aspect of the interview process that served to destabilize colonial “schemes of intelligibility” (Butler, 2005, p. 132).

Many people would struggle or disagree with the notion that settlers experience(d) harms and poverties (Wayne, personal communication, October 20, 2017).[9] There is a struggle when comparing privileges and poverties (Angel, personal communication, October 30, 2017). So, to nuance the concept of privilege, I have pursued this topic without quantifying the negative repercussions for settlers within settler culture, in opposition to rationalism (the belief that truth is best pursued through intellect and reason, rather than through experience or other ways of knowing, like emotional or spiritual knowledges). The intention is to foster a different discourse that can act as a bridge (Dale, 2014, p. 59) to nuance the understanding of settler privileges, harms and poverties. Therefore, this thesis establishes a synchronized reconciliatory approach where settlers and Indigenous peoples are simultaneously considered within research and writing related to settler colonialism.[10]

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[9] From a thesis participant interview. Wayne is a pseudonym.

[10] Indigenous feminism uses this approach regarding men’s liberation. See Greene & Levack (2010), public health experts, researchers and advocates, who have written about synchronizing gender strategies to “engage

While I contend that settlers experience harms and poverties, it does not negate the structural power and privilege that we are afforded (Sakai, 2014)[11] because settler harms and poverties coexist with gains and conveniences. To illustrate, "the Settler receives a much greater degree of reward and privilege for participating in the system of power and control" and "many Settler Canadians choose to engage in expansive creation of systems of control, encouraged by the efforts of imperial elites who grant privileges in exchange for assistance" (Barker, 2009, p. 347). An important caveat to the topic of settler harm is that settler harms are incomparable to, and should never overshadow, the devastation that settlers have brought upon Indigenous nations. This topic could be taken out of context or applied dangerously (Javed, personal communication, December 15, 2017)[12] if Indigenous nations and their self-determination were not centralized (Baker, 2017). In spite of this, the theorizing of settler harms and poverties could provide a new perspective and motivation to approach reconciliation differently.

The concept of settler harms and poverties has the potential to change everyday conversations regarding reconciliation. This has similarities to consciousness raising around whiteness, illustrated by Hargrave (2015) as a monstrous bird with two wings - poverties and privileges.

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people in challenging harmful and restrictive constructions of masculinity and femininity that drive gender-related vulnerabilities and inequalities and hinder health and well-being" (2010, p. 5). They write that "gender-synchronized approaches seek to equalize the balance of power between men and women in order to ensure gender equality and transform social norms that lead to gender-related vulnerabilities. Their distinctive contribution is that they work to increase understanding of how everyone is influenced and shaped by social constructions of gender" (2010, p. 5).

[11] Johnson (1997) describes how this relates to patriarchal harm (p. 172). "Men's misery *does* deserve sympathy, but not if it means we ignore where it comes from and what men get in exchange for it. It's all too easy to go from sympathy for men to forgetting that patriarchy and male privilege even exist" (Johnson, 1997, p. 175). Related to the study of settlers within settler colonialism, of central importance is that settler colonialism exists and settlers receive material privileges within it.

[12] From a thesis participant interview.

> ... until we know our privileges and poverties as such, we lack even the possibility of finding a meaningful and helpful way forward in the world as a people. In fact, until we know our privileges and our poverties, becoming a people of any place may not [be] possible at all ... Knowing this could be the beginning of something worth beginning. But I think seeing both is required. (Hargrave, 2015)

Drawing comparison to poverties and privileges found in whiteness, it is critical to establish a more synchronized approach to reconciliation that is based upon a holistic understanding of settler wellness that includes privileges, harms and poverties.

A lack of settler wellness can be identified through changing our discourses and re-examining Western intellectualism because it overemphasizes the physical and material factors. Yet, settler poverties and harms should not be considered without underscoring settler privileges or without an emphasis on advocating for Indigenous self-determination and equity. When this is understood, reconciliation can be approached more genuinely, in a synchronized manner, as a partnership that aims to change settler culture and values. The benefit of doing so is the potential to have a different way of life - one that rejects separation and endeavors to live meaningfully connected to humanity and to non-humans. Now that this literature review has presented important working concepts and relevant scholarship, the methods, methodologies, and theoretical framework for the study will be introduced next and I will present the study's connection to the discipline of Native Studies.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Theoretical approach

There are several ways that this thesis project used theoretical approaches and methodologies from the discipline of Native Studies. Indigenous feminism is a primary theoretical approach that was used "to open a dialogue about how Indigenous feminist thought can help us re-create a world that validates life in all its forms" (Anderson, 2010, p. 81). Through the lens of Indigenous feminism, liberation takes place when men and women are released from patriarchy and unequal, gendered power relations (Anderson, 2010). In a similar way, liberation from colonization and white supremacy must involve their disassembly through creating more just power relations and displacing superior power relations. Liberation from settler colonialism could be referred to as people's liberation (Grey, 2010, p. 27) because settler Canadians require liberation from colonization, as well. However, my approach does not aim towards universality, and differs from slogans like "all lives matter," because it does not negate the power differential that exists or seek to "flatten difference" in the name of equality (Snelgrove et al., 2014, p. 16). Therefore, this project deconstructed the results of settler colonialism, which in effect uncovers "the how" of settler colonialism, and sheds light on *how not* to continue in that mode (Snelgrove et al., 2014, p. 22). To expose the 'how' necessarily required an interrogation of the 'who' of settler colonialism, as well. In this way, it was decolonizing research that aligned to Indigenous feminism by evaluating the 'how' and the 'who' to facilitate mutual liberation.

Methodologies

Four Native Studies methodologies are aligned with my research and these are drawn from the book, *Decolonizing Methodologies* (L.T. Smith, 2012). The first methodology is 'Remembering' because this project actively reconsidered Canada as a colonial nation-state and settler's personal and family experiences with colonization.

> The remembering of a people relates not so much to an idealized remembering of a golden past but more specifically to the remembering of a painful past, re-membering in terms of connecting bodies with place and experience, and importantly, people's responses to that pain. (L.T. Smith, 2012, p. 147)

Hence, my project provided a forum for Indigenous allies to articulate their experiences and explore reconciliation in a more nuanced way. Furthermore, it was open to Indigenous people to inform the topic through their own knowledges and experiences. It sought to contribute toward collective healing and transformation (Christian, 2011, p. 76) by interacting with current and historical circumstances that have been unconsciously neglected or consciously distorted (L.T. Smith, 2012, p. 147). 'Remembering' intersects with the next methodology of 'Reading' because both approaches are situated within post-colonial studies and take a "more critical approach to history than was previously acceptable" (L.T. Smith, 2012, p. 150). By reading texts with a post-colonial lens, new ideas can emerge. The 'Reading' methodology was employed through discourse analysis and integrated decolonizing literature into the thesis.

Accordingly, when 'Remembering' and 'Reading' were employed, it laid the groundwork for the methodologies of 'Reframing' and 'Creating.' 'Reframing' is another Native Studies methodology because it redefines the problems and the solutions that should be undertaken (L.T. Smith, 2012, p. 154). So, the commonly-held belief that Canada has an 'indigenous problem' was redefined and creative solutions were discussed with research participants to create "new epistemologies and strategies that will eventually lead to solutions in the real world," that are transformational, and useful to the "constituents" of Native Studies - Indigenous communities (Cook-Lynn, 1999, p. 23). The aim is to "reconfigure anti-racism through the process of re-calling it" by employing a more nuanced and fulsome view on the past (Latour as cited in Hage, 2016, p. 124). So, the final Native Studies methodology that was utilized is 'Creating' because this study exposed some deficits we have as colonizers and revealed how "Indigenous communities also have something to offer the non-indigenous world" (L.T. Smith, 2012, p. 160). This reframes the issues, as they can often be currently understood, and enables alternatives to be considered. To link these methodologies, note that they all bear similarity to Indigenous feminism because they cast new light on the relationships and power structures between dominant and non-dominant groups and their relative positioning in society. By doing so, it uncovers ways to liberate both groups.

Finally, my methodological approach is grounded upon Indigenous modes of existence that give primacy to reciprocity and mutuality (Hage, 2016). To explain, I positioned myself in the research by writing and conversing with research participants about my own experiences and history as a settler to bring greater validity to the research, identify bias within the research, and

centralize Indigenous epistemologies that value "reciprocal relationships between researcher and participants" (Kovach as cited in Jobin, 2015, p. 14). I feel this has enhanced the research process and embodied the principles of reciprocity and mutuality that this thesis rest upon. Margaret Kovach (2009) writes, "if you don't acknowledge your own self in the research process, then you will always have a piece missing" (p. 108). Including myself, as the researcher, has added to the thesis, interviews, and focus groups because the subject-matter pertains to me personally. By doing so, there is alignment with the discipline of Native Studies because experiential knowledge is seen to have value (Jobin, 2015, p. 14) in addition to academic knowledge. Further, employing mutuality and reciprocity has contributed to a co-construction of knowledge, where sharing my own story has had the potential to be co-creative with participants (Kovach, 2009, p. 100).

Positioning myself also relates to respectful research preparations within Indigenous methodologies - to be ready to do research 'in a good way' (Kovach, 2009, pp. 110-120). Kovach (2009) writes that "knowing why we are carrying out research - our motive - has the potential to take us to places that involve both the head and heart. We need to know our own research story to be accountable to self and community" (p. 120). This self-awareness and disclosure, as a reciprocal methodology, actively deconstructs hierarchies and facilitates meaningful inquiry because it involves the head and the heart. Accordingly, including my own experiences brings dimension to the research and encourages readers and participants to do the same.

To sum up, these theoretical approaches and methodologies (Indigenous feminism, reciprocity, mutuality, remembering, reading, reframing, and creating) were interconnected around this view: the pursuit of equity and better relations with Indigenous peoples in Canada is also a liberation for non-Indigenous peoples. This is how Indigenous feminism and interconnectivity coalesce as the two main lenses that are employed. As discussed in the introduction, the theoretical framework of this study links to the Cree and Métis natural law of *wahkootowin*[13] that, roughly translated, means that everything is related (MacDougall, 2010, p.

[13] Three different spellings are included in this thesis (*wâhkôwtowin*, *wahkootowin*, and *wahkotowin*), depending on who is being cited and their spelling of the word. *wâhkôwtowin* is the spelling most common in this thesis.

8). When understanding how Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada have connections, it becomes easier to take a mutual approach towards genuine reconciliation.

Connection to the discipline

This thesis connects anti-racism and decolonization (Snelgrove et al., 2014, p. 19) by positing Indigenous strengths and fostering discourses that could be liberating for all people in Canada. The results contribute to scholarship in critical race theory, specifically Indigenous critical literature and critical whiteness studies, and postcolonial studies. But, this study is situated in Native Studies because "the primary motive for elimination is not race (or religion, ethnicity, grade of civilization, etc.) but access to territory" (Wolfe, 2006, p. 388). Dispossession is accomplished through settler colonialism and the social acting of various types of settlers who sustain it as a specific way of life. As such, I am studying settler Canadians as a heterogeneous group that includes white (non-racialized) people, as most powerful, but also significant numbers of racialized people, of lesser power in many cases. To do so builds a Native Studies theory that pertains to settler consciousness development.

Settler consciousness development is key to this thesis because the working assumption of this thesis is that settlers, of all races, are instrumental towards the dispossession of Indigenous lands. Therefore, settler consciousness formation - established through the discipline of Native Studies - is critical to dismantle settler colonialism and actualize the return of lands. Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández (2013) write about their commitment to "Indigenous futurity, which does not foreclose the inhabitation of Indigenous land by non-Indigenous peoples, but does foreclose settler colonialism and settler epistemologies" (p. 80). Dismantling settler colonialism, settler consciousness development, and ensuring Indigenous futurities are key to Native Studies.

To be committed to Indigenous futurities, I have approached this topic in a way that makes "Indigenous presence and ongoing colonization" known (Lawrence & Dua, 2011, p. 244) by focusing on Indigenous nations (Snelgrove et al., 2014, pp. 17-18), applying Indigenous methodologies, epistemologies and ontologies, and integrating approaches from other disciplines where useful (Jobin, 2015, p. 13; Andersen, 2009, p. 82; TallBear, 2016, p. 82). Further, locating the thesis in Native Studies builds into the critical mass of the discipline and does not re-occupy

white curriculum "space" that is otherwise located in whiteness studies or other departments (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013, p. 73).

Finally, my research had community accountability, intended to benefit and give back to Indigenous people, and I have actively worked to ensure no harm has been done through this research (Kovach, 2009, p. 48). To do so, it has been important to be in relationships with Indigenous people in order for this project to be decolonial (Lowman & Barker, 2015) because engaging in decolonial research has the potential to shape-shift into a "speech act" that are "claims that do not do what they say" (Ahmed, 2006, 104). I was fortunate to have Dr. Shalene Jobin as my supervisor and Dr. Chris Andersen on my graduate committee, both of whom brought Indigenous perspectives and oversight to the research findings. Further, the Guiding Council of Reconciliation in Solidarity Edmonton has been supportive of this thesis. Having Indigenous supervision provided me with accountability so that this exploratory research formed the continuation of performatives, rather than generating a non-performative. As has been poignantly written,

> ... some Settlers attempting to act in alliance with Indigenous peoples have missed the contradiction between their goals and their actions, ultimately replicating the effects of colonization ... Just as Indigenous peoples must defeat the legacy of prior colonization and the realities of current neocolonialism in order to achieve freedom, settler people must do the same for themselves. (Barker, 2010, p. 318)

Consequently, being reflexive to colonial tendencies has been at the forefront of my mind because an ethical approach is imperative to the study's credibility.

Explanation of methods

This thesis project was a qualitative, exploratory study that engaged settler Canadians of various backgrounds and was also open to Indigenous participants. Participants were recruited in an open manner because all viewpoints could be valuable and deepen the analysis on this subject. It was a community-based research project, through the partnership with RISE, supplemented by document analysis of secondary research. While the topic of reconciliation has become established, the sub-topic that I have focused on is quite new and is in the theory-building stage, rather than being a project that tests a current theory. In this way, it is inductive and seeks out "meaning and significance to what we observe" about Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations

in Canada. It does so by using participant experiences and observations as evidence in order to "construct new theory" (Bhattacherjee, 2012, p. 3). Therefore, a qualitative study was chosen because the experiential knowledge of participants was valued and their expertise and insights were deemed important, in addition to what is in the literature and what I could add from my own experiences and views.

Also, the TRC has been critiqued for not providing enough spaces for people to have discussion and support around what they are hearing, learning, and processing (Snyder, 2011, pp. 840-841). "While listening is an important part of learning, we also need to be able to work with what we have heard and discuss it with others" (Snyder, 2011, p. 840). Accordingly, Snyder suggested that responding to and discussing matters of reconciliation could be in addition to TRC "activities and events, not as something that is meant to take away from them" (2011, p. 840). Elder Maria Campbell reinforced this, as well, at a speaking engagement I attended in 2017 at Athabasca University. There, Elder Campbell pointed out the contentiousness of the TRC and stressed that reconciliation needs to be discussed by real people outside of government. Campbell (2017) emphasized that reconciliation could be approached by considering how we can come together around our "shared values of wanting what is best for our children and our families." I feel strongly that after the 'hearing and learning stage,' and the acknowledgment of our responsibilities as individuals who form a collective, there needs to be reflective discussion and the establishment of tangible 'next steps' to eschew paralysis and ineffectiveness.

Similarly, DeCosta & Clark (2016) write that "conceptions of responsibility (both favorable and otherwise) *can only emerge through discourse"* and "the manifest form for any given ideology of responsibility must be discourse" because, without discursive intervention, the issues would continue to be discussed and understood within the same parameters (p. 194). However, reconciliation is hindered due to the non-Indigenous belief that resolving conflicts (viewed as 'Indigenous issues') are the responsibility of the Canadian government and Indigenous communities and leaders. To illustrate, DeCosta & Clark (2016) observed how participants demonstrated two modes of thinking about colonial injustice in Canada. One approach was distant, generalized Indigenous peoples, and delegated the work because it was viewed as being outside of the individual or local realm. In other words, it was viewed as "someone else's responsibility to respond to Indigenous history or contemporary inequality or injustice, be this First Nations, the government, the education system, or some unstated other"

(DeCosta & Clark, 2016, pp. 203-204). The other approach, referred to as embodiment, was locally grounded and emphasized self-responsibility (DeCosta & Clark, 2016, pp. 196-197). Participants from the metropolitan group were more apt to generalize and, by contrast, participants from the rural groups "essentially rejected a governmental role" and were "dubious" about an institutional solution (DeCosta & Clark, 2016, 199).

Thus, settler acknowledgement, discussion, and next steps were integral to my study. My thesis project fills a gap by creating spaces for discussion about reconciliation in a manner that grounds it locally, within the metropolitan setting of Edmonton, and intends to motivate tangible responsibility-taking and action. This was facilitated by connecting people together, through research, who share a commitment to reconciliation and have knowledge and experience that is of great value to the academy. As a result, this thesis fills a scholarly gap and further research can build on this topic.

Interviews

I received approval from the University of Alberta's Research Ethics Board on August 29, 2017 and recruited research participants through Reconciliation in Solidarity Edmonton (RISE), contacts I have at the University of Alberta, and snowball sampling. To do so, I designed a recruitment poster (Appendix #2) to send via email to some of my contacts and for RISE to post on their Facebook page. The focus of my research was on decolonization and sought to make settlers "the subject under closest scrutiny" (Epp, 2003, p. 228), the objects of analysis, by engaging qualitatively with research participants who can inform this subject matter due to their vocational, experiential and educational experiences. Participants of every identification, who are Indigenous, non-Indigenous and "differently positioned people" (Snelgrove et al., 2014, pp. 11 & 15), who fall in between this binary, were invited into this study. This is to counter the binary that has been common in settler colonial studies - that of the Indigenous and non-Indigenous (Snelgrove et al., 2014, p. 9). Therefore, the study did not limit the age, gender, nationality, or race of the participants, though future research could delineate across those categories. Twelve participants were interviewed and these participants had a strong distribution of ages (20s-70 years old), genders, and identities (1 First Nations, 3 Métis, and 8 Euro-Canadian settlers). The willingness of Indigenous participants to become involved has been critical to inform the research and hold me, as a settler researcher, to account.

Interested participants were sent a thesis consent form (Appendix #3) in advance of their interview and it was explained in person and signed prior to the interview commencing. Participants also had the opportunity to be anonymous or a named contributor in the written results. Semi-structured interviews were used to identify main themes and the open-ended questions primarily considered the social repercussions of settler colonialism and explored other consequences as a secondary focus (Appendix #4). These interviews were held in a location that was preferred by the participant, such as their home or office, or my home or office, and lasted for up to two hours. All participants elected to be audio-recorded, so after their interview they were provided with a written transcript to review and revise before it was included in the study. Once the written transcripts were approved, the audio-recordings were deleted. All written transcripts and consent forms are stored in a locked and/or password protected location and will be retained for five years following the study.

Written transcripts were coded in Pages Software by color-coding sections into emerging themes/categories and copying individual references into a separate Pages document with reference information (name of interviewee, page). Themes and categories were later analyzed by creating tables and the data was distilled down into a visual diagram of harms and poverties experienced by Canadian settlers.

Focus group

On January 13, 2018, the interviewees gathered together in a focus group to delve further into emerging themes. This served to generate richer data and add greater dimension to the results from the one-on-one interviews. Further, it was a way to triangulate the data through the use of multiple methods (Bhattacherjee 2012, pp. 40, 94-95). Nine of these participants were able to attend the two hour focus group, held at the Highlands branch (Edmonton Public Library), where light refreshments and snacks were provided. The focus group's primary purpose was to verify the presented data/visuals/initial conclusions and to ensure this data represented their contributions. Participants were compensated with a $25.00 gift card for the interview and a $25.00 gift card for participating in the focus group. This was to honor the time investment that they made to the project and to cover any transportation costs incurred. While focus group participants became identifiable to one another due to the face-to-face nature of the event, I did not specify interview contributions in the presentation to ensure that anonymity was protected.

The focus group discussions were audio-recorded and will be retained under password protection for five years following the study.

The focus group was instrumental to confirm and refine the data, as presented through the visuals (Figures 2 and 4, in addition to two others that have not been incorporated into the writing), and offer suggestions for how it could be most accurately represented. Using a focus group provided me with confidence that I interpreted their input in a good way. They also affirmed the importance of the work, the deep thinking that it requires, and the value it has to them. In the next chapters, I will now present the study's results and analysis on the topic of how settlers have been harmed by settler colonialism.

Study Results and Analysis

These chapters will introduce findings from the interviews, focus group, and secondary research about harms and poverties experienced by settlers. Participants were asked: how have settlers experienced harm as a result of settler colonialism (including its culture and values)? The interviews were designed to facilitate the 'seeing' of what has previously been unseen regarding settler harms and poverties. As settler colonialism rests upon the notion of dominance, enacted by asserting social, spiritual, environmental, economic, political and intellectual dominance through settler law, these chapters theorize that settler colonialism is a societal determinant of settler health.[14] Taken together, the development of this Native Studies theory aims to explain the systemic contributions to the behaviour and reality that is seen (Bhattacherjee, 2012, p. 2), but inadequately understood.

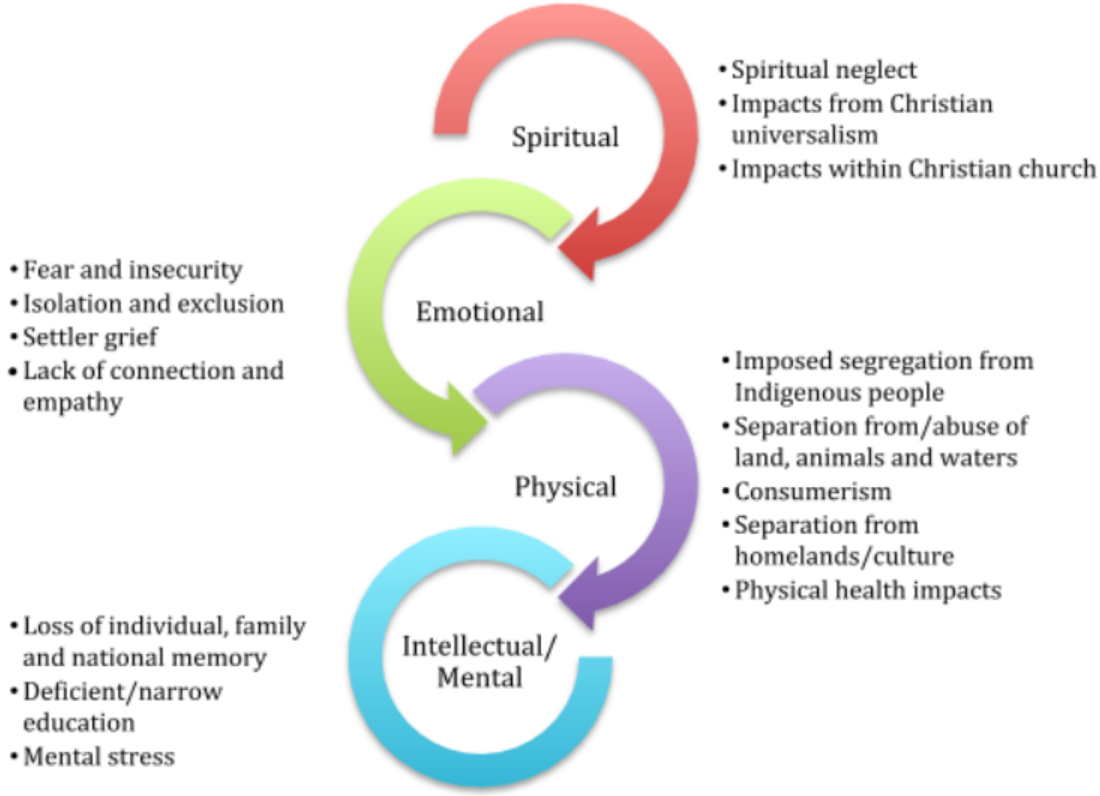
The following chapters will provide more detailed analysis about each area of settler harms and poverties, how the settler colonial mode of existence impacts settlers, and how these harms and poverties are symptoms of settler wellness. To do so, I examine non-Indigenous health by considering determinants of health from the Public Health Agency of Canada (2003), including: income and social status, social support networks, employment/working conditions, social environments, personal health practices and coping skills, healthy child development, biology and genetic endowment and culture (Graham & Leeseberg Stamler, 2010). Further, I discuss the harms born by settlers within systems of racial and economic domination that rely upon inequality and dehumanization.

These harms and poverties are located in the physical, mental, spiritual, and emotional aspects and are presented in two ways: 1) alongside secondary research in combination with interview and focus group data, and 2) through a model (Figure 4) that summarizes interview and focus group findings related to settler harms and poverties. Due to the exploratory nature of the study, some points were raised by many participants, some were raised by only one participant.

[14] By definition, "societal determinants of health are the political, economic, social, and cultural structures (institutions, rules, and social relationships between groups) that shape health and health patterns across key societal categories including social class, race/ethnicity, sex/gender, and geographic setting" (Birn, Pillay & Holtz, 2017).

So, Figure 4 intends to capture the fulsomeness of participant contributions as a starting point to explore this concept. It is a tool[15] to facilitate settler understanding about harms and poverties found within settler colonialism - to see what was previously unseen.

Figure 4: Canadian Settler Harms and Poverties



Before we begin, it must be reinforced that these harms and poverties result from a lack of holistic health and wellbeing that leads to separation from humanity, land, animals, and waters. These disconnections also foster the settler susceptibility to privilege physical aspects of life (rationalism, material and seen aspects of life), as discussed in the literature review. The next chapter discusses the physical and mental harms and poverties to demonstrate how settler colonialism is a societal determinant of settler health.

[15] Thank you to Shalene Jobin for her graphic design assistance.

Chapter 4: Physical and Mental Harms and Poverties

While the physical, seen aspects of life are privileged in Western thought, over the unseen or intangible aspects, there are embodied harms and poverties that settlers experience nonetheless (Maté, 2003). To discuss this, I will introduce secondary research from the disciplines of Epidemiology and Public Health, Sociology, and Indigenous Studies and incorporate contributions from participant interviews. In this chapter, the physical harms and poverties from Figure 4 will be discussed. This includes physical segregation settlers experience from Indigenous people, physical health impacts within settler colonialism, consumerism and inequality, separation from homelands and cultures, and separation from/abuse of land, animals and waters. In addition, the role of dominance, hierarchy, fear and insecurity will be presented and links will be made between physical and mental settler health. Afterward, there will be a chapter that is dedicated to mental stress, intergenerational narratives and harms, settler memory and repression, and restorative justice.

Epidemiology and Indigenous knowledges

Epidemiology is a discipline that has relevance to the topic of settler harm and overall health because it studies "the distribution and determinants of states of health in populations" (Berkman & Kawarchi, 2014, p. 1). To do so, epidemiology looks at health patterns, determinants of health, policies, and interventions to create maximum population health and minimal "health inequities" (Kindig as cited in Birn, Pillay & Holtz, 2017, p. 286). Accordingly, epidemiologic theory seeks to explain population health and involves an analysis of human biology, societies, and ecology to understand how lifestyles and activities "become literally incorporated into our bodies - that is, embodied - and manifest in our health status, individually and collectively" (Krieger, 2011, p. vii). Epidemiology connects well to the thesis topic because it is a discipline that explores societal wellbeing and looks to support health.

Traditionally, epidemiology has taken a Western, biomedical and behavioural/lifestyle approach (Krieger, 2011 in Birn, Pillay, & Holtz, 2017, p. 291; Krieger, 2011, p. 136). To illustrate, this approach considers physical determinants of biological health, including an evaluation of how health is determined by genetics, biology, age, random factors, and previous physical health conditions or experiences that increase the chances of health conditions

materializing (Krieger, 2011 in Birn, Pillay, & Holtz, 2017, p. 291). The physical/behavioural method understands individual behavioural and lifestyle choices to be "freely chosen" and as determining factors on individual health (Krieger, 2011 in Birn, Pillay, & Holtz, 2017, p. 291). By contrast, Nancy Krieger, Professor of Social Epidemiology (Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health), has written about how this strand of epidemiologic theory individualizes health issues and looks solely within the individual to explain health outcomes and presenting problems. In doing so, the traditional, biomedical and behavioural/lifestyle approach fails to evaluate structural and systemic elements, or interconnections, and takes a "reductionist approach" (Krieger, 2011, p. 136).

Subsequently, there has been a shift in epidemiology and the biological sciences towards alternative theories that recognize the holistic nature of individuals and the resulting consequences of political and economic systems, natural and social environments, and established structures (Birn, Pillay & Holtz, 2017, p. 594). Within these alternative theories (critical political economy, psychosocial, and ecosocial), research is undertaken to demonstrate that there could be consequences to bear on individual health (psychologically, behaviourally, and physiologically) as a result (Krieger, 2011, p. 140; Krieger, 2011 in Birn, Pillay, & Holtz, 2017, p. 291). Consequently, social epidemiology has developed: "that branch of epidemiology concerned with the way that social structures, institutions, and relationships influence health ... [and] the ways that societies are organized to produce or impede the development and maintenance of good health" (Berkman & Kawachi, 2014, p. 2). In other words, these alternative theories consider intersections, holism, and relationality across macro, mezzo and micro elements of society and how they necessarily impact population health.

Notably, social epidemiology and alternative epidemiologic theories draw from Indigenous knowledges that are largely uncredited (Martin, 2012, pp. 24-27). In this regard, they are not new discoveries, but rather are adoptions (or it could be said, appropriations) of ontologies and epistemologies that have existed within Indigenous societies for an extremely long time. To illustrate, Brendan Hokowhitu notes that "the success of the colonial project was clearly the deconstruction of interwoven epistemic knowledge based on corporeal metaphysical cognition (i.e., mind/body/spirit)" (2016, p. 98). Hokowhitu contends, instead, for "'Indigenous body-logic,' corporeal intelligence that resides beyond rational thought and has the conviction to produce subjectivities able to live beyond the taxonomies ascribed by colonization" (2016, p.

99). While the context of Hokowhitu's writing is around Indigenous Studies and its position and academic approach within the Western academy, it is pertinent to the topic of settler harms and how we have historically understood settler health to be primarily positive. Indigenous knowledges can disrupt the binaries that are often thought to exist between the physical and metaphysical level and the mind/body relationship (Hokowhitu, 2017, p. 99). I suggest that we reframe our understanding about public health through considering, and giving credit to, the value of Indigenous knowledges, epistemologies and ontologies on this topic (Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2010, p. 25). A holistic approach to health, that credits Indigenous knowledges, could change the approach settlers take towards reconciliation because it would change the questions that are asked and change the rehabilitative and preventative strategies that are pursued (Berkman & Kawachi, 2014, p. 3).

Social epidemiology has come to understand the importance of interrelatedness to the mind, body, and human environments. For instance, Geoffrey Rose (1992) identified a population perspective that outlined how individuals do not exist in a vacuum that insulates them from broader society (Berkman & Kawachi, 2014, pp. 3 & 6). Rose (1992) posited that we are interconnected and "an individual's risk of illness cannot be considered in isolation from the disease risk of the population to which she belongs" (Berkman & Kawachi, 2014, p. 6). This aligns to *wahkootowin* teachings - that all living beings are related (MacDougall, 2010, p. 8) and no individual stands alone. Returning to Rose's population strategy, population health, "risk factors and disease are on a continuum and are not binary" (Berkman & Kawachi, 2014, p. 3). By example, national levels of health/lack of health are correlated to the degree of egalitarianism within the *society* itself (Pickett & Wilkinson, 2010, 28 & 33). Therefore, environmental interconnections pertain to individual health (Maté, 2003, pp. 223-224), as seen when examining national economic equality, impacting the mind and body.

Indigenous health is understood to be influenced by the colonial society of Canada. The discipline of epidemiology justifiably regards colonialism and imperialism as doing harm to Indigenous peoples and asserts that colonialism should be included as a social determinant of Indigenous health (Czyzewski, 2011; Walters et al., 2011; see references in Krieger, 2011, p. 180). This is due to "infringement of sovereignty and political self-determination, limited control over resources, repressive social policy, further conflict, and so on" (Birn, Pillay, & Holtz, 2017, p. 293) that Indigenous peoples have endured. Moreover, epidemiologists acknowledge

contemporary geopolitics as a factor that shapes general population health (Birn, Pillay, & Holtz, 2017, p. 293). However, there appears to be a gap because I have not located any research that demonstrates how colonial harm has been born by settlers. Nevertheless, Albert Memmi (1965) asserted that colonization "can only disfigure the colonizer" (p. 147), "distorts relationships ... and corrupts men, both colonizers and colonized" (p. 151). As such, the questions we ask should extend to how settler colonialism is a determinant of *settler* population health. This is the Native Studies theory I am establishing in this thesis.

Physical health

When population health is nuanced, wellbeing can be understood along a continuum and settlers and Indigenous peoples in Canada can be seen as interrelated, holistic, and interconnected with human society (colonial structures and systems) and non-human societies (Benatar, 2017; Benatar, 2016; Bartlett, Marshall & Marshall, 2012, p. 338).[16] Currently, ecosocial theory (Krieger) has a particular use in this regard because it states that health is determined by a person's biology and environment, including their societal political and social systems.

> Health outcomes, in ecosocial terms, are the biological expression of living conditions, social relations, and structures of power *over the lifecourse and across generations*. Ecosocial theory pays particular heed to: interrelationships between diverse forms of social inequality, including racism, class, and gender. A central focus is on 'embodiment,' referring to how we literally embody, biologically, our lived experience, in societal and ecological context, thereby creating population patterns of health and disease. (Krieger as cited in Birn, Pillay & Holtz, 2017, p. 291, emphasis added)

While ecosocial theory has pertinence to settler health, the literature in epidemiology, social and societal determinants of health research is largely constructed along a binary of the well and the unwell, the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' rather than demonstrating a continuum.

Despite this binary, negative physical and mental settler health *is* evident. Several interviews referenced how settler lives lack balance, are compromised through an overemphasis

[16] Sites for future research could include the discipline of Native Studies (perhaps through Indigenous sciences or *wâhkôwtowin* scholarship) and Indigenous research in epidemiology (Walter & Andersen, 2013, p. 64).

on the physical, and lack adequate acknowledgement and attention to the mental, emotional, and spiritual aspects of life. Interviewees pointed out that poor balance is becoming more and more evident from increasingly poor levels of mental and emotional health among Canadians (see Pickett & Wilkinson, 2010, pp. 66-68). Notably, this should be understood to impact settlers as adults and children because an overemphasis on the physical has implications for the conditions of children's development, as well.

While the frame concerning settlers is not typically found in dominant discourse or scholarship, settler health impacts were identified by Adam Barker and Terry Kupers as linked to Western society and settler colonialism.

> … the radical psychologist Terry Kupers, suggests that many things considered illnesses in present Settler society, such as depression, are actually a result of an extremely unhealthy, oppressive lifestyle, and the question is one of what we pathologize (Soong, 2006). Kupers suggests that rather than treating depression, we should be treating consumerism, individualism, and the other rampant, dehumanizing and unhealthy practiced philosophies that make up western society, but that we choose to ignore the severe consequences of these social practices. (Barker, 2006, p. 63)

By making the physical preeminent, settlers have discounted the importance of the other aspects of our individual selves and collectivities, resulting in a handicap that has damaged not only Indigenous peoples, land, animals and waters, but ourselves.

Putting this together, emotional and mental harms connect to physical harms, also known as embodiment. Psychological responses to stress could change your "brain architecture" (Kubzansky, Seeman & Glymour, 2014, pp. 515-516) and simultaneously initiate physical repercussions (Maté, 2003). To illustrate, settler colonial social adversity could lead to physiological injuries, like impacts to organ-level function or other deleterious health outcomes (Kubzansky, Seeman & Glymour, 2014, p. 513). Notably, this epidemiologic research complements and mirrors Indigenous knowledge (i.e. the Medicine Wheel and *wâhkôwtowin* teachings) about the interrelationships that exist across individual's physical, mental, emotional and spiritual aspects and how humans, non-humans, and the environment are connected (Walters et al., 2011). In sum, there are interrelationships within a person and across each person's relationship to other people and the broader world they are connected to (Wenger-Nabigon,

2010, pp. 149-150). This means that, within a settler colonial system, there are negative results not only for Indigenous people, but also for settlers.

Bearing that in mind, why are settler harms and poverties not conventionally understood? I suggest this happens because of settler colonial processes that privilege the physical and elevate Western ways of knowing, including health 'experts,' generally seen through a settler colonial lens. For instance, Krieger (2011) wrote, "societal processes and political-economic systems produce ... the means and materials these social groups use to reinforce or challenge their social position and to sustain and reproduce themselves in the daily course of life" through the associated "norms, values, and ideologies" it takes to do so (p. 167). As an example, settler colonial social positioning is reinforced and reproduced by the way that scholarship (the societal process) is framed and undertaken. As current scholarship measures Indigenous health against non-Indigenous health (Walter & Andersen, 2013), portrayed as the epochal standard (Racism in Contemporary Aotearoa, 2008, p. 34), it does not take the theoretical lens that non-Indigenous Canadians may require social, economic and political alternatives.[17] Therefore, physical and mental settler harm represents an important area for future research and it is correlated to settler colonialism.

Physical segregation

Settlers have been geographically separated from Indigenous peoples through the creation and enforcement of reserves and settlements. This is a physical harm for settlers because it is tangible and seen, but it also relates to emotional wellbeing because separation impacts mutuality and influences the type of relationships that normally exist between Indigenous people and settlers. For instance, "Caroline,"[18] a non-Indigenous interview participant, described Indigenous

[17] In epidemiology, there is a term for this - the "status syndrome" - where high socio-economic status is represented as aligned with high measures of health (Marmot as cited in Krieger, 2011, pp. 198-199). These measures of health, however, only assess some elements of settler population health, while altogether overlooking others. Further, they do not consider population health as a whole as Pickett & Wilkinson have done.

[18] pseudonym

and non-Indigenous people as being quite socially separated where people often stay in their own "zone." As such, Caroline pointed out that settlers are less well-rounded and miss opportunities for richness and knowledge sharing. However, segregation is not the defining feature of settler-Indigenous relationships (Logan, 2015). While there is a marked separation, Matt, a non-Indigenous interview participant, pointed out that "we bump into each other in the world" nevertheless. Figure 4 depicts geographical separation as a physical harm because it is spatial and material, but it contributes to other harms in the diagram, such as impeding mutuality from taking place between Indigenous people and settlers.

In an interview, "Brenda,"[19] a non-Indigenous participant, outlined her experiences with Indigenous people in her community and her friendship with a Cree woman. To explain, while Brenda has established friendships with Indigenous people, she noted that others would remark about this as exceptional and would be curious about how the friendship arose. These remarks highlight how there are distinct boundary lines that typically remain observed. So, while casual friendships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people may exist in communities, formed through sports or school, for example, Brenda's experience is that meaningful, mutual relationships are nevertheless rare. Brenda's interview demonstrates how physical separation, as a tangible settler colonial harm, is isolating. It also impacts mutuality and relates to other harms and poverties in Figure 4, like fear and lack of connection and empathy.

While physical separation impacts mutuality, it will not be remedied by everybody just 'being together' and 'getting to know one another.' This is often an assumption that can be made, referred to as the contact hypothesis, where there can be the idea that prejudice will be lessened when there is more contact across the conflicted groups. "Jennifer,"[20] a non-Indigenous participant, described this in an interview.

> Jennifer: ... if you focus only on similarity you learn to fear differences, right? Contact hypothesis doesn't work anymore because you've already decided - other, other, other - danger, danger, danger, Robinson, threat to superiority. And what do you minimize - people who are in positions of privilege and power are given permission to ignore these

[19] pseudonym

[20] pseudonym

> systemic inequalities and things that are true from other people's experiences and you can deny them! Because we're the same ... we're equal!

To summarize, separation between Indigenous people and settlers has detrimental effects because it impacts mutuality, but this does not mean Indigenous people and settlers are only segregated or that it can be resolved by just being together more.

Consumerism and inequality

Settler privileges and poverties can be found in consumerism, an area of physical harm that was identified in the interviews. Consumerism is encouraged within capitalism and many participants noted that it is a physical poverty that settlers experience because it is tangible/seen and it results in physical harm for humans and non-humans when land, animals and waters are abused. "Jane,"[21] a non-Indigenous interview participant, explained it this way.

> Jane: For me, the most obvious impact or harm that the Western worldview has caused is currently found within the environment. We're observing climate change every day now. Yet, Western worldview and our emphasis on accumulation of wealth makes most of us look favorably at extraction models, for example, in resource development. Materialism that we've grown to think is absolutely the way to live.

Specifically, Jane referenced how environmental degradation, materialism, and hoarding cannot be understood in isolation from consumerism, that rests on individualism and accumulation. Accordingly, Jane outlined how consumerism facilitates a lack of reciprocity and feelings of isolation and alienation. In this way, Jane established how accumulation and individualism, the settler culture and values, can be understood to foster social disintegration.

Social disintegration results from consumerism. This is because consumerism is linked to abuse of humanity, in addition to land, air, animals and waters. Jane connected consumerism to the settler culture of improvement and hierarchy - it is a way to demonstrate progress and social

[21] pseudonym

dominance. This begins with, and perpetrates, feelings of fearfulness, insecurity, and a lack of personal wholeness, that could include spirituality.

> Jane: Self-destruction, right now, to me is destruction at every level. It leads to a destruction of the environment, but also alienation, isolation, is the malady of Western culture, right? We're feeling that and so, it's disintegration, yeah. And not being whole and so not being one with the Creator or God or you know?
>
> ... you know the hoarding part, it's almost primal. If I feel insecure or not whole, I will make myself full with external things. So, to me it's a very primal reaction. Unfortunately, in Western culture material accumulation is a way of expressing social dominance. I have a bigger house, I have a bigger car, I have a bigger job, therefore I am better than you. Certainly, in the past hundred years it's been increasingly like this with increased industrialization.

Thus, physical, material privileges can be understood as having associated poverties in the mental, emotional, and spiritual realms. Consumerism, commonly viewed as a privilege, negatively impacts the physical health of settlers when the mind/body/environment is seen to be interconnected.

The settler culture of improvement, individualism and hierarchy are inextricable from consumerism and economic inequality, negatively impacting settler health. To explain how consumerism negatively impacts settler wellness, one must understand that scarcity anxiety fosters hypervigilance and a lack of trust between settlers and towards Indigenous people (Bishop, 2015, p. 40). Caroline outlined this in the interview.

> Caroline: Scarcity anxiety dehumanizes us ... and I think that is harmful because it takes away the richness of living ... and you know, I think it's internally harmful ... I think it's psychologically harmful, people become ... it becomes that situation where you're never really happy and you don't know why.

> Avery: Do you think it relates to the mental illness and the anxiety that we have, do you think some of those things relate to one another?
>
> Caroline: I think so ... a lot of the anxieties people feel and this is more true, maybe, a year ago than now because people can feel all kinds of anxiety over world affairs ... there are dominating forces that tell you [that] you need more or you need certain very specific things to be okay. And if you are facing that and accepting that as true you will be anxious, you don't have those things, you know, it's ... Enabling the step back to really examine what are the core things that you think that you need and how that relates to being dominant.

This hypervigilance and lack of trust is connected to the culture of hierarchy that is often based on materialism, scarcity anxiety, and has the result of inequality.

The settler colonial environment of inequality and improvement has an effect upon our health (Birn, Pillay & Holtz, 2017, pp. 288-289) because settler culture, that esteems some and must maintain authority over Indigenous peoples, could differentially contribute to how settlers are able to cope, levels of depression and distress, abilities to emotionally regulate, and other physiological results, historically and today. The stressors in a colonial environment, historically and intergenerationally, "may cause psychological and/or physical stress, which in turn leads to behavioural or physiological changes. According to this formulation, stress is experienced when individuals perceive that external demands exceed their ability to cope" (Kubzansky, Seeman & Glymour, 2014, p. 512). Stress is a condition of the historical colonial environment as Molly described in one of the interviews.

> Molly: … it was imported from Europe, where the rise of industrial capitalism creates these horrifically exploited underclasses. And the upper classes are desperately scrambling to maintain that power and security, and that gets brought over, and those values and self-isolation get brought over and imposed. But also, I think, it can intensify, then right? Because not only are you having to worry about other white people coming over to subjugate you, but you're also worried about Indigenous people trying to

> take away what you have, to decivilize, et cetera. So I think that messes up the way that people relate to each other in a really fundamental way.

Consequently, the settler culture of improvement continues to reinforce fear and insecurity today by generating discourses of scarcity anxiety.

A hierarchical settler culture, that hinges on materialism and inequality, has physical, mental and emotional impacts for settlers. To illustrate, Pickett and Wilkinson have introduced research asserting that inequality has impacts across society as a whole, not just for those who occupy the lowest socio-economic positions (2010, pp. 28 & 181). "There are now a large number of studies of income inequality and health that compare countries ... and the majority of these studies show that more egalitarian societies tend to be healthier" (Pickett & Wilkinson, 2010, p. 81). Less inequality would positively impact settler and Indigenous wellbeing and quality of life because "individual psychology and societal inequality relate to each other like lock and key" (Pickett & Wilkinson, 2010, p. 33). In reverse, inequality relates to low levels of societal trust, poor social cohesion, and rising anxiety. In situations of inequality, a "social evaluative threat" manifests, where societal approval is based on attaining and maintaining a high socio-economic position from within one's "own society," rather than on the global scale (Pickett & Wilkinson, 2010, pp. 25, 37, 51-56 & 62). To tie it together, materialism and inequality in Canada results in physical, mental and emotional harms for settlers and relates to our hierarchical culture.

Settler wellness is distributed disproportionately across other hierarchies, in our own society, based on race. Racism is a key feature of settler colonialism, enacted with the claim that it will provide for settlers' psychological and emotional needs "... [such as] the sustainment of self-esteem and identity, the suppression of fear and anxiety, the displacement of aggression, the projection of unwanted aspects of the self, the fulfillment of wishes for specialness, superiority, and belonging" (Pataki as cited in Mensah & Williams, 2017, p. 30). The claims of racism have fallen short, as have the promises of consumer happiness. To illustrate, Mark Anielski has written about the deleterious effects from any culture based on hierarchy and improvement.

> Happiness is an immediate, proximate, goal that depends on the responsibility of both society and the individual and on the recognition that no individual can be completely happy in the presence of the unhappiness of others. The materialism and competition that

> characterizes the dominant civilization in the world today have not been conducive to the pursuit of happiness, and, in many respects, actually has led in the opposite direction. (Anielski, 2007, pp. 142-143)

Thus, settler colonialism, enacted through hierarchy, improvement, and individualism, has impacted the physical, mental and emotional health of settlers because it fosters inequality, fear, and scarcity anxiety. Further, it differentially impacts levels of happiness and living conditions across groups based on race.

By contrast, egalitarianism coincides with "inclusiveness and empathy" (Pickett & Wilkinson, 2010, p. 168) and is fostered when people have feelings of security. Bearing that in mind, I argue that settlers could be categorized as insecure (Ross, 2006, p. 197). For example, Wayne, in an interview, pointed out that selfishness stems from a damaged self-esteem, loss of connection, and lack of empathy. Wayne described consumerism as selfishness and he identified how physical selfishness relates to a lack of respect, dehumanization, and abuse.

> Wayne: ... We want to take, take, take ... if there's one thing the white man always wants - it is land, he always wants land. He doesn't want some of the land, he wants all of the land... "We want to put a garbage dump in there. We want to do this, we want to do that, we want to build a military camp *in there*."
>
> "... That's what we want to do. There's hundreds of other places we could built a military camp, but we want to build it IN THERE! What we have over here, we're going to sell it to somebody for subdivisions ..." Yeah, that's ... very selfish ...
>
> You lose respect ... for the people who are being subjugated. You just take it away ...
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> Avery: So, do you agree, then, that if you're dehumanizing someone else, that you're also dehumanizing yourself?
>
> Wayne: To a point, yeah, to a point, absolutely. I don't know how you can have self-esteem.

Wayne's interview reinforces Pickett & Wilkinson's research because "people with insecure self-esteem tend to be insecure towards others and to show an excessive preoccupation with themselves, with success, and with their image and appearance in the eyes of others" (2010, p. 37). In other words, dominance and hierarchy govern settler colonial norms, culture, and processes because the population is insecure. This is because there are psychological, emotional and physiological impacts (pathways) from the settler colonial environment that negatively impact overall health (Kubzansky, Seeman, & Glymour, 2014, p. 512), understood through the view that individuals are not isolated from their environments (Maté, 2003). With this in mind, it is quite difficult to write about the topic of settler harms and poverties in separate categories (physical, emotional, mental, spiritual) as they are not neatly confined from one another. But, consumerism underscores how settler colonial environments require, and are formed by, ideologies of settler dominance and control, due to insecurity, alongside Indigenous subjectivity (Barker, 2009, p. 342).

Ideologies of dominance constrain settlers and Indigenous peoples in different ways. The interviews revealed many areas of dominance participants have observed and experienced, including control over space/land, language, racial definitions, definitions of Indigeneity, gender roles and rights, interventions in families, normative families, religious control, occupational control as agents of the colonial state, and the imposition of cultural homogeneity. It was noted by Brenda that hierarchies create environments that are ripe for bullying and abuse. Even when one is in a position of considerable power, the end result is a lack of autonomy because of the systemic nature of hierarchy. She described it as "stifling, it's the opposite of life-affirming, right? It just undermines the spirit, it's soul crushing!" The settler colonial environment and ideologies foster abuse and harm at the emotional, mental and physical levels, for Indigenous peoples and for settlers. For this reason, settlers behaviour need not only be regarded as willful, deviant or misguided because this behaviour affects the health of those that are dominant, in addition to those who are subjugated.

Settler colonial behaviour stems from the settler colonial environment of hierarchy and the ideologies that accompany it. In an interview, Caroline described how dominant ideologies become entrenched and reinforced through ignorance and lack of reflection.

Caroline: I think that if you don't choose to take the step back you will never have that opportunity to examine and heal and if you're always on top, and if you're always dominating, you don't feel the need to do that anyway and I think that's damaging long-term.

Avery: Because you don't really know that you're debilitated because everything else in society confirms to you that you're the pinnacle, so you must not have anything to examine.

Caroline: Nothing's wrong, I don't know what you're talking about. Everything's fine.

Thus, settler colonialism requires and shapes cognitive/affective processes of hierarchy and dominance and this can be observed through consumerism, inequality, scarcity anxiety, and settler insecurity.

In sum, privileging the physical (manifested through consumerism and selfishness) leads to societal inequality for human beings in the financial/material sense - and severe inequality for Indigenous people. Consumerism that privileges humans creates inequity for non-humans - land, animals, and waters – and this impacts settler's physical and mental health, as well (Maté, 2003, p. 9). The settler colonial culture of hierarchy, individualism and improvement is linked to economic and racial dominance. This section underscored how settler colonialism is a societal determinant of *settler* health because of how economic and racial dominance differently impact settlers' physical, mental and emotional wellbeing. One of the reasons that we do not examine ourselves as settlers is because we are separated from our homelands and, in many cases, our culture through the settler culture of transience. This is the next aspect of physical and mental harm that will be discussed.

Separation from homelands/culture

In order to dominate, settlers have taken many desperate paths. First, we have made claims that Indigenous societies are non-existent (*terra nullius*), we have denigrated these societies in order to justify ourselves, we have created systems of segregation and stratification, we work toward reconciliation to redeem ourselves, and offer (what we feel is) charitable or

incomplete compensation to Indigenous peoples (as though we have authority to offer this in the first place) (Bell, 2014, p. 104). Finally, we now attempt to convince ourselves that we are, ourselves, authentic and naturalized in these territories (Bell, 2014, p. 103). In essence, "what the settler resists is their own lack of authenticity and authority and indigenous reminders of those lacks" (Bell, 2014, p. 103). So, inauthenticity is disguised by asserting authority over what Indigenous peoples have and overriding it with a distorted reality.

A lack of authenticity and authority is due to the settler colonial culture of transience that disconnects settlers from our physical homelands, histories and cultures. Figure 4 depicts this as a poverty and harm experienced by settlers. While I argue that this extends beyond white settlers, Hargrave blogs about the context of whiteness and how the memory of home is a significant burden.

> Perhaps the central poverty we carry as white people is the lack of any meaningful sense or even memory of 'home' or 'being from somewhere' and certainly 'belonging to somewhere.' Many white people do not know where their ancestors are from. Or they're from so many different places that it seems impossible to know what to make of it all.
>
> White people have wings but not many roots. They know freedom from limits but not how good the warm and worn walls of deep culture might feel when the world has grown cold outside. They know limits as something that confines them and have a hard time imagining that the same walls might beautifully help to define them in ways that could comfort them when the world sends them mixed messages about who they are or who they should be. This lack of limits has fed our longing but starved our belonging. (Hargrave, 2015)

By contrast, Indigenous peoples live on and with their homeland. This is a privilege that settlers do not have. To illustrate from an interview, Tad described it as "an incredible gift and strength to be still living on that land where your own people came from and where you can go to the boneyard of your people and say, 'They're buried right here.'" Therefore, as settler colonialism is a structure predicated upon the settler colonial culture of transience (Figure 4), that directly connects to whiteness, settlers across the board experience diaspora and separation from homelands, traditions, cultures, "bonds of kinship," and languages (Hargrave, 2017).

The loss of culture and identity is a harm settlers have historically experienced and it is a poverty that exists today. Homi Bhabha has articulated how culture becomes problematic when "there is a loss of meaning in the contestation and articulation of everyday life, between classes, genders, races, nations" (as cited in Bell, 2014, pp. 93-94). As settlers 'settle' in Canada, we face our own illegitimacy (Bhabha as cited in Bell, 2014, p. 97) and there is a correspondent, insecure reaction that takes place. The insecure reaction materializes into erroneous narratives and memories that are reinforced in social networks (communities of practice, communities, faith communities, et cetera). In turn, these narratives and memories are reinforced by deficient education that rests upon European, siloed, binary thinking (Mental, Figure 4). So, settler narratives are indicative of settler wellness because these narratives signal a set of harms that have been experienced and arise due to the poverty of lost culture and identity.

The physical separation settlers have from their homelands and cultures is not readily accepted, known or acknowledged. It is more readily regarded as 'the past' that has no relevance for the present. To illustrate from an interview with Amy, an Indigenous interview participant, reference was made to a family discussion about identity where her settler cousins expressed, "Well, we're just Canadian, why does it matter where it all traces back to? Because we've been here so long!" Yet, one of the learnings that has been important to me, through Native Studies, is connecting to the past and realizing how it lives on in the present.

Likewise, "Jamie,"[22] an Indigenous participant, described settler ignorance and lack of acknowledgement/acceptance of settler colonial identity.

> Jamie: ... they want to entirely distance themselves from that relationship that existed at contact because they think, well, that happened and it's over and it's done with. So, I can move forward without acknowledging that relationship and I think that's harmful because, I mean, how do you connect with a person if you don't acknowledge the relationships that pre-exist both of you? And the biases that might be there? And I think it also is very harmful because it really sets them up to end up in a position where they might be actively be doing something that is harmful to Indigenous people and they may come off as not caring, but they really might not know ...

[22] pseudonym

> ... it’s very disconnective. Where, as much as colonialism is not a perfect, beautiful past, if you completely disconnect yourself from how your ancestors came here and the relationships that occurred, you can end up really ignoring a part of yourself and how you’re connected to this place.
>
> ... so you can end up … feeling like something’s missing. And, if that goes on too long, too many generations, you can have people entirely disconnected and I think that is very dangerous because you might be searching for a connection and have no idea where it is or what it is you’re looking for.
>
> ... especially if you haven't been taught that you are missing anything, that you shouldn't be looking for anything, you just feel angry and jealous and you don’t know why. That could lead to lashing out, that could lead to a lot of different things, none of which would be beneficial for anyone ...

Jamie’s interview highlights how physical separation is a harm that settlers do not acknowledge, resulting in erroneous intergenerational narratives (Mental, Figure 4), and how this could relate to fear and shame (Emotional, Figure 4).

Fear and insecurity

Due to fear and shame, settlers have sought to craft a different identity through a specific form of representation (Bhabha as cited in Bell, 2014, p. 94) - the claim of a dominant, authoritative, secure identity/status - that mimics “the authority of the centre” (Bhabha as cited in Bell, 2014, p. 97). Mimicking and denial are symptoms of colonial harm and poverties and they manifest(ed) through “appeals to community,” exclusion, marginalization (Kraniauskas as cited in Bell, 2014, p. 94), and appeals to naturalization by claiming authenticity (Bell, 2014, pp. 97-98). These dominating behaviours indicate a lack of settler wellness that can be related to fear, insecurity, and separation from homelands/culture. Thus, when settler populations make claims to authenticity that are baseless and contrived, such as these, we exhibit a “double-ness” (Lawson as cited in Bell, 2014, p. 101) and invisibilize Indigenous societies. Consequently, it is

important that we question ourselves, and the level of wellness settler mimicking indicates, as we exert authority over other societies in this way.

Often, erroneous settler claims to authority are written about in a condemning fashion. Doing so overlooks what these actions could represent - symptoms of the mental health settlers have and the harm that domination actually does to us, the dominant. Settler health and harms should be studied, in addition to the effects and processes involved in racism and settler colonialism, because it is imperative towards the development of a transformed society that has more just power relations (Young as cited in Birn, Pillay & Holtz, 2017, p. 621). Settler claims to authority result from self-deception, about one's individual and societal superiority and authority, and this reveals emotional and mental harms that have been experienced.

> That racism has a lot to do with self-delusion on the part of the racist, cannot be ignored (López 2014). At the risk of sounding sensational, it is not hard to see that anybody who holds or exhibits extreme, irrational, and unprovoked hate towards another human being, perhaps, also suffers from some form of mental disorder. (Mensah & Williams, 2017, p. 12)

Taken together, ideologies of dominance are symptoms of mental harm that operate at the macro, mezzo and micro levels. Notably, however, there are varied degrees of settler harm because of intersections across race, class, gender, and sexual orientation (Cho, Crenshaw & McCall, 2013).

To summarize, erroneous memories and narratives result from the physical separation from homelands and culture and the lack of legitimacy, fear and shame associated with this separation. Physical segregation, consumerism and dominance result in physical, mental and emotional poverties and these disconnections block the development of meaningful relationships between settlers, as well as settlers and Indigenous peoples, at the individual, social network, and societal level. Ultimately, these harms, poverties, and disconnections act as a barrier to decolonization and contribute to how settler memory is crafted and distorted. Consequently, in the next chapter, mental harms and poverties will be discussed by presenting evidence on the topics of mental stress, settler memory, intergenerational relationships, and restorative justice.

Chapter 5: Settler Memory, Repression and Mental Harms

This chapter will begin with an analysis of settler memory, repression and self-deception at the individual, family and national level, followed by analysis about intergenerational trauma. Next, the chapter will present evidence related to mental stress, social networks, settler power dynamics, and the workplace by comparing settler colonialism and patriarchy. The disciplines of Epidemiology, Indigenous Studies, Women's and Gender Studies, and Social Work will be drawn upon, in addition to participant contributions from interviews. Finally, this chapter will introduce scholarship from Philosophy and Law, including Indigenous legal orders, to discuss victims, perpetrators, and restorative justice in order to contextualize settler restoration, work towards genuine reconciliation, and endeavor to achieve decolonial realities and justice for the benefit of Indigenous communities (Innes, 2010, p. 4).

Loss of individual, family and national memory

There has been an aversion on the part of non-Indigenous Canadians to speak about ourselves as settlers, to take responsibility for "colonial genocide," and to "confront and speak publicly about the conditions of non-Indigenous privilege" (McGonegal, 2009, p. 72). This reluctance relates to the loss and repression of collective and individual memory on the part of many settlers (McGonegal, 2009, pp. 72-73; Memmi, 1965, p. 104). For instance, Victoria Freeman has researched the topic of settler memory, ties memory to homelands, and noted a high level of ignorance and disconnection from family historical memory that went beyond the grandparent level (pp. xvi-xvii). This has been my own experience when putting together my family genealogy to prepare for this research (Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2010, p. 35). I was surprised at just how long some of my ancestors have lived on these lands. Additionally, Freeman's observations are consistent with the thesis interviews, yet regionalism differentiated the level of connectedness participants had to their histories and ancestors. Overall, many thesis participants knew their immediate settler family history, including their grandparents, but there was far less memory or family awareness that went beyond the grandparent level.

In addition to memory being lost due to transience and severed physical ties to countries of origin, memory is lost through silence, repression, and falsification that transforms settler "usurpation into legitimacy" (Memmi, 1965, p. 52). Many interview participants referenced how

their upbringings, local experiences, and educations portrayed Indigenous peoples as historical, or unmentioned, resulting in invisibility to settlers. It also became apparent in the interviews that memory and awareness is very local and pertains most to place. The local context can be crafted to obscure the acknowledgement of oneself as a settler or oppressor, even when one may be able to understand oppression more accurately in another context. Caroline's interview demonstrates this obscurity well. She described her dad's awareness of his ancestors' role in oppression, originally as English colonizers of Ireland and later in the racial and socio-economic sense as white professionals living in Jamaica. To explain, Caroline mentioned that her dad recognized his privilege in Jamaica, where it was readily obvious (perhaps due to the civil rights movement in the United States and greater public consciousness). However, local oppression and privilege, as it relates to Indigenous peoples and Canadian settler colonialism, was not understood or communicated.

Similarly, Jane, in an interview, referenced how the Québécois understanding of oppression was related to the English domination of the French. The thinking was that "we were there first" without acknowledging Indigenous peoples' inherent rights to those territories and Québécois positioning as oppressors themselves. Thus, national and international knowledge about politics and human rights takes on lesser importance than one's experiences in their immediate town or region. This results in a settler belief in legitimacy and is related to silence, repression, and falsification.

Naturally Indigenous invisibility to settlers continues today, as Amy mentioned in an interview, where contemporary elements of Indigeneity, like music, are not known or discussed and the emphasis remains on totem poles and historical information (deficient/narrow education). As settlers in Canada, we have long made unrealistic, rather than realistic, judgements about ourselves and this is a poverty that we experience. While there is a felt sense of permanence and legitimacy among settlers, there can also be looming uncertainty about our "true nationality" (Memmi, 1965, p. 68). By example, 'Canadian culture' is popularly regarded as nebulous or non-existent. As we experience uncertainty, there is a hyper-nationalistic bend that takes place, through self-deception, narratives of victory, peacefulness, and accomplishment (Regan, 2010, pp. 102-110), and this overcompensates for and masks our lack of permanence and legitimacy.

Hyper-nationalism can be compared to how disadvantaged individuals, at the lower rungs of the socio-economic ladder, often exhibit characteristics of bravado and feel compelled to

uphold their reputation and status (Pickett & Wilkinson, 2010, p. 134). It is readily understood that an individual who lives in denial is unwell in some way, and that denying the truth about their own life and circumstances is likely the result of something that has occurred in their lives, being a victim of somebody or something, even as it harms others (Bishop, 2015, pp. 57 & 91). Therefore, the topic of settler memory, repression and self-deception has pertinence to settler mental health historically and in the present because it demonstrates how settlers have experienced mental harms and poverties within settler colonialism.

Settler colonialism takes place through systems at many levels and is co-constituted between individuals, families, and the nation-state (Moreton-Robinson, 2015, p. 53) of Canada. Annette Baier wrote that "social mechanisms of many kinds assist individuals in their individual self-deceptive activities, especially when these are coordinated with the maintenance of the preferred collective memory that is needed for the group's self-esteem" (as cited in Govier, 2006, p. 50). Hence, settler denial and repression of family memory represents a level of mental harm and impoverishment that stems from poor self-esteem and fear.

> The psychic history of each family is embedded in both what is said and unsaid; what is not talked about, repeated, or passed down can be as important, even more important, than what we are conscious of. There is the silence of those who cannot speak or to whom no one would or even could listen, and the silence of those who choose to remain silent so as not to incriminate themselves. There is also the silence born of the fear of revisiting pain or stirring up anger - our own or that of others. In the case of the colonization of North America, two kinds of memory, or rather non-memory - that of the family and that of the state - reinforce … our knowledge of our history with aboriginal people. But I believe that this history lives on in us, often unconsciously. Historian Richard Drinnon speaks of the necessity of exploring this 'subliminal mind.' (Freeman, 2000, p. xvii)

So, settler colonialism has engendered these silences, normalized them, and disciplined all of its colonial subjects, even while many are not aware of it.[23]

Thus, settler memory repression is harmful to settlers and is a poverty because it has an impact on family and personal relationships and it dislocates settlers from their cultures and homelands. But, it is also a *symptom* of harm, an indicator of our wellness when we consider

[23] See Bishop, 2015, pp. 39-40 on how ideological power takes hold.

settler colonialism as a societal determinant of settler health, because memory is seldom repressed unless there is trauma or shame associated with it. By example, a settler professor once remarked to me that settlers were far from being valiant, but rather could be regarded as the losers that had to leave their countries of origin. This is not the narrative that one normally hears! To further illustrate the propensity towards memory repression, Matt, a non-Indigenous participant, regarded settler reluctance to discuss our histories as a wall that is being put up. He pointed out that this wall could be understood as an indicator of harms. Through fear, shame, and the social reinforcement of silence, there is an impact on the minds of individual settlers and on family relationships. This silence and separation from place, culture, and ancestries impacts our intergenerational understanding of who we are, our relationships with ourselves and others (Laurila, 2016, pp. 5-6). In this way, settler memory repression is a harm and poverty, in addition to being an indicator of harm, and settler colonialism can be understood as a societal determinant of settler health.

Memory repression and intergenerational harm

It is readily acknowledged that an accurate understanding of history has importance for Indigenous peoples to better comprehend and contextualize their present reality and mitigate negative ramifications in their societies (Rice & Snyder, 2008, p. 57). Actually, the centralization of historical knowledge is common to Indigenous knowledge systems because "history not only tells us where we have been, but also helps us to understand the future" (Martin, 2012, p. 35). This ensures that lessons are learned "from the successes and failures of their ancestors and Elders" so they "do not have to constantly generate new solutions to modern-day problems" (Martin, 2012, p. 35). In fact, there is a wealth of literature on the colonial trauma that Indigenous peoples have withstood and are tackling today in their communities (Wesley-Esquimaux, 2009; Okazaki, David & Abelmann, 2008; Czyzewski, 2011). However, current scholarship does not account for the negative ramifications of unacknowledged history, and the relationship between colonialism and psychology, on settlers. Instead, there is a behavioural and physical focus that relates to Indigenous peoples (i.e. Indigenous land dispossession and bodily harm, personal and collective harm), while remaining blind to the mutual relational damage that has taken place - undergirded by the physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual wellness that settlers have.

As noted, memory loss, repression of memory, and self-deception *reveals* a level of intergenerational trauma, harm and "disharmony" (Ross, 1995; also Maté, 2003, pp. 36, 92) that settlers have experienced due to diaspora, sustained racial hierarchies, and participation in oppression. Settler experiences and health should be considered more thoroughly with this in mind. Yet, in an interview, Caroline noted that "it's true historically, Western civilization, we don't see what we destroy underneath us, you know, and it's like - introspection is not part of our culture." To advance this discussion, it is helpful to consider scholarship on intergenerational trauma. Rachel Lev-Wiesel specializes in the study of intergenerational trauma transmission and provides the following as a definition of trauma.

> According to the DSM-IV (American Psychiatric Association, 1994), a traumatic event is a non-ordinary human experience consisting of a serious harm or threat to oneself or relatives, or to one's property or community. Trauma defined by Gagne (1998: 356) as a 'shock that is deemed emotional, and substantially damages over a long time period', can have long-lasting effects such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression and somatic symptoms (e.g. Lev-Wiesel and Amir, 2000), not only on the individual who experienced it, but also on later generations of that individual's family. (Lev-Wiesel, 2007, p. 76)

Therefore, settler trauma should be considered and understood individually and intergenerationally because many settlers, including some of my grandparents and great-grandparents, left their home countries on account of "war, slavery, genocide and other political oppression" (Enns, 2016, pp. 2-3), even as their entrance to these territories dispossesses and terrorizes Indigenous peoples.

By comparison, Cynthia Wesley-Esquimaux wrote about Indigenous intergenerational "'historic trauma transmission' (HTT)" (Wesley-Esquimaux & Smolewski, 2004) and how there are behaviours, physical results, and psychological impacts from experiencing cultural genocide (2009, pp. 21-22).

> As in the Lakota Takini model, an underlying and almost fully unconscious or hidden collective of memories, as a result of historic trauma, or a collective non-remembering, is passed from generation to generation. This manifests as the maladaptive social and behavioural patterns symptomatic of many different social disorders caused by historic trauma. However, according to the proposed HTT model, there is no single historical

> trauma response, as proposed by Yellow Horse Brave Heart; rather, there are different social disorders with respective clusters of symptoms. In effect, then, social disorders can be understood as repetitive maladaptive social patterns that occur in a group of people and are associated with a significantly increased risk of suffering (for example, complex post-traumatic stress disorder, dissociative disorders, etc.). (Wesley-Esquimaux, 2009, p. 22)

To repeat, indicators of harm that can be observed include: 1) "non-remembering that is passed from generation to generation," 2) "maladaptive social and behavioural patterns ... caused by historic trauma," and 3) "different social disorders with respective clusters of symptoms." Settlers, to greater or lesser degrees, exhibit these types of effects and the differences depend upon the individual and collective circumstances.

Intergenerational trauma has emotional, mental, and physical repercussions for individual settlers. Elaine Enns (2016) has written about intergenerational trauma related to her Mennonite family history and memories.

> Over the last two decades, much research has focused on the intergenerational transmission of trauma in a wide range of cultural groups and communities who have experienced war, slavery, genocide and other political oppression. These studies have found that trauma can be passed down through both nurture and nature: biologically and epigenetically as well as through family systems and communal narratives. (Enns, 2016, pp. 2-3)

Importantly, harms from trauma can be embodied (see Maté, 2003, p. 230). Enns' research notes how trauma can be passed down across generations in four ways: 1) the development of post-traumatic stress disorder and the maldevelopment of cortisone levels, 2) through changes to chromosomes and inheritable genetic characteristics for progeny, 3) social/psychological transmission via parenting and family systems, and 4) through "'footprints' in a group's communal narratives - both what is related and what is absent" (2016, pp. 3-6). On this last point, related to settler memory and repression, trauma can be detected because "communal narratives are ... cleaned up" due to "social power dynamics" (Enns, 2016, p. 6).

To summarize, erroneous communal narratives are socially determined through strong power dynamics that demand specific accounts to be agreed upon and circulated (McGonegal, 2009, p. 71). Communal denial and resignation ignores the sickness and reality of colonialism

(Episkenew, 2009, p. 11) and there are resulting physical, mental and emotional harms and poverties for individual settlers. At the individual level, self-deception and complicity is harmful (Govier, 2006, pp. 50-52; Maté, 2003, p. 7) because it can cement various types of trauma. To illustrate, "when traumatized people are not allowed to tell and process their experiences in safe settings, it only deepens the trauma, and forces it to fester within. Therefore, silencing re-traumatizes and re-victimizes, but also negatively affects the community as a whole from generation to generation" (Enns, 2016, p. 6). Thus, settler colonialism in Canada, co-constituted by individuals, families, social networks and broader society, is a societal determinant of settler health because settler memory repression and self-deception indicates intergenerational trauma in settler families and this impacts settler health physically, emotionally and mentally.

Mental stress

Settler colonialism has ongoing features of hierarchy (competition), racism, settler social cohesiveness (often in racial or national groupings), heteropatriarchy, and civil unrest. These features contribute to mental stress for settlers, in addition to Indigenous people, and this is especially apparent at the social network level. Many settlers work in environments where their duties, and therefore their work experiences, are influenced by settler colonialism. Yet, the correlation is typically misunderstood due to settler colonialism's invisibility and a lack of knowledge about settler colonialism, settler culture, and values. As such, these settler colonial influences have stressful results for individual settlers, group formation, and group dynamics in the workplace (a social network). To explain, "regardless of stressor type, when individuals perceive external events (stressors) as overwhelming their capacity to cope, a sense of stress and negative affect results, which in turn triggers a biological stress response" (Kubzansky, Seeman & Glymour, 2014, p. 515). Thus, the stress response becomes magnified when the conditions persist and there is not an "opportunity for restoration" (Kubzansky, Seeman & Glymour, 2014, p. 515). The feelings and mindset associated with stress, whether perceived or justified, have physical repercussions and this is especially so when the conditions are ongoing.

As an example of conditions that persist, bear in mind the stress that settlers have today due to vocations that are structured by settler colonial dominance - social workers, prison guards, probation or RCMP officers, judges, foster parents, teachers, or government bureaucrats involved with Indigenous communities. While it is often asserted that settler professionals

believe in their own superiority (and this is undoubtedly true to some degree), I present the view that there could be more to ponder. For instance, consider how settlers experience feelings of helplessness (how many of these professionals have real decision making power or fully understand the broader context that they work within?) and experience violence to their own personhood within dehumanizing, institutional environments, even as these regulations and systems are implemented. Similarly, there can be mental harms and poverties from the commodification of land, animals, and waters in one's vocation. In addition, low levels of reciprocity, humanity or intimacy, within these dominant roles, has an impact on the mind. There is stress for Indigenous peoples within settler colonial workplaces, as well, for some of these reasons. Hence, settler colonial social networks, such as the workplace, impact the body and mind and this is amplified when the conditions (i.e. settler colonialism) do not end.

The workplace was referenced as a site of mental stress for three interview participants. References were made to the colonial nature of their employment and how these experiences cause(d) great frustration, feelings of helplessness, and disorientation. In an interview, Javed expressed it this way, "In a lot of ways I find I leave these types of encounters feeling very powerless myself. Which is fascinating, right, because what's being suggested is that, in fact, I have power. And my reaction to this is that I have so little power." In this way, settler colonial subjectivities have similarities to male subjectivities within patriarchy. Often, men cannot understand themselves to be privileged, or to have power, within a patriarchal system due to feelings of being "deprived, put down, disposable, and trapped" (Johnson, 1997, p. 174). While privilege can be experienced, for men within patriarchy or settlers within settler colonialism, it is also accompanied by the harm of mental stress that comes from powerlessness and feelings of being trapped. Feelings of frustration, helplessness, and disorientation are especially evident for those who understand their role within settler colonialism (or patriarchy), but mental stress is still present for those who lack awareness.

Operationalizing settler colonialism in the workplace is done knowingly and unknowingly, causing conflicts at the social network level and resulting in mental stress. In an interview, Brenda explained her own experiences with settler-settler relations during her work at a First Nation.

Brenda: I kept trying to change things to make things better. I worked hard to be responsive to the needs of the community. But, after three years I realized that it's inherently a colonial system. Fundamentally, the government isn't terribly interested in knowing the community's needs. For example, in nursing you usually do a community needs assessment [to determine the major health issues and challenges] as your first step when you provide service to a community and the Canadian government used to fund that in the 70s, but then it stopped because people started demanding things based on the information in their communities, and the government did not wish to be held accountable for providing this funding.

... So they stopped funding it, so then when we tried to do a needs assessment I was reprimanded for doing it, and I was told that it wasn't part of what I should be doing in my job, right? And the more questions I started asking the more I started getting bullied and isolated by my employer - not by the community ...

I was a threat because I was perceived as a troublemaker.

Brenda experienced backlash when challenging the colonial status quo, even when she did not fully realize the extent to which colonialism informed her working conditions. Non-conformity resulted in conflict and emotional isolation because of settler modes of exclusion and normativity in the workplace. Settler colonial normativity is enforced through social networks and results in mental stress, even in the midst of privilege.

The connection between settler colonial normativity, its harms, and privileges can be better understood when looking at male experiences within patriarchy. Privilege and misery can and do co-exist. By example, Johnson writes, "most of men's loss and misery is linked to what is required of men in order to participate in the system that privileges them" (1997, p. 174). Notably, studies on masculinity have shown how "men-men relations" are highly determinative of patriarchy and the power relationships that sustain it, in addition to men-women relations (Hearn & Whitehead, 2006, p. 45). To illustrate, Hearn & Whitehead (2006) describe masculine tendencies as being heroic, courageous, demonstrating dominance and power through violence, constructing "the non-masculine Non-Man" (pp. 45-46), dehumanizing those who do not

conform, being controlling, and celebrating male contributions and successes (p. 50). This type of masculinity critically hinges upon the man-man dynamic, in addition to the man-woman dynamic. It is "achieved by excluding women from space, emotionally or physically, in order to enact masculinity while avoiding challenges from women ... This space may be defined as *safe masculine space*, characterized by the absence of women and rival men" (Hearn & Whitehead, 2006, p. 47).

Applying gender studies to settler colonialism, I suggest that the settler-settler relationship is highly determinative of settler colonialism and its power relationships, in addition to settler-Indigenous relations. Hearn & Whitehead (2006) describe patriarchy as a process of neutralization that denies the agency of women and non-masculine non-men, dehumanizing them so they cannot "reflect back to him his inability to conform to masculinity" (p. 47). These are virtually identical to the processes that are invoked within settler-settler and settler-Indigenous relations, as settlers want safe settler space, dehumanize(d) Indigenous people, and do not want Indigenous people to reflect back to us our lack of authenticity. Comparing settler colonialism to patriarchy is helpful because it reveals the role of settler colonial normativity, social networks, and the associated harms and poverties within these systems.

Settler colonial normativity and social pressure, through peer pressure and social comparison at the social network level, results in mental stress. These social dynamics initially created, and contemporarily uphold, the settler colonial order that we have today. To explain, when socio-political and economic conditions are ambiguous, people look for conformity within their network and they look for mutual reinforcement. Where there are differences, often people will alter themselves to conform (Berkman & Krishna, 2014, p. 244) or social compliance, which can pressure settlers to dehumanize and abuse humans and non-humans, will be required to remain in the group. Accordingly, settler colonialism discourages bridging social capital, where crossing boundaries and diversity is encouraged. This is a downside to social capital that is structured for bonding as an in-group. Group dynamics feature exclusion, high member conformance demands, limited freedom, and "downward-leveling norms" (Portes as cited in Kawachi & Berkman, 2014, pp. 296-297). Additionally, there is little possibility for an alternative feedback loop when in-groups form. This further entrenches the structure of settler colonialism, at the mezzo level. In sum, often settler communities can be homogenous and have little reciprocity and intimacy (Maté, 2003, pp. 6-7) - variably described in the interviews as

superficial, judgmental, flat, and uncaring. While I posit that these groupings and characteristics materialize(d) to cope with, and advance, settler colonial life, in-group norms result in emotional harms (isolation and exclusion), emotional poverties (lack of empathy and connection), and mental harms (erroneous narratives). These take place whether or not settlers have a full awareness of settler colonialism and their role within it.

Settler harms and poverties are evident when considering colonial demands for conformity and compliance, that serve to reduce the feedback loop, and can be more readily understood as abuse. In an interview, Brenda pointed out that abuse is inherent to settler colonialism and the mentality that it fosters. It follows that settler colonialism, as an abusive structure, would result in emotional and mental stress, harms and poverties (Figure 4), while simultaneously affording settlers with privileges. To illustrate, consider Pickett & Wilkinson's research (2010) that drew data from the World Bank, the World Health Organization, the United Nations, Unicef and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development on mental health in 23 of the world's richest countries, including settler colonial Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States (p. 23). The countries in this study are all democracies and employ the principle of free speech (Pickett & Wilkinson, 2010, p. 195). Out of the CANZUS countries, Canada is the most egalitarian - the top 20% of income earners earn about 5.5 times what the lowest 20% of income earners earn. Comparatively, Australia and New Zealand's top earners earn about 7 times as much and the United States' top earners earn about 8.5 times as much as the lowest 20% of income earners (Pickett & Wilkinson, 2010, p. 17). When looking at the CANZUS countries compared to rest, the significantly poor levels of mental and emotional health, as reported to the World Health Organization, is particularly interesting.

Specifically, the United Kingdom and the CANZUS countries are the only countries that reported mental issues 20% or more of the time. The types of conditions reported by those who are considered to have a mental health issue include "anxiety disorders, mood disorders, impulse-control disorders and addictions, as well as a measure of severe mental illness" (Picket & Wilkinson, 2010, p. 68). In Canada and New Zealand, 20% of survey respondents reported a mental health issue. Further, in Australia, 23% reported a mental issue and in the United States, more than 25% reported a mental health issue (Picket & Wilkinson, 2010, pp. 66-67). By definition, the MIND study in the UK (National Association for Mental Health in the UK) "concludes that people who are mentally well are able to look after themselves, see themselves

as valuable people and judge themselves by reasonable, rather than unrealistic standards" (Pickett & Wilkinson, 2010, p. 65). At the risk of overstating this point, the stark mental health statistics reported in this study reinforce the theory that settler colonialism is a correlating factor of settler wellbeing, especially in light of this chapter's evidence about social networks, power, and physical harms and poverties, that all connect to mental harms experienced by settlers.

Victims, perpetrators and restorative justice

Now that settler memory, mental stress, and the intergenerational effects and processes have been explained, and in order to nuance this discussion, it is appropriate to consider victims, perpetrators, and how to be more restorative in the approach to reconciliation. Intergenerational effects from settler colonialism, settler denial, ignorance, and repression of memory are often written about with a condemning tone and a focus on behaviour. For example, Moreton-Robinson (2015) writes that "the repression of collective and individual memory belies the reality of overwhelming trauma that threatens settler self-image and it protects settlers from ontological disturbance" (pp. 51-52). While this may be true, and settler colonial land theft, abuses, and mistreatment are criminal behaviours that need to be condemned, acknowledged and rectified, it becomes counterproductive if it ends there.

Yet, considering settlers as victimized has inherent sensitivities and dangers. To illustrate, Trudy Govier has written about victimhood:

> Contrary to the simplistic presumptions of some popular cultures, the world is not divided into two sorts of people: good guys and bad guys, victims and perpetrators. Most individuals, and most groups, have a mixture of characteristics and act in varying ways in various contexts. It is even possible for a person to be a victim and a perpetrator with regard to the same act in the same context. (Govier, 2015, p. 32)

Regarding settler Canadians, those who had choice would be considered perpetrators because they left their home countries to colonize Canada - they were not under coercion, threat, or force (Govier, 2015, pp. 32 & 35), but came to establish a 'better life' at the expense of Indigenous peoples (Govier, 2006, p. 36). By contrast, some settlers would be considered perpetrators and victims because of their circumstances (being under coercion, threat, or force). Moreover, we can also become "victims of ourselves" when we make choices due to our own poor character and lack of personal balance, resulting in damage to ourselves (Govier, 2015, p. 176) and others.

Thus, considering different settlers through this lens nuances the common 'good guy' and 'bad guy' mentality that can infiltrate subjectivities related to reconciliation in Canada.

Restorative justice is an important lens for this topic because it focuses on relationality and how criminal behaviour fundamentally impairs relationships *in addition* to causing physical injury (i.e. bodily, financial, or property damage) (Ross, 2002, pp. 484-486). For instance, Ross (2002) contends that "every crime instantly creates a unique and powerful relationship between victim and offender" (p. 487) and the crime imprisons "each of them in separate but intimately intertwined ways" (Ross, 2002, p. 499). So, criminal settler behaviour impacts the victims and the offenders (Ross, 2002, p. 434). Therefore, "justice involves healing injuries that have already occurred and helping people develop the skills they need to avoid further injury to themselves and to others in the future" (Ross, 2002, p. 433). But, my emphasis on restorative justice does not negate the importance of repayments and other penalties that should be levied for criminal activities. Nuancing the view of settlers does not foreclose the responsibility that settlers have to advocate for Indigenous self-determination.[24] By example, in the Mi'kmaq legal tradition, perpetrator healing and rehabilitation is viewed as having importance, but taking responsibility for one's actions is of chief importance (Friedland & Napoleon, 2015, p. 34-35). When considering settler behaviours through the lens of restorative justice, the more common approach to settler-Indigenous relations and settler health can be nuanced.

Having nuance demonstrates that individual choices are not isolated from the broader systems that people belong to (Bishop, 2015, p. 57). Further, these choices have consequences for the individual perpetrator and their victims. Consider the various groups of settlers who left their own homes to come to these territories. They experienced difficulties due to language, new landscape, cultural change, social tensions, inter-group racism amongst settlers, lack of family, and impacts from diaspora more generally. A different view, through restorative justice and specific Indigenous legal traditions, shows how settlers require responsibility-taking and healing.

Having said that, the topic of settler harm has been controversial and may not sit well with some readers. On the surface, it can appear as though it exonerates settlers, endorses a re-orientation towards settlers over and above the needs of Indigenous people, or ignores the harm

[24] See Bishop, 2015, pp. 78-81 for an explanation on how individual and collective consciousness can be raised, leading to action and the process of liberation.

that Indigenous peoples have experienced. In the same manner, seeking to understand and restore ourselves, as colonial offenders, can often seem insensitive or misguided, where there can be assumptions that those who are victimized (Indigenous peoples) would then be required to forgive or would be overshadowed (Ross, 2002). However, this need not be the case and this is not what I am endorsing (see Govier, 2015, p. 201), as illustrated by the following excerpt.

> Christopher Browning, a leading Holocaust scholar and author of the widely read book *Ordinary Men* is cited as writing "explaining is not excusing, understanding is not forgiving. In other words, historical and situational factors may help to explain *why* people do certain things, but to say that they have this explanatory role is *not* to say that such actions are excusable or inevitable." (cited in Govier, 2006, p. 39)

Certainly, it is unjust that Indigenous peoples, as victims, should be asked to consider offenders' histories, issues, or healing. Nevertheless, "disharmonies" (Ross, 1995) exist and the driving basis, that I am suggesting, is found within settler colonialism (Manuel & Derrickson, 2017, p. 27) and the culture and values that support it.

To summarize, this chapter on mental stress, settler memory, and intergenerational harm locates some disharmonies in the colonial relationship in order to facilitate greater societal healing, better coping, and mitigate further injuries to Indigenous peoples. In order for reconciliation to be pursued well, "these secret gaps, occluded histories, and suppressed memories ... must be opened" (McGonegal, 2009, p. 75) despite the fear and anger that will surface in the process. To do so demands that we face our own illegitimacy on these lands and the benefits that we have accrued, even while those benefits are unequal and unacknowledged (Memmi, 1965, pp. 9-17 & 52). But, reconciliation will take more than behavioural change and settler education (Manuel & Derrickson, 2017, p. 27). Consequently, I contend that it will require the understanding that settlers have been, and are, harmed in order for this lack of memory to exist in the first place. The alternative is to propagate that settler memory is distorted *solely* based on sinister motives and could not possibly be a result and symptom of harms experienced by settler colonialism, a societal determinant of settler health. The next chapter will present emotional and spiritual harms and poverties experienced by settlers and then the conclusion will present a summary, limitations of the study, and how to practically apply the findings.

Chapter 6: Emotional and Spiritual Harms and Poverties

So far, my analysis has argued that settler colonialism is contingent upon a specific culture and set of values that contain a settler colonial political and legal system, all of which inform the other societal and social network systems. This is because settler colonial policies and laws are upheld through a social contract by social networks and individuals, as "social actors" (Mensah & Williams, 2017, p. 29), who are integral to its continuation. Moreover, I have provided evidence to suggest that settlers experience harms and poverties, first through participation in settler colonialism and, second, from the results of the structure. Ultimately, I allege that settler colonialism is a societal determinant of settler health. Until now, the primary emphasis has been on the physical and mental aspects and how they interrelate. The physical and mental aspects necessarily required some discussion about the associated emotional harms and poverties, but I will now turn to the emotional harms and poverties in more detail and present spiritual harms and poverties, as well, before moving on to the conclusion.

This chapter will discuss settler experiences with fear and insecurity, lack of connection and empathy, isolation and exclusion, and difficulty reconciling, including settler grief. These emotional harms and poverties will be linked to human relationships, societal control, and to non-human relationships. The concept of empathic settler consciousness will be incorporated here and emotional harms will be linked to experiences at the individual and social network level. Following that, there is a discussion about spiritual harms that settlers experience as a result of spiritual structures, authorities and social networks. This includes impacts from Christian universalism, spiritual neglect in the private and public spheres, and impacts within the Christian church from racism and dominance. The disciplines of Epidemiology and Public Health, Indigenous Studies, Sociology, Anthropology, and Women's and Gender Studies will be drawn upon, in addition to participant contributions from interviews.

Fear, isolation and exclusion: separation from humanity

Emotional isolation and alienation, described as a poor sense of community and a lack of connection with other people, is a settler harm that interview participants identified. Mutual and reciprocal relationships (between settlers ourselves and between settlers and Indigenous people) were seen to be hindered due to settler colonial ideologies of dominance, certainty, and

superiority. In an interview, Brenda pointed out that settler positionality is not something that can simply be stepped away from because it is inherently attributed to settlers within the structure of settler colonialism and it limits human connection. So, emotional isolation and alienation impacts the relationships that can exist with Indigenous people. However, interview participants experienced their (settler) power being equalized when they were in non-dominant, peer relationships with Indigenous people, as co-workers or students of a similar rank. Hence, a sense of community and connection can be fostered when equitable conditions are established. By contrast, Brenda pointed out that dominance is entrenched within the culture of settler-settler relationships and it is difficult to break away from, creating emotional isolation and alienation and disconnecting settlers from their own humanity and the humanity of other people. Further, many settlers do not know how to live outside of dominant, certain and superior frames of mind and this results in poor community and connection.

Fear and insecurity are contributing factors to the settler lack of connection. Another contributing factor is the education system in Canada, designed as Euro-centric, siloed and binary. For example, in an interview, Amy illustrated how fear is a determining factor of settler lives that are marked by isolation, exclusion, and a lack of connection and empathy.

> Amy: And they only look at what they can see, they don't try to see beyond or ask questions or see other perspectives ... I think that is harmful because … they honestly sometimes think that there's nothing else other than what they see in front of them. That's very harmful because they don't open themselves up to new things and they're very close-minded in terms of - scared, scared of things that are different and to try new things and ... that's very unhealthy because then ... you grow your ego without realizing it, over time, you just think more and more like, "No! This is how it is, this is how I view it. This is how the majority of other people view it, so this must be the right way."
>
> But how do you really question, you know, it's harmful because you're not thinking critically and you're not ...
>
> Avery: Certainty and an idea of things being static.

Amy: Yeah, absolutely.

Isolation, exclusion, fear and insecurity are emotional harms and poverties (Figure 4) and settler's emotional experiences are connected to Canadian education and result in a lack of connection and empathy, as well.

Furthermore, isolation and lack of connection relate to a myriad of settler socio-cultural issues that are not attributed to "settlerism" (Baker, 2017), like loneliness and substance abuse. Specifically, Tad identified alcoholism as a coping mechanism for loneliness and loss of culture. Tad pointed out that culture is a shared understanding that forms the externalized memory of a group. To explain, settler's respective cultures, that formed our externalized memories, were lost historically and are currently lost for many. But, culture is formative for humanity (Weisner, 2016). Accordingly, Tad expressed that white people, in particular, have spiritual and cultural poverties that are related to being separated from homelands and cultures. He noted that settlers are often impoverished to the point that their people can be totally forgotten about, stating that "it's this kind of orphanhood, culturally, and ... there's an immense loneliness that comes from that." Further, loneliness and lack of connection would also result from settler grief, repressed memory, and emotionally constraining social norms. So, settler losses of culture, and our actual settler Canadian culture and social norms, are highly determinative of settler emotional health and result in socio-cultural issues, like alcoholism, that are uncorrelated to settler colonialism.

I suggest that settler socio-cultural issues indicate emotional settler harms, including fear, isolation, and lack of connection. Socio-cultural issues can be attributed to lost culture that was replaced by the Canadian culture of hierarchy, individualism, transience and improvement. To explain, this is otherwise known as cultural violence - when a dominant ideology is internalized "that enables us to see 'exploitation and/or repression as normal and natural,'" operationalized through institutions as another level of violence, called structural violence (Galtung as cited in Fraser & Seymour, 2017, pp. 22-23). As Molly pointed out, in an interview, settler colonial institutions include social networks that are highly mediated, have firm structures and standardized limitations in place, and ultimately lack freedom. Further, Molly described how the structuring of power within settler colonialism "boils down to the ways in which we are socially controlled."

Social control, cultural and structural violence are harmful to emotional health because they suppress emotional expression and personal connection. This fosters socio-cultural issues like loneliness, alcoholism, anxiety, and depression. Anne Bishop writes about emotional suppression within societies that are engendered by control.

> Even in situations where abuse is not involved, emotional expression is heavily discouraged in North American anglophone culture. A society structured around competition for control of others requires the control of self, for both the controller and the controlled. Alice Miller writes that denial of emotions separates people from their deep moral sense and therefore makes people obedient and 'adaptable,' that is, capable of being used for anything. (Bishop, 2015, p. 51)

Ultimately, settler colonialism, as a structure of control, separates us from humanity, including our own humanity and the humanity of others (settlers and Indigenous people). The emotional results are fear, isolation, loneliness, and exclusion and this can be located when observing socio-cultural issues, like anxiety, depression, and alcohol dependency, that are unassociated with settler colonialism.

Lack of connection and empathy

Settler harms and poverties exist due to separation from humanity (our own humanity and the humanity of others) and separation from land, animals and waters as a result of commodifying mentalities found in the "domesticating mode of existence" (Hage, 2016, p. 128). These disconnections are fundamental to settler colonialism and occur in conjunction with capitalism, heteropatriarchy, and racism. All of these systems are contingent upon the settler culture and value system of hierarchy and dominance, creating fear and insecurity, as discussed, in addition to a lack of connection and empathy. In an interview with Molly, settler colonial processes were linked to consumption and taking. As such, living beings all become extractable and, in order to extract from them, human beings must disconnect from land, animals, waters, and from each other. By contrast, Leroy Little Bear (2000) has referenced Indigenous peoples' mode of being as one of renewal and participation with the universe, compared to the Western approach that relies upon control (Barker, 2009, p. 342). When these intersections are understood, the commodification and control of humanity, land, animals, and waters (Freire,

1970, pp. 44-46) becomes apparent and the result is the emotional harm of lacking connection and empathy.

Brenda, in an interview, described settler dominance this way: “It just cuts us off from life itself.” Brenda was referring to settlers being cut off from ourselves as individuals, seen as a lack of self-awareness, and from having an awareness of others and connection to others (lack of connection and empathy). Thus, the Western, settler culture of control results in separation from humanity and separation from non-humans. To provide another example, Jamie expressed it this way in an interview.

> Jamie: I think in a hierarchical system ... there can’t be very many people at the top and then everybody else, no matter where you are in that pyramid, you feel devalued by somebody. So, setting up value systems where … you value up only and not having an egalitarian ... people feel devalued and that impacts their values and their actions.
>
> ... So, I definitely feel that’s an area of loss for settlers and of course one of the values that I think is taught … [in] a colonialized education and worldview *is that you’re supposed to want to take and gather*. You’re not taking something because you know somebody that you care about needs it, so you’re going to get it and bring it to them ... you’re taking it for yourself, yeah! I can’t imagine if you grow up thinking that way about every relationship, how do you even have close relationships
>
> ... I mean, this sort of concept that every second has to have value that is nearly monetary, you know? You can’t just be for a moment and just exist and enjoy that moment ...

The culture of hierarchy, and the value of dominance and power, is central to settler colonialism and the separation that is fostered within it, resulting in a lack of connection and empathy.

Hierarchy, dominance, and power are harmful and have mental and spiritual results, as Jennifer outlined in an interview.

> Jennifer: ... my understanding of what is okay and acceptable comes from my dominant worldview because I am dominant culturally, then I have permission to hurt you in a way, and that is a harm, because it gives me permission to be abusive or to act in ways that are harmful to others. And again, psychologically and spiritually I think that does harm ourselves ... I think our dominant culture is harmful because we're okay with other people's cultures being subordinate, especially Indigenous peoples, we've given ourselves permission for that for 150 years.

So, the settler colonial value of dominance relates to superiority, a need for control, and being disconnected from one's own humanity and the humanity of others.

In this way, the culture of hierarchy can further be linked to heteropatriarchy and violence (Hearn & Whitehead, 2006, pp. 50-51) because control and a lack of intimacy are found in both.

> A person who values control over anything else is incapable of any relation that might weaken or penetrate that surface of control; thus such a person becomes almost incapable of intimacy, equality, or trust, each of which requires the abdication of control. Needing to hold oneself apart and above so that the appearance of control may not be shattered ... one is terrified at the nakedness and vulnerability that seem to hover beyond the carefully maintained wall of control. (French as cited in Johnson, 1997, p. 174)

The propensity towards control results in a lack of intimacy and unwillingness to be vulnerable or admit fear. This has negative implications for settlers within the systems that make up settler colonialism, such as lack of connection and empathy, and similar consequences can be located for men within systems of heteropatriarchy. These sections on fear, insecurity, and lack of connection and empathy have discussed the emotional repercussions from a human vantage point, now the non-human connection to emotional health will be presented.

Emotional and spiritual harm: separation from non-humans

Settler Canadian ideologies of dominance and superiority extend to relationships with, and treatment of, land, animals and waters and this impacts our overall health. To illustrate from an interview, Molly stated that "Canada has always existed primarily as a source of extraction."

Jennifer, in an interview, described Western environmental sustainability as hierarchical and ineffectual, “when you reposition it within an Indigenous paradigm, for example, you really do reimagine the balance of nature and our role in it and, therefore, what sustainability looks like in an unhierarchical model.” Accordingly, separation from non-humans, through a hierarchical, human-oriented culture, is central to settler harms and poverties. The extraction-based model of settler colonialism, that rests on dominance and superiority, is a societal determinant of settler health because it results in physical, mental, emotional *and* spiritual harms and poverties.

Hierarchy and dominance over non-human beings results in isolation, fear, and anxiety, as Molly pointed out in an interview.

> Molly: I think ... isolationism and anxiety extends to non-human forms of kinship as well, [to] the ways people relate to the land ... parks and conservation areas are a really good example of that.
>
> ... What land gets valued in what ways ... Banff National Park is such a great example, the idea that we need to preserve this natural area, but we need to preserve it in such a way that it is for human use ... and then you go, even ten kilometers north of Banff National Park and that land is for whatever. Right? That doesn't need to be protected and valued in the same way. Humans shouldn’t go there, there’s that anxiety about the land, too, and especially that happens in the mountains ... this fear of the unknown that is instilled in people. So, you see yourselves as distanced from the land, you are really disconnected from it. And then, the people that aren’t, the Indigenous people who are there, who live with the land in ways that are not fully comprehensible to settlers, then of course become part of that dark and scary narrative.
>
> ... that ... really takes away the sense of relationality and relatedness and empathy towards creatures that are not human or not seen as human. But then it also reifies extractive processes because then it’s justifiable to go into that land, or on to that land, and take whatever it is you want from it. So, instead of having that reciprocal relationship and understanding, you know, relations in terms of obligation, relationships start to be understood as power and control.

Accordingly, emotional and mental poverties and harms stem from separation from non-humans, facilitated by dominance and hierarchy.

Many people intuit the connection between land, animals, waters, and emotional and spiritual health. It reminds me of going to Radium, British Columbia and the sign that is posted there, "The mountains shall bring peace to the people." Javed highlighted, in an interview, that what "we're really missing out on in terms of respecting what Indigenous peoples have to offer is how to treat the land and understanding how important it is to respect land and care for it." Caring for non-humans is important for their sake, but there is a clear, positive effect on a person's overall wellness, including the emotional and spiritual aspects, when we are respectfully related to land, animals, and waters (often referred to as 'nature' or 'natural environments').

By contrast, built environments and extraction models are predominant in settler colonial lived realities, they are seen as necessary, and they are unquestioned as 'progress.' These built environments often separate humans from land, animals, and waters and have emotional, spiritual, mental, and physiological results. In an interview, Tad explained how there is typically a Western preoccupation with speed and progress; this requires altering the land. To illustrate, Tad described how settlers have moved away from trails towards the development of roads (a built environment) where concrete is poured to walk and drive on. Roads were often established from the trails Indigenous peoples used prior to European presence (Jobin, 2013, pp. 615-621; Tad, personal communication, January 8, 2018). Yet, Tad pointed out that built environments require far more maintenance than natural environments and 'nature' yields physical, emotional, spiritual, and mental benefits, rather than poverties. In addition, maintaining and using built structures is capital intensive, normalizes speed and urgency, and separates humans from land, animals, and waters (Tad, personal communication, January 8, 2018).

Moreover, Tad described how there is a high level of disease in society today and it can be attributed to the "civilized" way of life that interferes with land, animals, and waters. Tad pointed out how some parts of the body are no longer used, that would be otherwise, because of the settler colonial "civilized" life. For instance, overreliance on built environments physiologically weakens us.

> Tad: ... you have people who have lived outdoors in the elements and are just adapted to it and there's a certain robustness and health that comes from this. And when we're sheltered from every damn thing and don't touch the soil and the microbes in it and are so separated, we actually have become weaker and weaker and weaker, physically. And we don't do any physical work ...
>
> And then it all has to be *maintained*. There's so much effort to keep repaving those roads and keeping the structure in place, yet it's a structure that physically, spiritually, culturally, keeps weakening us.

Related to roads, Tad pointed out physical harm: concrete damages the knees, separates people from the magnetic fields in the earth,[25] disrupts the use of micro muscles in the foot, and causes physiological problems from a lack of topographical variety (compared to trails). Furthermore, Tad explained that "roads are good for marching, but they're not so good for sauntering or wandering." Tad's example of roads and trails links physical, emotional, spiritual, and mental wellness because it relates built and natural environments to humans and non-humans.

Roads and trails, from Tad's interview, illustrate how exhausting Western culture can actually be when seen through the purview of separation from non-humans and a more complete understanding of Western impacts on humanity (Maté, 2003, p. 223), land, animals, and waters. As Tad emphasized, the discussion of roads and trails is a real example, with physical, emotional and spiritual harms. But, I also see roads and trails as a metaphor for 'progress' that needs to be maintained, in its many forms, all under the guise that it *must* be that way, that it is *the only and best* way, and has *always been* this way. In summary, built environments separate humans from land, animals, and waters and this relates to emotional and spiritual health, in addition to physical

[25] To read more about "grounding" and "earthing" see:

Chevalier, G., Sinatra, S. T., Oschman, J. L., Sokal, K., & Sokal, P. (2012). Earthing: Health implications of reconnecting the human body to the earth's surface electrons. *Journal of environmental and public health*, *2012*.

Genuis, S. J., & Lipp, C. T. (2012). Electromagnetic hypersensitivity: Fact or fiction? *Science of the total environment*, *414*, 103-112.

and mental health, because connection to non-humans, introspection, and reflection are all necessary for wellbeing. Built environments and the extraction model of settler colonialism are seen as progress, yet there are negative impacts on settler health that go unconsidered because it is typically viewed as necessary, best, and the only way. In addition, the settler colonial mentality creates a chasm between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people when emotional and spiritual wellness, connected to non-humans and to holistic understandings of the self, are not adequately valued. Accordingly, this further solidifies the emotional difficulty in reaching true reconciliation.

Settler grief and emotional responses to reconciliation

In the interviews, it was evident that settlers experience difficulty reconciling and suffer from a level of grief when they realize that individually, collectively, and nationally, we are not who we thought we were and that what we were taught, in school and in families, has been false. This has been personally difficult for me and the concept of double ontological shock (Bartky, 1990; Molly, personal communication, September 28, 2017) has been useful. As a definition, it is "first, the realization that what is really happening is quite different from what appears to be happening, and, second, the frequent inability to tell what is really happening at all" (Bartky, 1990, p. 18). To illustrate, Bartky wrote about feminist consciousness development, something that has many parallels to settler consciousness raising. Specifically, the awareness of victimization and privilege are simultaneous and create a "divided consciousness" (Bartky, 1990, p. 16) because "many things are not what they seem to be and since many apparently harmless sorts of things can suddenly exhibit a sinister dimension, social reality is revealed as *deceptive*" (Bartky, 1990, p. 17). Thus, what settler consciousness and feminist consciousness share is the process of becoming an outsider to your own society and to people you love, as well as grappling with the "unemancipated elements" of your "own personality" (Bartky, 1990, p. 21). Double ontological shock illustrates settler emotional distress, at the individual level, when developing an empathic settler consciousness.

Empathic settlers (Dale, 2014) understand themselves to be harmed by colonization and see others' dehumanization as stemming from, and inextricably linked to, their own (Sartre, 1965, pp. xvii-xxviii). An empathic settler consciousness is productive, ethical, restorative, and critical to advocate for Indigenous self-determination and return of lands. Yet, it can be

entangled with a bundle of emotional conflicts at the social network level because empathic settlers can experience tensions and social pressures that disconnect them from their own society, family, and other networks. Again, this has been my personal experience. For example, it is not easy to know how to confront the elderly, as Matt pointed out within the context of his church, and this creates tangible emotional strain within social networks, including communities of faith. It is also very disruptive to settler colonial normativity to use alternative naming practices or interrupt the settler culture of politeness, superficiality, invisibility, historicization, and silence.

To illustrate further, many interview participants expressed how they have conflicts within their own families, with parents and grandparents, on the topic of Indigenous people, settler positioning, and reconciliation. In an interview, Brenda described her dad's views and misunderstanding about her decision to work in a northern First Nations community.

> Avery: ... I think you're saying, part of the intergenerational loss that we have is that we have these conflicts and difficulties even within our own families.
>
> Brenda: Oh, yes.
>
> Avery: When we're facing the idea of decolonizing oneself, because now ...
>
> Brenda: It becomes another form of disconnection.
>
> Avery: There are two strands of loss, right, the strand of loss where you don't even question yourself and you just have this racism and these narratives passed down, but there's also the loss when you have, now, these family conflicts?
>
> Brenda: Yeah, because it becomes another source of disconnection, right, when you have so many disconnected relationships already. And you don't need another one.

In addition to historical emotional harms, reconciling is emotionally difficult for different reasons in today's settler context at the social network level. Hence, the emotional difficulty in

reconciling crosses generations, young and old, in different ways and this depends upon the type of settler consciousness that a person holds.

An empathic settler consciousness can be conflictual at the individual, intergenerational, familial, and social network levels. It involves a level of settler grief. Settler grief is an emotional harm and was underscored in an interview with Javed where his work role and personal grief were discussed.

> Javed: I get very emotional about it. It really upsets me. The hypocrisy of these values Canada purports to hold versus what we - what I do on a daily basis - is very troubling ... I feel very betrayed and yeah, it's interesting to talk about this because I just feel like, "Oh I feel so sorry for myself" right?
>
> Avery: No. But this is actually a space where I'd really like you to, as much as you - not because I want us to feel sorry for ourselves as the main purpose, because it's not the main purpose. I have no conception that it's the main purpose. But I do think that there is a place for that that hasn't been made.
>
> Javed: … It's very emotional ... So, I watch Aboriginal People's Television Network news every night ... I find it, I learn a lot and it really makes me think ... so, I tell my girlfriend that probably once a week I'm crying ... just sobbing. It's very emotionally impactful to me to watch this.
>
> Avery: The news coverage that you've seen, you mean?
>
> Javed: Mmm hmmm ... So, the exposure that APTN gives me is different than my work, but it's not hard to make the connection between what I do and the problems that are in Indigenous communities, in large part, because of the work I do or facilitate, so ... part of my job is to enforce colonialism. So, maybe even more than most settlers I really feel there's this personal, there are things that I do, that my job tells me that I have to do, that involve ... enforcing colonialism ...

I think that I've worked that through and then I have to do it again ... that's a struggle.

Javed's interview highlights how reconciling settler consciousness to settler's lived realities is conflictual and emotionally difficult. Although, grief about one's complicity in oppression is more easily seen when looking elsewhere, like Germany and the citizens current relationship to Nazi history. Nevertheless, settler grief in Canada is an emotional harm that is experienced at the individual and social network level when establishing an empathic settler consciousness. This is a harm that will hopefully be generative and lead to action and change.

The final aspect that will be presented in this chapter are harms and poverties experienced by settlers in the spiritual realm (Figure 4). Now, spiritual authorities, structures, individuals, and communities of faith, as social networks, will be discussed. As a definition, the spiritual realm in this thesis refers to the metaphysical aspect, relating to the human spirit or soul, and this could include religion.[26] To explain, as a Christian myself, I did not specifically probe anybody about spiritual harms, feeling as though I would be an inadequate researcher for this topic. However, virtually all interviews yielded content related to spirituality, Christian dominance and superiority, and settlers being negatively impacted by or within the Christian church. The emergence of this data was highly influential towards Figure 4 being created in alignment with Medicine Wheel teachings. Moreover, it prompted me to do personal research that considered intersections between colonialism and Christianity, to see how they both have worked together and feature cultures of hierarchy and values of dominance.[27]

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[26] https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/spiritual

[27] Those who are interested may want to read the following:

Deloria, Jr., V. (1973). *God is red*. New York: Grosset & Dunlap.

McLaren, B. D. (2001). *A new kind of Christian: A tale of two friends on a spiritual journey*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Smith, K. H., Lalitha, J., & Hawk, L. D. (Eds.). (2014). *Evangelical postcolonial conversations: Global awakenings in theology and praxis*. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press.

Twiss, R. (2015). *Rescuing the Gospel from the cowboys: A Native American expression of the Jesus Way*. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press.

While settler spiritual harms are going to be discussed, there are significant physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual traumas and abuses that Indigenous people have experienced as a result of settler colonialism in Canada. Though Indigenous experiences with spiritual authorities, structures, and spiritual and cultural interference are not the focus of this thesis, the reader should be aware that Indigenous people were forcibly confined in church-run, state sanctioned Indian residential schools and were violently separated from their families, communities, languages, spiritual beliefs, and cultures for 150 years (Jobin, 2016, pp. 49-50; The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). This was enacted through laws, policies, and the intentional, joint actions of the Christian churches with the government of Canada. The ideologies that contributed to these schools are not eradicated in today's settler society, informally or formally, as settlers are still here and Canada is still a colonial nation-state. With these introductory remarks, we will now discuss some of the harms and poverties settlers have experienced in the spiritual realm, but this does not overlook the experiences of Indigenous people or suggest that settler experiences have greater consequence.

Impacts from Christian universalism

Individual Christians, communities of faith, and Christian institutions have held a lot of social power and have been influential in upholding Christian normativity in Canadian society. As such, for some settlers, Christian universalism has created deep pain due to the shaming they have been subjected to by Christian individuals and from the Christian church at the institutional level. In this thesis, Christian universalism refers to normative Christian beliefs that have been highly influential to the overall fabric of Canadian life. For example, Christian social power and influence has often been codified within settler institutions, like the Canadian education system and legal system (Harrison, 2014, p. 215). As a result, these norms relate to many areas of social life, including the definition of family, social and cultural norms, and beliefs around gender and sexuality that have been used to advance settler colonialism (Carter, 2008; Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013, 74). Due to its high degree of influence, Christianity can be seen to feature dominance and hierarchy, aligned to the broader settler culture and values depicted in Figure 2, and is tied to a belief in superiority. As such, it was clear from the interviews that spiritual harms have occurred due to Christian universalism, enacted through normativity and shaming by individuals and Christian communities of faith.

Christian universalism is an ideology that has undergirded violence. These ideologies have negatively impacted victims and perpetrators in different ways. One of the areas that was highlighted, in an interview with Jane, is the normative thinking around bearing children (within heterosexual marriage), marriage (being married to the father of one's children and staying married until reaching their death in order to receive social legitimacy), and divorce (being denied a divorce by the Catholic church). Another example, raised in Caroline's interview, is how Christian education enforced the English language. Caroline's (settler) mother was locked in a closet for not speaking English. Further, Caroline experienced shaming within the Catholic school system as a result of her name not originating from the name of a Catholic Saint. These examples of violence, committed by religious authorities, decision-makers, and Christian individuals, highlight spiritual harm because they have occurred within the spiritual area of settler life. Moreover, this violence has negatively impacted the perpetrators and victims, because the human spirit is violated at both ends of the pole, and this can be understood when applying the Cree and Métis natural law of *wâhkôwtowin* that emphasizes interrelatedness. Listening to interview accounts about Christian universalism, and its connection to violence, has greatly impacted me, caused me to re-think much of what I have known, and changed how I enact my own faith.

To be clear, the abusive actions of the Christian church, including the universal ideologies held within Christianity, have underscored and enforced much in relation to settler colonialism. While Christianity is not commonly related to settler colonialism, due to its invisibility, it is entangled with settler colonialism in ways that have differently harmed settlers, in addition to Indigenous people. Christian settlers who have been violent, abusive, or abused, and non-Christian settlers who have been violated or abused, are both harmed and impoverished, but in different ways. Ultimately, Christian universalism has impacted settlers, as victims and perpetrators, and this contributes to spiritual neglect in the private and public realm.

Spiritual neglect

Many settlers have vacillated between Christian universalism and eradicating spirituality altogether from public and private life. Canadians have become less defined by Christianity over the last century. "In a study by the Pew Research Center (2002) ... only 30 per cent of Canadians" indicated that religion was an important part of their lives (Harrison, 2014, p. 214).

In this way, spirituality is neglected for many settler Canadians. As a result, it has become increasingly common to practice private spirituality and religion, and keep religion outside of political and legal decisions, with the aim of having a secular public life (Harrison, 2014, pp. 214 & 218). However, swinging to the other end of the pole, where spirituality is disregarded and seen to exist completely out of the public realm, has created different types of difficulties. For example, in an interview, Caroline pointed out that it often feels as though there are extremes where "you're either an atheist, in which case nothing exists, and everyone who thinks something exists is an idiot and naive. Or, you're super religious" and there is not a lot of room for something 'in between.' In this way, private and public spirituality have been lacking and, to some extent, it has been jeopardized because of Christian universalism and the intersections that exist with settler colonial culture, values, systems and institutions.

Accordingly, some interviewees commented on spirituality and the Christian church by comparison to Indigenous belief systems. In these interviews, Indigenous spiritual approaches were communicated as having strengths and were seen to bypass the extremes of Christian universalism and spiritual neglect. To explain, in the focus group participants regarded Indigenous spiritual knowledges as largely nonhierarchical, as undertaken through an ethic of relationships and responsibility, and as taking a view towards the unseen that is contained within ceremony and protocol. To illustrate from an interview, Caroline noted that "Western spiritual cultures or avenues have become, in and of themselves, crazy capitalist enterprises" and felt that Indigenous peoples bring a strength to settler society by acknowledging that the spiritual side of a person is important. Likewise, Jane and Brenda, in interviews, regarded Indigenous spirituality as influential and meaningful for them and felt it filled a gap for them in their spiritual lives that was unfulfilled by the Christian church. Thus, for these interviewees, Christian universalism and societal spiritual neglect were seen as disadvantageous and Indigenous spiritual approaches were conveyed as having strengths.

I contend that there is a spiritual harm to settlers when extreme positions are held about spirituality, such as the binary of non-belief or extreme religiosity, because spirituality can be understood, through epidemiology and the Medicine Wheel teachings, as a part of overall settler health. However, often spirituality is approached through secularism (where spirituality is to be contained outside of the public realm). In an interview, Jamie highlighted the importance of greater cooperation and space across diverse spiritual views and groups, within the public realm.

Jamie: I lean to things like a multi-prayer or multi-use prayer center.

Avery: Sure, sure.

Jamie: because it sort of creates this sort of ...

Avery: Flatness.

Jamie: Well, it creates this connection, too, where - however much I value my spirituality is equal to how much I should value this other person using the space, their right to their spirituality. So, it almost helps bridge that empathy. Where it, it shows that there's an equal here, even though the colors of these blocks are different, we're on the same footing here.

Completely detaching spirituality from the public sphere, through the extreme of non-belief, is a physical, mental, emotional and spiritual harm because spirituality positively contributes to overall health and wellbeing (Berkman & Krishna, 2014, p. 263; Levin, 2003, pp. 50-52). Yet, the extreme of religiosity can be spiritually and emotionally damaging, as well.

There are religious social networks that would be deemed extreme, unhealthy and detrimental to settler emotional and spiritual wellbeing. This would be the case when in-group bonding is required and a closed, distrustful approach is taken. In other words, the type of group that suppresses 'bridging' social capital, where crossing boundaries and diversity is discouraged or forbidden. In-group bonding can be emotionally harmful when it produces fear and insecurity, isolation and exclusion, and disconnects human beings, resulting in a lack of connection and empathy. By contrast, 'bridging' capital features trust and cooperation and produces positive psychological effects compared to a closed approach (Kawachi & Berkman, 2014, p. 297). As such, when an in-group mentality forms, that discourages bridging, trust and cooperation, it can actually be better for an individual's health if they were to lower their levels of attachment to their community (Kawachi & Berkman, 2014, p. 297). To summarize this section, private and public spirituality has taken on less prominence for settlers in Canada. Widespread societal non-

belief and the discouragement of spirituality is a settler spiritual harm because spirituality is important to overall health. Further, religious extremism is spiritually and emotionally damaging to those within the group, and has negative impacts for those exterior to the group, as a result of a culture that is characterized by hierarchy, dominance, distrust, fear and exclusion.

Impacts within the Christian church

There are spiritual and emotional harms for Christian settlers due to internalized racist ideologies about Indigenous people. Racist ideologies have been embedded historically and are contemporarily present in Christian communities of faith in subtle and overt ways. Racism can be understood as something that "affects both groups and, by implication, society as a whole" (Mensah & Williams, 2017, p. 243). In an interview, Matt highlighted how racism, that separates Indigenous people and settlers, has contributed toward narrow points of view held by some Christians. This narrow view results in separation between humans and non-humans and emotional difficulties related to reconciliation.

> Avery: ... do you feel like there's been harm...when you have people that are separated from one another, like you've described, do you feel that we've been harmed in a way of not learning from Indigenous people? Not being exposed to those strengths and being exposed to those knowledge systems and ways of life?
>
> Matt: Yes. And it's also narrowed our own point of view, which I think is the part that our Christian denomination hasn't fully understood, either. And not just us, but the wider people of faith ... We did things very narrowly to ... whether it was to survive, to take something away from the Indigenous people, to make a point, whatever it was, when you do that with such devotion, to exclude a fuller, wider range of things, of your own learning ... your own interactions with nature and the land, the sea, whatever else. It hurts in the moment, perhaps only very small, in a very small way, but the further we are away from that, the difference is so much greater ... And so ... that hurt the way that we view them and the way that we interact with them and treat them. But, it hurts us as the dominant culture, the domineering culture, that we don't even know how to go about

> restoring those things and it makes us afraid to try because we screwed it up so badly before.

This excerpt, from an interview with Matt, demonstrates the spiritual and emotional harms and poverties that exist in the Christian church due to racism and the narrow views that exist as a result of separation. This harms the spirit - a spiritual harm - and is included because it relates to harms that exist for Christian settlers within settler colonialism and its intersections with Christianity.

Racism and settler colonialism have impacts within the Christian church and this is a spiritual harm when settlers and Indigenous people are distant from each other and experience racial hierarchies within their shared faith community. When power imbalances and dominant ideologies exist within Christian communities of faith, it disconnects Christian settlers from Indigenous Christians, it engenders a lack of empathy, and perpetuates narrow, misinformed views. Matt identified how there is work to do within the Christian church to change settler consciousness and relationships with Indigenous Christians.

> Part of what the future holds for us is figuring out what that relationship looks like with people who have been converted to Christianity, I guess, would be the proper way of thinking about it. And those who are still a part of the church and addressing what relationship we have to and with them in light of the overall Truth and Reconciliation work that has been done.

> It's hard to say ... what the future goal is ... but I feel like the church as a whole still comes to it in some form of – "we did really good for you" - and doesn't have the capacity to really look into it and say, "Oh, we really hurt you and that hurts us as well" because we're not on equal footing in any relationship, we still have a domineering relationship.

In addition to racism being a spiritual harm, because it impacts the human spirit and those who share a common religion, it is an emotional harm, as well, because racism and separation are

contingent upon exclusion, fear, and a lack of connection and empathy. Dominance and superiority, within the Christian church, harms settlers and Indigenous people in unique ways.

Further, dominance can be found within Christian theology, separating Christian settlers from non-human beings. There are spiritual and emotional harms for Christian settlers as a result of separation from, and dominance towards, non-human beings.[28] To explain, separation from land, animals and waters impacts emotional and spiritual wellness and detracts from Christian doctrine related to creation and God as Creator, as Matt's interview conveys.

> Avery: So you mentioned that one of the strengths of Indigenous people is connection to land and to the earth and animals, so you feel like that's a strength that we've sort of lost? Like, that's a strength that we don't have that we could potentially learn from them?
>
> Matt: ... It would be a strength because ... Christian theology has gotten so far away from God as creator that that's something we don't even understand very well because we don't really have any modern connection, necessarily, at least not here in the suburbs anyway, on how to grow food, how to be a part of things, how to care for things. And so, yeah, there's a huge disconnect in how we do that and how Indigenous people do that[29] and how to ... whether it all kind of, works in the modern world.
>
> Avery: Okay, so you're saying that there could be spiritual deficits that we could have when we're removed from creation because that's something that was created for us ... for a reason ... for our own wellbeing? ... And do you think that being connected to creation has emotional benefits, as well?
>
> Matt: Yes.

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[28] For a specific example, see:

LeBlanc, T. (2012). *Mi'kmaq and French/Jesuit understandings of the spiritual and spirituality: Implications for faith.* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Asbury Theological Seminary, Wilmore.

[29] This statement could be interpreted as essentializing, so it is important to note that Indigenous people have varying knowledges and experiences with land, plants, and animals.

Thus, another spiritual harm is found in dominant theology because there are spiritual implications when relating to land, animals, and waters in a superior way.

To summarize this section, the settler colonial culture and value system has spiritual implications for settlers, including repercussions within the Christian church. This is because settler colonialism is enacted with Christian dominance, heteropatriarchy (Arvin, Tuck & Morrill, 2013), racism, and capitalism. Through the mutual reinforcement of these systems, settlers have experienced spiritual harms and poverties in different ways. There are implications within the Christian church, there are repercussions outside of the Christian church due to universal ideologies, and there is spiritual neglect in the public and private realms.

This chapter has described some of the emotional and spiritual harms that result for settlers within the Canadian settler colonial structure and culture. Overall, the chapters that make up the Study Results and Analysis have described settler harms and poverties that surface within settler colonialism, alleged to be a societal determinant of settler population health. While these harms and poverties are largely invisible, they underscore the relationships and behaviours settlers have at the micro and mezzo levels and the systems that exist at the macro level. Thus, identifying settler health impacts, and considering how the physical, mental, emotional and spiritual areas of settler health are indictors and measures of the settler population's wellness, uncovers new motivation for settlers to willingly remember and "return to unpalatable memories that dismantle settler claims to belonging" (McGonegal, 2009, p. 75). Ultimately, the aim is to create alternative relationships that could make up a decolonial future. Hence, without the motivation of working towards better health and wellbeing for ourselves, or the understanding that there are tangible harms experienced by us as settlers, our willingness and perseverance to produce genuine reconciliation will severely lack efficacy. Accordingly, in the conclusion, I will summarize the thesis, provide its limitations, offer suggestions for its use, and suggest further research that it leads to. I will also highlight how settler harms and poverties can be important to decolonize in Canada, while simultaneously working towards Indigenous self-determination.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This thesis project studied settler Canadians and the settler colonial culture and value system - where settler Canadian behaviours and relationships originate from. It asked the question, how have we, as colonizers, been impacted by settler colonialism? I wanted to find out how settlers have experienced loss, trauma, and negative impacts in order to approach reconciliation more genuinely. These questions were asked because the "Indian problem" needs to be revised and recommunicated as a "settler problem" (Lowman & Barker, 2015; Epp, 2003, p. 228; Regan, 2010, p. 236).

Therefore, I have provided evidence for how settler colonialism separates settlers from our own humanity, the humanity of others, and from non-human beings as a structure that operates alongside capitalism and racism. Racism, capitalism, and settler colonialism are frequently discussed in scholarship, but the reasoning for mutual liberation is less clear in the literature. These answers are extremely important to effect genuine change. To achieve solidarity, I assert that settlers must acknowledge and become conscious of the harms and poverties that are experienced within the structure of settler colonialism. These harms and poverties are best understood alongside settler privilege, a concept that was redefined in this project. Settler harms, poverties and privileges are concepts that cannot be sufficiently understood when merely relying on rationalism, objectivity, or scientific inquiry. Rather, the understanding of privilege, harms, and poverties is best achieved through the discipline of Native Studies because it centers Indigenous worldviews, the importance of non-humans, Indigenous epistemologies, and ontologies.

Settler philosophies created settler colonialism and cannot be depended upon to provide adequate accounts of the past or present. Neither can they be relied upon to create alternative solutions for the future. Rather, Native Studies is uniquely positioned to study settler power and develop useful knowledge for reconciliation and solidarity work. The "settler desire for mastery, the expectation of always being in charge, thwarts and truncates moves to engage with indigenous communities as sovereign agents" (Bell, 2014, p. 171). Hence, as we move through the present age of reconciliation, we can only be successful when power is considered differently, when there is a willingness to relinquish and share power, and when we regard our

"obsession with control" differently - "as a form of compulsive disorder" (Aboriginal and Islander Health Worker Journal, 2008, p. 35).

> Although colonization has temporarily succeeded in suppressing and disfiguring Indigenous peoples and the way we order the world, it fails to understand the shallowness and foreignness of its own imperial discourses; the shallowness of its claims to universality survives only in an imaginary form ... Critical Indigenous studies with radical intent reflects an independence of will and the freedom and responsibility to construct knowledge beyond the ramparts of colonial taxonomies. (Hokowhitu, 2016, p. 95)

By considering power, control, and settler philosophies differently, we can establish better alternatives.

One of the philosophical questions that underpins this study, and that came up in interviews, is: As a settler, are you harmed or impoverished if you do not know you are harmed or impoverished? The evidence that I have provided demonstrates how yes, you are, whether you disregard it, find it counterintuitive, or are indifferent. Accordingly, one need not know or acknowledge their harm or impoverishment in order to be harmed individually within a settler colonial societal structure and its relevant social networks. This is actually the role of education - to illuminate what is generally accepted and taken for granted as 'normal.' Notably, Marie Battiste has written about this: "the interplay between making the familiar strange and the strange familiar is part of the ongoing transformation of knowledge" (2017).

To locate better alternatives and be transformative, this thesis project shifts the gaze to settler society, through Native Studies, in order to reconcile ourselves as the second people on these territories. This has been overlooked in reconciliatory discourses because the focus has been on taking action 'for' Indigenous peoples. For example, settler colonialism is typically identified as a societal determinant of Indigenous peoples' health. With the study results from this thesis, and future research, it can be understood that settler colonialism is also a societal determinant of *settler* health. To be clear, reframing settler health (harms and poverties) is made possible because of Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies that emphasize interconnectedness. Accordingly, this project centralized the Cree and Métis natural law of *wâhkôwtowin*, Elder Elmer Ghostkeeper's teachings, and the Medicine Wheel teachings, where interrelatedness within an individual is understood, and people are seen to have physical, mental, emotional and spiritual aspects.

Not surprisingly, then, settler harms and poverties surfaced holistically in all four of these aspects during the study. Some harms and poverties were located from primary participation in settler colonialism. Others were found to be second-order results from the settler colonial systems, culture, and values. Yet, all harms and poverties serve as indicators of settler health and wellbeing. Despite this, settler harms and poverties typically remain invisible because of the way that settlerism, settler colonialism, and whiteness are largely obscured. Through an awareness of privileges, harms and poverties, it is hoped that settler discourses, ideologies and beliefs will be nuanced (about Indigenous peoples, the Canadian culture and values, our place in the settler colonial political project, and ourselves).

As a result of nuanced discourse, there will be greater intrinsic motivation to genuinely address settler colonialism in Canada as people who *jointly* struggle, who are giving and receiving from one another with greater mutuality and reciprocity. "Authentic help—this can never be said enough—is that in which all who are involved help each other, growing together in the common effort of understanding the reality they seek to transform" (Freire as cited in Birn, Pillay & Holtz, 2017, p. 640). Thus, to realize a different future, I contend for a synchronized reconciliatory approach that will address the unique issues pertaining to diverse groups of settlers and Indigenous peoples, both.

An eye toward partnership is crucial to establish a better future. While harms and poverties were identified, it does not negate settlers' structural power and material privileges and it does not remove settlers' responsibilities to work towards Indigenous self-determination and return of lands. Accordingly, Ermine (2007) wrote about "the new partnership model of the ethical space" that can be "formed when two societies, with disparate worldviews, are poised to engage with each other" in a deep way (pp. 193-195). **"**The new partnership model of the ethical space, in a cooperative spirit between Indigenous peoples and Western institutions, will create new currents of thought that flow in different directions and overrun the old ways of thinking" (Ermine, 2007, p. 203). There is "space" between the nation-state of Canada and Indigenous nations that has often been thought of as empty (Poole as cited in Ermine, 2007, pp. 194-195). In this thesis, I have sought to uncover this space - the 'we' - and to reject us/them thinking. This space will be better recognized when there is an understanding of settler harms and poverties that are experienced within the settler colonial culture, value system, relationships, and behaviours.

The only way to achieve genuine mutuality and reconciliation is for settler culture and values to be transformed. Transformation would include significant changes to the colonial systems of government and law that uphold the rest of the systems because settler colonialism is a system that is inherently abusive, not only to Indigenous peoples, but to settlers, as well. With this in mind, settlers need to start conceptualizing and legitimating a story that imagines the end of settler colonialism, despite how difficult it may be to create alternatives (Veracini, 2011a, p. 212). But, decolonizing work should be undertaken in relationship with Indigenous peoples, should respect and follow Indigenous leadership, and center Indigenous ways of being in the world (Walia, 2012; Lowman & Barker, 2015).

To be transformational, settler colonialism and settler privileges, harms and poverties must be discussed unconventionally. We need to ask different questions to yield different answers. New discourses will contribute towards a different society with transformed policies and laws - one where Indigenous nations experience the return of lands. Understanding harms and poverties settlers experience(d), and the way settler colonialism is a societal determinant of settler population health, could assist in the development of better policies, laws and processes. These policies, laws, and processes would more effectively drive Indigenous self-determination and result in a better approach to reconciliation, for the benefit of all Canadians. Thus, turning the mirror back on settlers and settler society, with the aim towards constructive change, is a way that Native Studies academics can contribute to societal transformation and decolonization.

This study has limitations, but it has established some concepts to be explored in future research. First, it has been limited because this project was a graduate study that had time and resource constraints. Another limitation is my own standpoint as a researcher because I come from a specific background and position in Canada that influences the way that the data, the research, and the experiences are understood and incorporated. While I have sought to include voices from many different backgrounds, this research will be enhanced by other researchers' contributions, understandings, and experiences. As well, I recruited participants that come from an Indigenous perspective or who identified themselves as allies to Indigenous people. Therefore, if another study was undertaken that recruited a broader sample of participants (or that asked whether settlers were harmed or impoverished, rather than *how* settlers are harmed or impoverished), it would get drastically different results. To explain, this is because those that do not have this perspective, educational base, or who are anti-Indigenous rights would claim that

no harm or poverties exist and/or that Indigenous claims, criminality, social issues, et cetera, are the principal problems at hand.

Bearing that in mind, objectors to this research question and its subsequent theories would make the claim that it is political, biased, and unduly influenced by the perspectives of Indigenous academics and Indigenous rights activists. While I have avoided positivist framing and have subverted the propensity towards causality/proof ('privileging the physical'), it should be clear, through the multiplicity of disciplines used, that it is substantiated in academic literature. Furthermore, the research findings have been confirmed with knowledgeable participants on the subject. While Indigenous methodologies and researchers are often alleged to be political, upholding the structure of settler colonialism through invisible, conscious, systemic, and intentional means is indeed political in itself, though unacknowledged (Walter & Andersen, 2013, p. 57).

Another critique of this topic is that it centers the settler or the white society. However, settlers, and especially white society, are primary contributors to the problems that continue to surface concerning Indigenous people. Therefore, settler Canadians require more introspection and changed understandings about ourselves as we move through the present, and into a future, that is laden with conversations around reconciliation. To facilitate a different understanding, this study sought to examine settlerism, that involves settlers of every race (not just white settlers), by centralizing Indigenous worldviews, epistemologies, and ontologies to ensure that Indigenous peoples were the primary constituents. The purpose of analyzing settler poverties and harms is to move closer to justice being realized for Indigenous people.

As a result of this thesis, there are many new questions and directions that researchers and practitioners could take in their work. First, interdisciplinary collaboration would be fruitful to respond and contribute to these gaps in the scholarship (Okazaki, David & Abelmann, 2008, p. 102) in order to uncover the ramifications for those who colonize others, instead of focusing solely on Indigenous colonial subjects. Perhaps when this knowledge enters public consciousness, settler privileges will hold less appeal than they have now. Specifically, this is an area of research that could have useful partnerships with the disciplines of Psychology, Education, Sociology, and Epidemiology and Public Health. Second, it would be interesting to engage specific segments of settler Canadian society (i.e. youth, people of color, newcomers to Canada) in action research that has a more defined focus, as opposed to a study on settlers as a

broad category. Further, the results could be applied to conventional Indigenous awareness training that often teaches 'about' Indigenous people and conveys the message of Indigenous difference or otherness. Additionally, it could be integrated into post-secondary pedagogies and Indigenization efforts.

Finally, further research could be undertaken about decolonial alternatives and mutual liberation (when hierarchy, individualism, accumulation, improvement and transience are not the culture that is fostered). If decolonial alternatives were analyzed in a fulsome way, pertaining to settlers, then community-based research could be an avenue to test this theory, with immediate applicability and impact. To illustrate, then decolonial alternatives (culture and values) could be defined and applied in the governance of private, public and non-profit organizations through decolonial behaviours and relationships. By doing so, decolonial policies and processes could be piloted and tested to see how they have made a difference. As a result, this could reveal harms and poverties that exist within settler colonial institutions and networks by emphasizing the impacts of dominance and highlighting Indigenous strengths. This would be a synchronized reconciliatory approach.

A fellow classmate once asked me this question: How do you pursue decolonization when people oppose you? To this, I responded out of the Indigenous governance principles that I have learned - you implement alternatives and you enact different processes. This demonstrates *what it is* in order to convey it to people, reaching their hearts, *instead* of (only) trying to intellectually convince them. To explain, the process is equally, if not more, important than the outcome. My thesis project took on this rationale by using Indigenous research methodologies, epistemologies, and ontologies, to the extent that I can as a settler researcher, and approaching the research as a co-constitutional, knowledge generating endeavor. Specifically, it was not just about finding an 'answer' and trying to convince everybody that it is correct. As a result of this approach, interview participants have said to me, "Avery, you're making me think" and, "you asked some great questions that really got me thinking." I have, in tandem, gained immensely from these conversations - what a gift**.**

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Appendix #1: Recruitment poster

You are invited to participate in a graduate student research study about reconciliation.

The purpose of this study is to broaden the way that reconciliation is viewed by discussing how settler colonialism has impacted non-Indigenous Canadians.

The aim is to contribute knowledge on how reconciliation can be considered differently.

This study is open to people of diverse ages, genders, races and nationalities. You are invited to participate in this study if you have knowledge about Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations in Canada from your lived, work, volunteer, and/or educational experiences.

Participants will be asked to commit approximately five hours of their time (in total) to complete the following:

- A one-on-one unstructured interview
- Reviewing their interview transcript
- Participation in a focus group

In appreciation of your time, you will receive a $25 gift card for the interview and a $25 gift card for participating in the focus group.

For more information, or to participate, please contact
Avery Letendre (MA Student) at:
atill@ualberta.ca

Ethics approval has been provided by the Research Ethics Office at the University of Alberta.

This research project has received the support of RISE (Reconciliation in Solidarity Edmonton) for participant recruitment.

Supervisor:
Dr. Shalene Jobin
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Appendix #2: Information letter and consent form

Study Title: Canada's Second People: Reconciling Ourselves

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Background

I am inviting you to participate in a research project that will be included in my master's thesis at the Faculty of Native Studies, University of Alberta. My research is under the supervision of Dr. Shalene Jobin and will be made publicly available upon passing the oral defense required for the program.

You are being invited to participate in this study because of your experiences and knowledge of Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations in Canada from your lived, work, volunteer, and/or educational experiences. This study is open to people from diverse ages, genders, races and nationalities. Therefore, the participants in this study will contribute from their experiences as allies to Indigenous peoples or from their experiences as Indigenous people. Participants are being recruited through publicizing the study with RISE (Reconciliation in Solidarity Edmonton), through contacts I have at the University of Alberta, and through word of mouth (i.e. snowball sampling technique).

I hope that the publication of this thesis will provide alternative understandings of reconciliation in Canada. I hope that it will be used to reconsider our social, political and economic systems as they relate to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Canada. This thesis may be used by future scholars and policy makers on the subject of reconciliation. Therefore, the long term impact of the study could provide a general benefit to broader society.

Purpose

Reconciliation has become a common term in Canadian society as a result of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and their work. Reconciliation efforts have been aimed at educating the public about harms committed against Aboriginal peoples in Canada because of residential schools, remedying and compensating for these injustices, and addressing unequal social and economic conditions that exist today. Often, there is an primary focus on Aboriginal healing and little personal reflection by non-Aboriginal Canadians.

My study seeks to uncover new ways of assessing Canada's history and explore present relationships between non-Indigenous and Indigenous peoples. This research study will be included in my master's thesis. Specifically, I will explore non-Aboriginal Canadians' experiences as settlers and/or descendants of settlers. My primary research question is: How have non-Aboriginal Canadians been impacted by colonialism? Reconciliation efforts have been largely reduced to actions 'for' Aboriginal peoples so this study looks to develop a greater understanding of how mainstream society can be reconciled to this colonial relationship, as well. The aim is to broaden the way that reconciliation has been dominantly viewed.

Study Procedures

If you are willing to participate in this study, the time cost is approximately 5 hours. I will conduct a one-on-one unstructured interview with you (e.g. guiding questions with room for open-ended discussion) that will require a commitment of approximately 1.5 hours. One interview will be arranged at a location suitable to your needs (i.e. I will come to your office or home, for example). If you grant me permission, I will audio-record the interview to ensure the greatest accuracy in transcribing your contribution to the study. We can still do the interview even if you prefer not to be recorded Following the interview, I will email you a copy of your transcript so that you can review it. This way you can communicate any errors or modifications that need to be made before it is included in the thesis. You will be compensated for your time spent on this part with a $25 gift card.

The second part of the study is to participate in a focus group. The focus group will be held at an accessible location in Edmonton and will last for approximately 2 hours. All the participants will meet to discuss the topic together and I anticipate approximately fifteen participants. Questions will be derived from the main themes that surfaced during my one-on-one interviews. You will be compensated for your time with another $25 gift card.

In order to be in contact with you, I will require your first name and surname, telephone number, address and email address. I will keep your personal information confidential and will store your information separately from the transcripts.

Benefits

This research project provides an opportunity to voice your knowledge, experiences and concerns regarding Indigenous/non-Indigenous relations in Canada. It provides you with an opportunity to share your knowledge in a focus group where others could benefit from your experiences and you could benefit from their experiences. Participation in the focus group may connect allies to Indigenous people with one another and could establish connections among non-Indigenous and Indigenous participants.

All participants will receive a gift card to compensate for their time commitment to the study. It will be provided on a pro-rated based for your participation. A gift card in the

amount of $25 will be provided after the face-to-face interview and a gift card in the amount of $25 will be provided after participation in the focus group.

Risk

I foresee minimal to no cognitive, socioeconomic, physiological, or other health risks or discomfort as a result of this study. Though minimal, there may be a possibility of mental or emotional fatigue given the time and effort needed to participate in an interview and focus group and/or distress over thinking through answering interview questions.

There may be risks to being in this study that are not known. If I learn anything during the research that may affect your willingness to continue being in the study, I will tell you right away.

Voluntary Participation

You are under no obligation to participate in this study. The participation is completely voluntary and you are not obliged to answer any specific question even if you participate in the study. Even if you agree to be in the study you can change your mind and withdraw at any time. If you decide to withdraw from the study, your contributions through the interview and/or focus group will be destroyed. However, after you have completed the one-on-one interview, approved of your transcript, and participated in the focus group, you can no longer withdraw your contributions from the study.

Confidentiality & Anonymity

Dr. Jobin and I will have access to your personal information and will securely store your information (digitally with password protection; non-digitally in a locked location). Also, the Research Ethics Committee always has the right to review study data. I will respect all requests for anonymity and confidentiality in the thesis and will also acknowledge interviewees by name where consent is given and relevant. If you would like to remain anonymous, I will give your interview and focus group contribution a pseudonym and delete your name from all data. I will only keep your personal information attached to your interview results until the interview transcripts have been reviewed and accepted. Your anonymity cannot, however, be guaranteed when you participate in the focus group, as it is held in a group context.

Audio files (from the interviews and focus group) will be deleted once all participants have reviewed their transcripts. Non-digital data will be kept confidential for 5 years in a secure locked location following the completion of this project. Transcripts will be securely stored with password protection for 5 years following the completion of this research project. After 5 years, the digital and/or hardcopy files will be deleted and/or shredded.

This research data will be made publicly available on library databases for university theses. It may also become public if it were presented at a conference or public lecture and/or if parts of the thesis are chosen for publication in an academic journal. To use your

research data in a future study, I will require a new approval from the Research Ethics Board.

If you would like to receive a copy of the final thesis you can indicate this to me via email and I will ensure that it is emailed to you.

Further Information

If you have any further questions regarding this study, please do not hesitate to contact Avery Letendre by telephone at 587-991-4599 or by email at atill@ualberta.ca. The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at (780) 492-2615. The Research Ethics Office has no direct involvement with this project.

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. I will receive a copy of this consent form after I sign it.

If I am to be quoted, I consent to have the following attributes linked to my statements:

- My name:
- Other attribution:
- I do not want any of my statements to be attributed to me (a pseudonym will be used).

_____ _____

Participant's Name (printed) and Signature Date

_____ _____

Name (printed) and Signature of Person Obtaining Consent Date

Appendix #3: Unstructured Interview Design (questions)

Unstructured Interview design
Thesis project - Avery Letendre

For a settler participant:

Setting the stage/Remembering:

1. Can you tell me a little bit about your family history as settlers of Canada?

Possible subtopics:
   a. How long has your family lived in Canada?
   b. What countries did your ancestors originally descend from?
   c. Where have you and your family lived in Canada/what has their employment been?
   d. Do you know the circumstances that brought your family to Canada?

2. Has discussing your family history, as settlers and colonizers of Indigenous peoples, been an open topic of discussion? Can you explain how this has been represented and discussed in your family?

3. I have approached this thesis project by considering colonization through the lens of a master/subject relationship or an abuser/abused relationship. When considering ourselves through this lens, do you feel that there have been negative repercussions for your family due to being settlers? Can you describe how you and your family may have experienced intergenerational trauma or loss due to being a part of colonizing Indigenous peoples?
   (Researcher prompts: e.g. impacts of fear, hatred, feelings of superiority and inferiority, a colonial system that must always be maintained/is not coincidental, impacts on settler well-being, in addition to Indigenous peoples' well-being)

Personal reflections/Reciprocity and mutuality:

4. In what ways have you interacted with Indigenous peoples throughout your life?

5. Reflecting on your interactions with Indigenous peoples, how would you describe your relationships with the various Indigenous peoples you have known - were/are they characterized by regular interactions, segregation, or something else altogether?

6. When you reflect on your positioning in the interactions you have had with Indigenous peoples, how do you understand it to be shaped by dominance? (Alternate: If you feel your positioning has been non-dominant, by comparison to Indigenous peoples, please explain why.)

(Researcher prompts: e.g. 1) dominance over land/animals, 2) dominant economic, legal, political, social practices, 3) progress and improvement being motivated by the desire for

dominance, 4) dominance as exclusion/hierarchy - private vs. public, individual vs. collective, segregation vs. inclusivity)

7. Can you explain how this level of dominance has been harmful, or could be understood as being harmful, to you as an individual?

Centering Indigenous nationhood/reframing:

8. What have you observed and learned, through your personal interactions with Indigenous peoples, about the strengths that Indigenous peoples and communities have by contrast to mainstream Canadian society and Western ways of life (social, environmental, legal, economic and/or political)?

9. In general terms, Indigenous worldviews stress the importance of egalitarianism, non-interference, collectivity, reciprocity and mutuality. Based on what you have described, in what ways do you feel settlers, individually and more broadly, have experienced loss due to the hierarchies that are established between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples?

Indigenous feminism:

10. How could a more equal, non-interfering, mutual relationship be liberating for all people in Canada (settlers and Indigenous peoples)?

Recalling/Creating:

11. How could the concepts of settler harm and the importance of mutuality be important to approach reconciliation genuinely in Canada?

12. How do you envision a more equal, non-interfering, mutual relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples?

For an Indigenous participant:

Setting the stage/Remembering:

1. Can you tell me a little bit about your family history?

Possible subtopics:

a. What nation(s) do you descend from and belong to?
b. Where have you and your family lived?

2. I have approached this thesis project by considering colonization through the lens of a master/subject relationship or an abuser/abused relationship. When considering colonization through this lens, do you feel that there have been negative repercussions for settler families due to being colonizers? What kind of intergenerational trauma and loss do you think they have experienced?

(Researcher prompts: e.g. impacts of fear, hatred, feelings of superiority and inferiority, a colonial system that must always be maintained/is not coincidental, impacts on settler well-being, in addition to Indigenous peoples' well-being)

Personal reflections/Reciprocity and mutuality:

3. In what ways have you interacted with settlers throughout your life?

4. Reflecting on your interactions with settlers, how would you describe the relationships between Indigenous peoples and settlers you have known - are they characterized by regular interactions, segregation, or something else altogether?

5. When you reflect on the positioning you have had with settlers, and their interactions with Indigenous peoples, how do you understand it to be shaped by dominance? (Alternate: If you feel your positioning has been dominant by comparison to settlers, please explain why.)

(Researcher prompts: e.g. 1) dominance over land/animals, 2) dominant economic, legal, political, social practices, 3) progress and improvement being motivated by the desire for dominance, 4) dominance as exclusion/hierarchy - private vs. public, individual vs. collective, segregation vs. inclusivity)

6. Can you explain how this level of dominance is harmful, or could be understood as being harmful, to settlers as individuals?

Centering Indigenous nationhood/reframing:

7. From your life experiences, what do you feel are the strengths that Indigenous peoples and communities have by contrast to mainstream Canadian society and Western ways of life (social, environmental, legal, economic and/or political)?

8. In general terms, Indigenous worldviews stress the importance of egalitarianism, non-interference, collectivity, reciprocity and mutuality. Based on what you have described, in what ways do you feel settlers, individually and more broadly, have experienced loss due to the hierarchies that are established between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples?

Indigenous feminism:

9. How could a more equal, non-interfering, mutual relationship be liberating for all people in Canada (settlers and Indigenous peoples)?

Recalling/Creating:

10. How could the concepts of settler harm and the importance of mutuality be important to approach reconciliation genuinely in Canada?

11. How do you envision a more equal, non-interfering, mutual relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples?