CODE OF BIMADIZIWIN: THE INTERPRETATION OF GOVERNANCE AND SERVICE DELIVERY AT NOGOJIWANONG FRIENDSHIP CENTRE, 2010-2014

A Thesis Submitted to the Committee on Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts and Science

TRENT UNIVERSITY
Nogojiwanong (Peterborough, Ontario, Canada)
Copyright by Pamela Ouart-McNabb 2017
Indigenous Studies Ph.D. Graduate Program
January 2018

Abstract

CODE OF BIMADIZIWIN: THE INTERPRETATION OF GOVERNANCE AND SERVICE DELIVERY AT NOGOJIWANONG FRIENDSHIP CENTRE, 2010-2014.

by

Pamela Ouart-McNabb

Indigenous peoples and organizations have a long history of incorporating cultural knowledge and teachings into program and organizational design and structure. The approach to incorporating cultures into Indigenous organizations is not uniform, nor is the ways that they are understood. This dissertation focuses on Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre, in Peterborough Ontario and their approach to incorporating Indigenous cultures into their organization from 2010-2014.

The intention of this dissertation is to build knowledge of Indigenous perspectives of organizational structure, grounded in Anishinabe teachings. The teaching circle, vision- time – feeling –movement, guides my learning process and the structure of the dissertation. In using an Anishinabe framework the importance of relationships and the Anishinabe clan system are foundational to my understanding, and will be discussed at length.

The purpose and goal of this research is twofold. First, to show the complexity, intentionality and depth to an Indigenous research process; a process that is often nuanced in the literature. Second, to show how Anishinabe thought can (and does) provide a framework for a service delivery organization, in its governance and program and service

delivery. The thesis of this dissertation is that Anishinabe knowledge is not always visible to outsiders, but it was present at Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre in the ways they approached research, governed themselves and delivered programs and services.

Key Words: Indigenous Knowledge, Indigenous Governance, Indigenous Research Ethics, Indigenous Research Framework

Acknowledgements

I feel incredibly grateful and privileged to have had the opportunity to do this research. I must start by thanking and acknowledging everyone who contributed to this research, and supported me along the way. Mark and Wendy Phillips, your generosity, love and kindness has changed my life for the better. The teachings you have shared have enriched me and inspired me. Harry Snowboy, your generosity, faith and straightforwardness has helped me to continue this work. To the staff, board, clients and community at Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre – I am honoured to have shared space with you and to have grown alongside you. These words cannot possibly express my gratitude – Chi Migwetch!

To Professor David Newhouse, my supervisor, I wish to acknowledge your patience, guidance, insight and support. My committee members, Dr. Kevin Fitzmaurice, Dr. Mark Dockstator and Wendy Phillips, your time, contributions and support has been appreciated. I wish to thank my external examiners Dr. Michael Hankard and Dr. Asaf Zohar whose comments and questions enriched this dissertation. I would like to thank Trent University and the Department of Indigenous Studies for the financial support I received. I would also like to acknowledge the faculty, staff and students of the Department of Indigenous Studies who have taught me important lessons and pushed me to think outside of my comfort zone.

I wish to acknowledge friends and family who have supported me on this journey. To my husband, Chizit, thank you for enduring me, particularly while I wrote. To my parents, Brad and Linda, and my brother Tyler, thank you for encouraging me to continue

and supporting me in many ways to do so. To my extended family and friends, each of you has provided support to me in different ways, and I am incredibly humbled.

Table of Contents

Abstract .... **ii**

Acknowledgements .... **iv**

List of Figures .... **viii**

PREAMBLE **1**

Foundation 7

EAST: Vision - Introduction **13**

Research Questions 15

Rationale 16

Positionality 19

Other Important Notes 21

Approach to Research - Methodology **22**

Indigenous Methodology 23

Teaching Circles/ Medicine Wheels 28

Community Centred Approaches to Research 30

Refusal 35

SOUTH: Time - Indigenous Research Process **38**

Introduction 38

Indigenous Research and Protocol 38

Introduction to Participants 40

Relationship and Respect 45

Anishinabe “Bimadiziwin/Code of Life” Teachings 52

Methods 57

Research Ethics Board 64

Finding Meaning 65

Dissemination 65

Conclusion 66

WEST: Feeling, part 1 .... **68**

Introduction 68

Indigenous Governance Systems 69

The Anishinabe 71

Leadership 77

Protection/Warriors 79

Sustenance/Hunters/Providers 80

Education/Teaching ... 81
Medicine/Healing ... 84

WEST: Feeling, part two: Literature Review ... 87
Introduction ... 87
Impact of Colonization on Indigenous Ways of Life ... 87
Culture and Indigenous Knowledges ... 91
Urbanization ... 104
Urban Indigenous Organizations ... 107
Friendship Centres ... 112
Resurgence of Indigenous Governance Systems ... 117

NORTH – Movement, Part One: Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre ... 124
Introduction ... 124
Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre's approach to Governance ... 127
Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre's approach to Program and Service Delivery ... 133
Conclusion ... 153

NORTH – Movement, part two: Final Thoughts ... 154
Introduction ... 154
The Work Ahead of Canadian Institutions ... 156
Recommendations from Interviews ... 157
Recommendations from Observation ... 162
Implications for Policy ... 165
Planning Ahead for Seven Generations ... 166
Future Areas for Research ... 168
Impact on Me ... 168
Final Thoughts ... 168

Works Cited ... 176

List of Figures

Figure 1: Vision/time/feeling/movement 8
Figure 2: Doodim/Clan Teachings 75
Figure 3: Relationship Teachings/ Cultural Competencies Circle 142
Figure 4: Annual Service Plan Circle 143
Figure 5: NFC Activity Design 145

PREAMBLE

This dissertation will be presented in a somewhat non-conventional format. In order to ensure that it is logical to follow, this preamble section is included to introduce the format. The formal introduction follows next, in the vision chapter. This research has been based on a foundation of Anishinabe[1] knowledge and theory, specifically, teachings on clans, the code of bimadiziwin and the vision/time/feeling/movement circle. My goal here is not to "indigenize" this dissertation or my approach, as a non-Indigenous scholar that is not my role. My role is to represent the knowledge that has been shared with me in a format that is appropriate. I do not believe that it is necessary to analyze the Indigenous knowledge that has been shared with me using a Western theoretical framework. Rather, I use an Indigenous theoretical framework, based on discussions with the same knowledge keepers that I interviewed. However, there are places where I use Western thought as a compliment to Indigenous thought, as Western thought makes important contributions.

I have grappled with how to frame and present this research over many years. I had many conversations with Elders Mark and Wendy Phillips to discuss how they thought different Western theoretical lenses could work in this dissertation. Mark often countered with a teaching, showing me how Indigenous knowledge could provide the necessary lens. About a year after the interviews, I sat down with Wendy and tried to make sense of how to present what had been shared. After much discussion, we settled on several teachings that could frame this dissertation and could be shared in this form. For

[1] There are various dialects and writing variations of Anishinabemowin, I will be using an eastern Anishinabe, Chippewas of Nawash dialect throughout this dissertation.

me, this has been an interesting process - certainly one much different than intended when I started out. It has been a process of learning a different way of thinking using experiential methods. However, it remains a flawed process. While the component of spirit was very much involved in the learning process, it is not translatable into written form. Wendy recently reminded me,

> "Written form will always be limited because it is absent of spirit and the chi biwamin - it is not a living source, where Anishinabe tools of education and teaching are living sources…so transferring knowledge in written forms will create gaps and limitations."

I continue to grapple with this concept and how Indigenous Studies dissertations may be presented differently in the future.

What I have learned through this process is that there is nothing wrong with Western theories or theorists. Many more could have been used in this work and there are many that could 'fit'; however, I have learned that in order to analyze Anishinabe experiences, there is no need to look beyond Anishinabe knowledge. Using this knowledge, I do not need to make anything 'fit.' Using Anishinabe knowledge makes sense and contributes in both academic and community contexts.

The thesis of this dissertation is that Anishinabe knowledge is not always visible to outsiders, but it was present at Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre in the ways they approached research, governed themselves and delivered programs and services. There are five key findings that became evident as a result of this work:

1. Anishinabe knowledge is experiential, layered and earned. In order to gain understanding, time and relationships are necessary.

2. Indigenous approaches to research are based in ceremony, time and relationships. It tests physical, mental, spiritual and moral understandings. As a result, it is deeply personal and biased.
3. Anishinabe approaches to organizational creation and development are possible, but have challenges in Ontario and Canadian contexts.
4. Anishinabe organizational approaches can be subtle at first glance; layers need to be peeled back to understand the approach.
5. Mainstream governments and organizations have a responsibility, in the context of reconciliation, to make space for Indigenous approaches, as well as to take the time to gain awareness and build an understanding.

Key Concepts

There are a number of key concepts that I would like to discuss in this preamble. Some of these concepts will be revisited and expanded upon throughout the dissertation.

Teaching Circle: A teaching circle is similar to medicine wheels that are discussed in the literature and, more commonly, within Cree communities in the prairies (further discussion in Feeling chapter). These terms are often used interchangeably. Mark explained to me that all teaching circles come directly from the Anishinabe Creation story and can be found in various teaching methods, including on birch bark scrolls and using stones and bones. In these teaching circles, we start in the east and move through the south, to the west and to the north. They are also about balance: are you in balance with the east and the west, as well as the south and the north? In teaching circles, you move around the circle 4 times, hearing each component about 25 times. This supports various

stages of learning, as first awareness is built, then understanding, followed by knowledge and finally, wisdom (Mark and Wendy Phillips). The level of commitment in building this type of learning is incredible.

Robin King-Stonefish (2013) uses Ashawasega and King (1991) to explain this concept. The Niiwinkyootaseg or "the circle in four" is a foundational concept to Anishinabe knowledge and is recognized as an educational concept. The circle represents a "constant flow of energy, information, and is multi-dimensional" (King-Stonefish, 2013:14). She continues:

> "Our way of thought and all knowledge flows from the circle. In the transmission of knowledge, all knowledge from which Traditional Anishnaabe Knowledge flows from is multidimensional and this energy originates from the circle of life. Thus, this is the core that makes Traditional Anishnaabe Knowledge a holistic way of knowing. All knowledge flows from creation and exists from an approach that derives itself from creation. Each thought is a vibration of energy that is capable of existing within all living things" (14).

While the drawing of a circle with four quadrants appears to be straight forward and simple, to build an understanding and knowledge requires time, discipline and relationship. With thousands of teaching circles emanating from the Creation story, it is overwhelming the amount of wisdom that is required to carry components of Anishinabe knowledge.

Understanding Culture: Understanding what culture is and the feeling behind it when used in this dissertation is important, as culture is a word that is used frequently. Based on interviews and experience, culture is meant to include spiritual, mental, physical and moral aspects of everything. Culture is how you live your life, it is relationships to all of Creation, and it is the code of bimadiziwin. There is no separation between self and culture, because it is embedded in who you are. Indigenous cultures are distinct while

carrying some common themes throughout. Culture is about learning from the seven generations before you and thinking seven generations into the future. Culture is discussed more thoroughly in the Feeling chapter and the Movement chapter.

Responsibility: Indigenous knowledge is about relationship - relationship to the minerals, to the plants, to the animals and to other human beings. With relationship comes a responsibility to those relationships. I have observed and I have been told by Elders about the ways in which individuals often forget about their responsibility once they have received what they are seeking. This is disappointing and it is worth discussing how I understand my responsibility in relation to the knowledge shared in this dissertation.

Completing this dissertation is my responsibility. I asked for individuals to make time to share their insights and stories with me for this purpose, therefore it is my responsibility to see that agreement through. When I offered the knowledge holders tobacco, they shared with me knowledge, keeping their end of the agreement. Completing this dissertation is keeping my end of the agreement. Sometimes we take this act for granted, however offering tobacco is a significant and sacred act and it comes with substantial responsibility to both the one who offered tobacco and the one who accepted it.

I am also responsible for how I present the knowledge in this dissertation. I must ensure that I have stayed true to the intent of the teachings that were shared with me. It is my responsibility to go back to the knowledge holders to ensure that I have interpreted their words accurately and in ways to which they agreed. It is my responsibility to keep lines of communication open with them, but also to respect the time that I ask of them. This task is easier when you maintain a reciprocal relationship. This means that

sometimes there is an opportunity to ask questions and clarify understandings and sometimes it is time to chop wood, support ceremony or prepare food.

Responsibility will continue after this dissertation is completed. The Indigenous knowledge that I share throughout this work does not become mine. Therefore, if someone approaches me to speak about the knowledge that I have shared for the purposes of this dissertation, I am responsible for discussing that with the knowledge holders. It is they who should have the first opportunity to share those teachings with others, as that is their right and their responsibility, while mine is to assist in that exchange.

I understand that I am also not permitted to share the teachings in certain ways. For example, if someone was looking for teachings on the teaching circle that I use "vision - time - feeling – movement", I would not be permitted to provide them with a teaching outside of what is written in the dissertation. I would connect that person with the knowledge holder, so that the knowledge holder could decide if they would like to do the teaching for them. I am permitted to use the framework created in this dissertation in my own work. However, it remains my responsibility to be open with the knowledge holders about what I am doing and for what purpose. They can then evaluate if I should share that knowledge in certain contexts.

It is very important to consider any financial implications associated with the knowledge that was shared in this dissertation. It is important that I do not take this knowledge and financially benefit from it. This means that where the knowledge holder could accomplish the same task, they should be the ones to do so. This will require constant checking in and negotiation with the knowledge holders to determine what is permitted and what is not. The knowledge holders retain an ultimate veto as to what is

shared, by whom and when.

The key concept is that the responsibility to the knowledge that is shared with you is never complete. The responsibility to maintain a relationship to the sources of the knowledge continues if you are to truly carry forward in a good way.

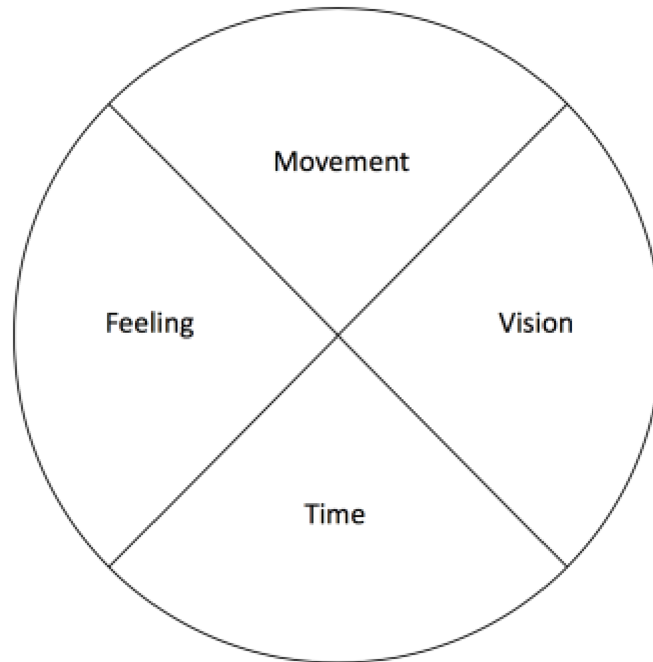
Interpretations are my own: I take full responsibility for any misinterpretations throughout this work. I am learning and building understandings of the teachings that have been shared, but do not consider myself to have knowledge or wisdom of these teachings – for that will take more time. However, I have spent significant time with these knowledge keepers, in particular Mark and Wendy Phillips, over the last seven years. In traditional Indigenous practice, it takes significantly longer and more intensive training to become recognized as having wisdom or expertise than in Western academic traditions.

Foundation

This dissertation is organized into four major sections, based on the teaching circle: east – vision, south – time, west – feeling, north – movement, Figure 1[2].

Figure 1: Vision/time/feeling/movement

[2] Teachings by Mark and Wendy Phillips and the late Wilson Ashkewe



This was one of the first teaching circles that I was shown and it has been used in a number of contexts during my learning journey. This is a fundamental teaching that traces back to the Creation story, and it is often one of the first teaching circles that Mark and Wendy present to students who come to learn about Anishinabe knowledge. Anishinabe teaching styles are not linear and there are many concepts in each component, which are tied to each other and interconnected. Below, I will briefly correspond Creator's Laws with this circle, explain some of the concepts, and then include my interpretation and how each quadrant is used throughout the dissertation.

Vision: The great laws were a component of Creator's vision, which include the foundation of values, beliefs and ceremonies of the Anishinabe, and the foundational concept that all life is sacred.

Vision is about balance and harmony. It requires us to acknowledge all the life that precedes human beings and all of the things that need to be in balance on the planet,

in order to support the life of humans. Vision is thinking about all of the preparation that will need to be done and the steps that are necessary to make the vision a reality. The vision also needs to be in balance with your own beliefs and values; sometimes it takes a significant amount of time to bring these into balance and move forward with the vision (Mark and Wendy Phillips).

I understand the vision in the east to represent the plan or the idea. What is it that you are setting out to do? What are the key components that need to be considered? Is this approach balanced? What kind of preparation is necessary? Does it value all life as sacred?

Time: The universal laws correspond to the component of time. These laws were developed before anything else and govern the solar system, time, matter, galaxies, etc. They will exist for as long as the universe does and human beings are to function within these laws and do our best to uphold them.

Everything has its own time, place, purpose and spirit. For human beings, our only right in Creation is a loan of time. Time is dedicated to building understanding and relationships, as well as governing when we do ceremony, be it during the day or during the year. For example, if you want to collect maple sap, then you do it when the sap is running. Human beings do not dictate when that happens, rather, Creation does. Humans have to be pay attention to their surroundings to understand the signs and prepare accordingly (Mark and Wendy Phillips).

I understand time as building the foundation for the idea to grow. It is contemplating, how much time it will take? What relationships will be involved? What protocols will be required?

Feeling: The natural laws are also in the west. They govern the Earth's seasons, the sun, and the moon, which in turn governs the cycles of minerals, plants, animals and humans.

The west also includes connection to spirit. The Anishinabe use ceremony as a way of getting to a place of spirit and feeling, as well as a space to heal and bring values into balance again. As a result of colonization, specifically residential schools, many Indigenous people have challenges with their connection to feeling. It is important to re-educate people so they can channel their anger and rage into something positive. This requires getting past fear and, in many cases, getting past the fear of Indigenous cultures, where people were taught negative things about their ways of being (Mark and Wendy Phillips).

I understand the western quadrant to be about what is known, gathering information, tools and resources, in addition to following through on the plan. It allows people to overcome fear and road blocks, at the same time as it re-educates community members in Indigenous ways of knowing. Re-learning and reaffirming these ways can help move communities forward in a good way.

Movement: The tribal laws are in the north, which are distinct from nation to nation. For the Anishinabe in this part of Ontario, murder, incest and rape were among actions that would violate tribal law. The clan system enforces the tribal laws and oversees the all other laws (great, universal, natural), along with their enforcement.

Movement is about how you bring something into reality. It is the process of putting the vision, the time and the feeling into an action. How does it work and what are the end results? The hope is that movement brings you to a place where you can

demonstrate growth and then, eventually, wisdom. Movement becomes a demonstration of your values and beliefs (Mark and Wendy Phillips).

I understand this to be about moving the vision or idea forward. It builds upon all of the relationships and time, as well as information and feelings, to see through the vision in a good way. However, movement is not seen as an ending, but a new beginning, as it leads into a new or revised vision, where you contemplate successes and improvements.

Organization

Following this preamble, there is an introductory chapter which outlines the vision for this dissertation and includes discussion of the approach to this research, along with Indigenous research processes and community- driven research. The second chapter will focus on the Southern direction and time. It will focus on the time taken to build relationships that have created the foundation for this dissertation. This section will explore the research question: What is an Indigenous research process, as defined by Elders present at Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre?

The Southern direction chapter is followed by the Western Direction and Feeling, which is divided into two parts. The first part provides context to the Indigenous governance aspects, where I study Indigenous governance and community structures that existed prior to contact. This section will rely heavily on academic writings, as well as teachings by Mark and Wendy Phillips.

The second section of the Feeling chapter will reveal the effects of colonization on Indigenous and urban communities in Canada, urbanization, urban Indigenous

organization development, and the development of Friendship Centres. This section stands in place of a separate literature review chapter.

The Movement chapter will answer the following research questions: What are the understandings of culture that are held by Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre's staff and board? How does Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre interpret their cultural programming? What are the implications for the future development of Friendship Centre governance and programs?

This chapter will be divided into two sections. The first section of the chapter will focus in on Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre and their approach to governance and program delivery based in the Anishinabe clan system. It will then provide an analysis of interviews conducted with the board and staff of the Friendship Centre, as well as the programmatic framework used by the organization.

In the final section, the future of Friendship Centre governance will be explored. Based on my connection to this organization and my experience working with them, policy recommendations for moving forward will be made. While this chapter will attempt to consider seven generations ahead, the research questions were not designed to do this justice. In addition, this chapter will act as a conclusion, bringing together the key ideas presented and a revisioning component, offering suggestions for further research.

EAST: Vision - Introduction

Indigenous[3] peoples and organizations have a long history of incorporating cultural knowledge and teachings into program and organizational design and structure. Often times, particularly in the past, this incorporation of cultural knowledge and teachings is not formally acknowledged. This lack of acknowledgement stems from generations of colonization and government policies, which prohibited Indigenous peoples from practicing their cultures. While this deterred many Indigenous peoples, it did not deter all and Indigenous people have continued to practice their cultures. Now, with a backdrop of reconciliation, there is more recognition of the consequences that remain as a result of attempting to separate Indigenous peoples and communities from their cultures.

This first formal chapter is about vision. This chapter will consider all of the preparation that took place to do the research and the steps that are required to bring the vision into reality. Based on teachings from Mark and Wendy Phillips, I understand the vision in the east to represent the plan or the idea. What is it that you are setting out to do? What are the key components that need to be considered? Is this a balanced approach? What kind of preparation is necessary? Does it value all life as sacred?

Before Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) released its final report on residential schools, in December 2015, reconciliation was happening to varying degrees in communities and organizations across Canada. The National Association of Friendship Centres has stated that Friendship Centres have always been spaces for

[3] Throughout this work I use Indigenous and Aboriginal interchangeably. Broadly, I am referring to the First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples and nations that live in the area that is now recognized as Canada.

reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples (NAFC, 2015). While providing space for reconciliation, Friendship Centres and other Indigenous organizations and communities have used various strategies to ensure that their approach and programs have Indigenous cultures at their core. This aligns with many of the TRC's 94 Calls to Action, which outline the necessity for better understandings of Indigenous peoples and their cultures. Many Indigenous organizations and Friendship Centres often formally acknowledge the centrality of Indigenous cultures in their work.

The approach to incorporating cultures into Indigenous organizations is not uniform, nor are the ways in which they are understood. A particular challenge is the way that "culture" is understood by governments and by Indigenous communities. This causes frustration from all parties when projects, policies and programs are implemented. This misunderstanding of culture can have negative implications for the people and communities upon which these programs, policies and projects are focused. This is particularly complex in urban communities, where members of various Indigenous communities live. The Indigenous organizations that serve them must walk a fine line between pan-Indianism and focusing too heavily on the teachings of one nation or community. In order to achieve effective public policy for urban Indigenous organizations, governments and organizations must have effective understandings regarding the programs that are offered to the urban Indigenous population.

Each community and organization's approach to incorporating culture will be slightly different. It must be this way to account for local knowledge, local practices and the local community. This dissertation focuses on Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre, in Peterborough Ontario and their approach to incorporating Indigenous cultures into their

organization from 2010-2014. The formal interviews occurred in 2014, however, I was present in the organization in a variety of different roles and capacities beginning in 2010. In 2011, I began discussing the potential of creating my dissertation research with the organization. The significance of this work is as much in the research process that revealed itself, as it is in the discussion of organizational structure.

The goal of this research is to show Indigenous knowledge in practice and it has two major parts. First, to show the complexity, intentionality and depth to an Indigenous research process; a process that is often nuanced in the literature. Second, to show how Anishinabe thought can, and does, provide a structure for a service delivery organization in its governance, programming and service delivery. There are many misconceptions about the applicability of Indigenous knowledges in contemporary times, by non-Indigenous people and organizations, by governments, and even by some Indigenous peoples. While many seem to be open to Indigenous inclusion, I am not convinced that there is much understanding to what it means. My hope is that this work can show the application of Indigenous knowledge in a research process and in Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre. Anishinabe knowledge is not always visible to outsiders, but it was present at Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre in the ways they approached research, governed themselves and delivered programs and services.

Research Questions

1. What is an Indigenous research process, as defined by Elders present at Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre?

2. What are the understandings of culture that are held by Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre's staff and board?
3. How does Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre interpret their cultural programming?
4. What are the implications for the future development of Friendship Centre governance and programs?

The research questions above are described throughout the upcoming chapters. It is important to note that the relationships developed are central the research approach and well as shaping the research process. The idea that the researcher cannot and should not separate themselves from the research is a key principle of community-driven research (OFIFC, 2012). For this reason, I will use 'I' throughout this dissertation and will situate this work in my experiences and understandings.

Rationale

This research project has emerged out of academic and personal interest. I spent the spring and summer of 2010 doing my practicum[4] at Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre (NFC) in Peterborough, Ontario. During this time, I worked with some of the programs of the centre and began to see the challenges that exist when delivering cultural programs, which challenged both government and Friendship Centre's interpretation of Indigenous cultures. Through discussion of this nature with Friendship Centre staff, and particularly the Executive Director, I/we decided to shift this research to understand these interpretations. As the project evolved, so did the nature of the work, to include a

[4] The Indigenous Studies PhD program at Trent University requires all of its students to undertake a practicum with an Indigenous organization or community in their second year.

reflection on what research is in an Indigenous context and the expectations associated with it.

The personal side of my connection to this research project is my own growth in understanding what Indigenous, and particularly Anishinabe, cultures mean. My personal journey began when I arrived at Trent, but my understanding truly began with my practicum at NFC when the Executive Director, Wendy Phillips, told me that my placement would include being out at spring fasting camp in the spring of 2010. This fasting camp changed my perceptions of what I understood Indigenous cultures to be and, since then, personal experiences and programming at NFC has greatly enhanced that understanding. This change has not only taken place within me, but also within the clients of NFC. As a result of the changes in the youth, in particular, I feel that it is extremely important to create understanding between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples and organizations, so that Friendship Centres (and other Indigenous organizations and communities) can continue to offer individuals and communities chances to understand and practice their cultures.

The academic interest in urban Indigenous issues started with the work of my Master's research and has continued. The rationale for this academic work is that it is important to recognize that Indigenous peoples' relationships with governments are unique and different from those living away from urban areas. Understanding how these relationships impact the ability of Friendship Centres to offer vital programs and services to urban Indigenous peoples is critical. Deeper understanding of how Indigenous peoples use these organizations as ways to reaffirm their cultural knowledge and beliefs is critical

to understanding the distinctive challenges that urban Indigenous people and organizations face and overcome.

When Friendship Centres were first created, they were created to act as referral agencies, however Friendship Centres in many areas provided services beyond this scope. Friendship Centres are now seen as permanent spaces in urban areas and the types of services and programming that they offer has expanded and currently focuses on the needs of urban Indigenous peoples. Culturally based programming has become a focal point more recently[5] for the ways that services and programs are delivered. However, there seems to be a level of disconnection in the understanding of what culture means between Friendship Centres and various stakeholders that are important to their continued success.

Through this research and the relationships around it, I have been provided the honour and opportunity to understand what "culturally based programming" means. This has meant attending various ceremonies and listening to many teachings over several years to build these relationships and understandings. It has placed me in a unique position as a non-Indigenous person with insider knowledge. This approach to learning has taken me on a journey from beginning as an outsider to becoming an insider. While the 'insiderness' of a non-Indigenous person remains different from an Indigenous person in many ways, in other ways it does not. This means that while my role is slightly different, what I have had access to is not. This has come with a responsibility to share

[5] Friendship Centres and Indigenous organizations have always been informed and grounded in Indigenous knowledge, values and beliefs. However, the open discussion with funders and other stakeholders seems to be more recent. This is apparent in the various approaches to Indigenous awareness and cultural competency training.

this process and the findings of this research, but also in the work that I continue to do to support Indigenous communities and organizations.

I chose to work with Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre because of a relationship, first and convenience, second. When I first walked through the doors of the Friendship Centre, my intention was not to do research with them. Throughout my course work at Trent, my relationship with the organization grew very strong and we started discussing research. It was convenient and cost effective, as I lived in Peterborough and they were located in Peterborough. This research could make a contribution because NFC stood out from other Indigenous organizations that I had researched or worked with in the past – it was intentionally Indigenous in every way. It is grounded in culture and knowledge but also structured according to Indigenous thought. It was not only Indigenous people that made this organization Indigenous, it was in the way that they approached the work. The literature in this area documents the differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous organizations and often notes the importance of including cultural approaches, but it does so in a superficial way, which is not particularly helpful for those trying to understand if and how it can be done. This research attempts to begin to fill this gap.

Positionality

I am a non-Indigenous scholar who has been a student of Indigenous studies throughout my academic career. Over the last seven years of study, I have been introduced to the ideas, theories, perspectives and practices of Indigenous knowledge through sustained contact with Indigenous scholarship, traditional knowledge holders and Elders. I have helped at various ceremonies and cultural events and have served the

Indigenous community in Peterborough in other ways. These experiences have affected my entire being and the ways in which I approach research by providing me with an insider understanding of certain aspects of Indigenous knowledge, although this is at the beginning stages.

These experiences and resultant understandings have led me to choose the site of cultural understanding for this dissertation. My previous scholarly and work experiences have provided me with an opportunity to serve as a translator, an occupation that is important and has a long lineage (Evelyn Peters, 2003; Kevin FitzMaurice, 2010; Lynne Davis, 2010). However, this research has pushed me beyond a translator and interpreter. Some may recognize me as an ally to this community, however, I also feel a more intimate connection where I have been privileged to participate, contribute and create a family within this community. This takes careful navigation. As described by Sonny McHalsie in the forward to *The Power of Place*, over time these relationships become deep and familial:

> "Keith isn't just another academic who comes to visit our communities. He's lived with us in our territory, and for nearly a decade, from 1992 to 2001, he worked with us and for us in our offices. During that time, he, and his wife Teresa, and their sons Liam and Ben became '*siya:ye'*- a word that my Elder Rosaleen George translated as meaning friends who are so close they are considered family" (2010, x).

While I see the potential for this dissertation to translate and, hopefully, build some understanding between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, particularly in the area of organizational development, my larger goal in doing this work is to further the goals and direction of Indigenous organizations and communities. I have also undertaken work for the National Association of Friendship Centres which has contributed to my

understanding of Indigenous cultures and approaches to organizational governance and service delivery.

At many times during this process I considered withdrawing from this PhD, but was encouraged and reminded by the community members who contributed to this work that I would be a greater asset to myself and to the communities that I wish to work for with these academic credentials. It is because of these voices that I have been persuaded to continue. However, I have continued in a way that I hope will bring honour to the teachings that have been shared with me, which is why this dissertation will be organized differently from traditional academic dissertations. I believe that in Indigenous Studies we have come to expect the unexpected.

Other Important Notes

The Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre faced significant changes in the time since the conclusions of my interviews and today much of the board and staff have changed. These changes and the reasons for them are outside of the scope of this dissertation. As with most research, it is a snap shot of time. This work is based on the organization, as it existed, from 2010-2014. This is not an evaluation of Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre.

A couple of notes of terminology throughout. I use Indigenous and Aboriginal interchangeably based on context to which I am referring, and/or the language that was used in conversation. When I use a specific Nation's name, I am speaking of knowledge that is specific to that nation and often specific to a community or family. I use thought and knowledge interchangeably as well.

I use ‘I’ throughout because this work is deeply personal to me. I am sharing my own journey to learn to appreciate a different way of thinking and learning about what Indigenous thought is and what it feels like. I cannot remove myself from this process. I cannot even say that if someone else did exactly the same thing, that they would come to the same conclusions. Indigenous knowledge is also deeply personal. The repetitive ways that stories are shared are done because as human beings we fixate on certain elements based on where we are at in our lives and we learn new things each time we hear the same teaching, while the person beside us often learns something different. From a traditional western research perspective this is troubling, from an Indigenous research perspective this is this building awareness and understanding.

Finally, this research and the last several years have been about my journey from an outsider to an insider. Jennifer Dockstator (2014) has eloquently discussed this in her dissertation. My learning on this journey will continue, as there are always more layers of meaning to understand in Indigenous knowledge. As my life experiences change, the ways in which I have interpreted things will also change. As I continue to cycle around circle teachings, new understanding and knowledge will emerge. However, I must be clear that throughout this dissertation I am interpreting my experiences with Indigenous knowledge, not interpreting the words of the Elders.

Approach to Research - Methodology

This has not been a conventional research process, nor was it one that was expected when I enrolled at Trent University in 2009. As I reflect on this process, I realize that while discussions surrounding the research presented here did not start with

Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre until 2012-2013, the research process began soon after I arrived at Trent. This section fits within the vision quadrant and describes the foundation of how this project was informed and organized.

Perhaps the greatest contribution of this research is the approach to the process of the research or the methodology. This section will describe and build understanding of Indigenous methodology, medicine wheel/ circle teachings, community-driven/based/led/directed research principles and Anishinabe "bimadiziwin/code of life" teachings to describe the process that led to this research. It must be explicitly stated that Indigenous methodology as described in academic work and the methods of Indigenous Elders and knowledge keepers are not typically the same thing. It has been a challenge of this research process to balance Western, Indigenous academic, Elders and community knowledge. Finally, a short section will describe the research ethics board process, the methods and dissemination plan.

Indigenous Methodology

Although there are connections in both Western and Indigenous ways of knowing there are also differences in the methods, concepts, experiences and values (Battiste and Henderson, 2000; Cajete, 2000; Hart 2007). Leroy Little Bear says that "Aboriginal philosophy is being holistic and cyclical or repetitive, generalist, process-oriented, and firmly grounded in a particular place" (2002: 78). There is no pan-Indigenous worldview (Simpson, 2000) because Indigenous ways of knowing are intimately related to place and space (Cajete, 2000 and LittleBear, 2000). Therefore, references to "Indigenous

worldviews" should only be used as "stepping stones in Indigenous peoples' progress" (Hart, 2007: 84).

However, many of the broad principles are similar across Indigenous communities, for example the following description of Plains Cree ways of knowing by Kovach is very similar to ways of knowing of the Anishinabe and Haudenosaunee:

> "Plains Cree ways of knowing cannot be an objectified philosophy for this knowing is a process of being. This epistemology emphasizes the importance of respect, reciprocity, relation, protocol, holistic knowing, relevancy, story, interpretive meaning, and the experiential nested in place and kinship systems - all of which ought to be in a research process that encompasses this way of knowing" (Kovach, 2010: 67).

While it is important to recognize and celebrate the differences in Indigenous ways of knowing and belief systems, it is often quite easy to find basic similarities in ways of understanding the world.

There is a long discussion in research about researcher bias in many Western academic traditions, specifically in positivist research, which maintains that neutrality of the researcher is very important (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). However, qualitative researchers have argued that no research is free from bias and that the researcher's point of view affects the research (Berg, 1995). Lavallee argues that,

> "Indigenous research is not objective, nor does it see itself as unbiased. Following from the belief in interconnectedness ...research cannot possibly be completely objective. Individuals conducting the research are necessarily connected to the individuals being researched, and all concerned are connected to all other living things. Emotions are connected to all mental processes. Every time we think, use reason, and figure, emotion is tied to that process; and therefore, it is impossible to be free of emotion and subjectivity in research" (2009: 23).

Wilson (2008) agrees, stating that you cannot be accountable to your relationships if you are pretending to be objective. Both Lavallee and Wilson go one step further and state

that in Indigenous research it is necessary for the researcher to build relationships and be a part of the process.

To further illustrate this point, Wilson discusses why he considers research to be ceremony:

> "Research is a ceremony. It bears repeating, as I think this statement ties up and holds together all of the relationships that have gone into the formation of this book. The purpose of any ceremony is to build stronger relationships or bridge the distance between our cosmos and us. The research that we do as Indigenous people is a ceremony that allows us a raised level of consciousness and insight into our world. Through going forward together with open minds and good hearts we have uncovered the nature of this ceremony" (2008: 137).

There is a growing literature on Indigenous research processes, particularly by Indigenous researchers. As a non-Indigenous researcher, I understand that my experiences broadly in the world are different from those of Indigenous people. This statement is complex and the unpacking of it, while important, is not the direction of this dissertation. I mention this because the literature on Indigenous research processes discusses the topic from the point of view of Indigenous scholars and, while I am not an Indigenous scholar, I have done this research using an Indigenous framework, methodology and analytical tools. I have become a part of a particular Indigenous community and, as such, I have similar responsibilities to the ways in which this process continues, which I take seriously.

Shawn Wilson discusses accountability to relations in four different ways in research:

> "The first is through how we go about choosing the topics we will research. The second is in the methods that we use to "collect our data" or build our relationships. The third is the way in which we analyze what we are learning. Finally, we maintain relational accountability in the way in which we present the

> outcomes of the research. I see these four things in a circle in my mind, which each blending into and influencing the others" (2008: 137).

Wilson relates these four ways to epistemology, methodology, axiology and ontology.

There are three processes that characterize Indigenous knowledge: empirical observation, traditional teachings and revelations, according to Brant-Castellano (2000). Indigenous empirical knowledge is not based on quantitative inquiry but, rather, is the coming together of "perspectives from different vantage points over time" (2000:24). Traditional teachings are typically passed down orally, by knowledge holders. Revelations refer to spiritual knowing or learning which includes dreams, visions and intuition. Lavallee (2007) describes this kind of knowledge as coming from the spirit world and ancestors. Bastien (2005) and Kovach (2010) also acknowledge that some Indigenous researchers share the guidance received from the spirit world in their research.

Positioning Indigenous approaches/ frameworks /methodologies/ epistemologies, etc. in research is a small act of decolonization. This small act recognizes Indigenous approaches as legitimate in the broader academy. Lavallee states that "Indigenous research frameworks incorporate the core values, beliefs and healing practices of the community throughout the research process" (2007:132). It is, then, fair to question why a researcher would use a Western approach to analyze the data. Of course there is merit to doing so in some projects, but in others it is intrusive and unnecessary.

In her work, Margaret Kovach struggles with finding a conceptual methodological framework that made sense for her research, which explored the experiences of 'Indigenous scholar-researcher' in integrating cultural knowledges into methodology. She says,

> "I knew that neither [phenomenology or critical theory] could respond to a research question seeking to study Indigenous knowledges as methodology. At the time, I could not articulate why, but I knew that no matter how sympathetic the Western methodology, the question I was considering ruled out a research process based solely on Western thought and tradition...In my case, Plains Cree knowledge offered guidance in research choices that reflected values, standards, ethics, and ways of Indigenous peoples generally and Cree specifically, and it demanded that I 'write knowledge differently' than I had been instructed to do within my previous Western research training" (2010: 39 and 43).

Similarly, at the beginning stages of my research I proposed using Pierre Bourdieu's Relational Methodology theory to analyze the research topic. However, it became difficult to make it fit within the research project. A project that was undertaken using Indigenous principles and completed using Indigenous teachings and ways of knowing could only be presented and disseminated using an Indigenous approach.

Kovach, like many Indigenous scholars has struggled with the balance of sharing Indigenous ways of knowing and philosophies in their work. Ultimately, most Indigenous scholars are pointing to the importance of using Indigenous frameworks and processes to guide their research. Kovach acknowledges that while there are limitations in applying research framework language to Indigenous philosophies, these frameworks can assist Indigenous researchers to name three distinct aspects of Indigenous research,

> "…(a) the cultural knowledges that guide one's research choice; (b) the methods used in searching; and (c) a way to interpret knowledge so as to give it back in a purposeful, helpful, and relevant manner. The expression of that framework can vary (Estrada, 2005), but the use of a conceptual framework in Indigenous inquiry will still have these consistent aspects" (2010: 44).

These principles are key in ensuring that the research that is conducted is done so in a way that will be meaningful to communities afterward and will support future generations to understand this time, when Indigenous researchers are supported to use Indigenous ways of knowing in the academy in a meaningful way.

Teaching Circles/ Medicine Wheels

Jo-Ann Archibald describes the Indigenous concept of wholism, of which medicine wheel teachings are often based on as,

> "…the interrelatedness between the intellectual, spiritual (metaphysical values and beliefs and the Creator), emotional, and physical (body and behavior/action) realms to form a whole healthy person. The development of holism extends to and is mutually influenced by one's family, community, band and Nation. The image of a circle is used by many First Nations peoples to symbolize wholeness, completeness, and ultimately wellness. The never-ending circle also forms concentric circles to show both the synergistic influence of and our responsibility toward the generations of ancestors, the generations of today and the generations yet to come. The animal/human kingdoms, the elements of nature/land, and the Spirit World are an integral part of the concentric circles" (2008:11).

This quotation summarizes the meaning and intent behind medicine wheels or teaching circles. There are often only a few words included, however all that is mentioned above is included in each of the aspects of the teaching. As discussed in the preamble, Mark and Wendy Phillips use the language of teaching circles to represent similar concepts, as do many Indigenous nations. The presentation of the literature is meant to show the similarities and draw on the discussion of these tools, while recognizing the distinctiveness of different communities.

Lavallee (2009) discusses the medicine wheel as both a symbol and a tool to understand something. While each of the four quadrants are separate, they are interconnected. The colours of the quadrants can vary according to different nations. The medicine wheel is used to show various teachings and is often used to show that "all races are equal, all are related, and all are interconnected" (2009:25). Other teachings use the medicine wheel to demonstrate balance in health and well-being, such as balancing health between the physical, emotional, mental and spiritual, in addition to balancing self,

others, the environment and Mother Earth. Lavallee, used the medicine wheel to understand the impact of physical activity on wholistic health. She offered this research as an alternative approach to positivist paradigm research.

Wegner-Nabigon discusses a Cree medicine wheel with the centre of the circle representing the positive (light), the outside representing the negative (dark) and the centre as the core of a person with both a dark and light side. This Cree medicine wheel is used to understand human development, providing problem identification tools and solution identification pathways. The counselling wheel, as taught by Elder Michael Thrasher[6], is used to counsel individuals and support them to identify which areas of their life may be out of balance and to understand the hardships with which they may be faced. Wegner-Nabigon cites Nabigon and Mawhiney as saying, "Native people who walk the red road attempt to balance their lives between positive and negative cycles of life" (2010: 144). The use of the medicine wheel facilitates balance, thus promoting health, growth, and positive development, and minimizing risk factors that impede balance.

This Cree medicine wheel is also used as a tool to depict stages of life, starting with childhood in the East, adolescence in the South, adulthood in the West and the elderly in the North (Wegner-Nabigon). While the work of Wegner-Nabigon focuses on a Cree medicine wheel, medicine wheels are also used by other Indigenous nations, including the Anishinabe. Frequently, each teaching can be broken out into several more teachings, for example there may be a few more series of circles that can be broken out from each quadrant (Mark and Wendy Phillips). This demonstrates the depth of

[6] Elder Michael Thrasher's Counselling Wheel teachings are Cree teachings originating with the late Cree Elder Eddie Bellrose.

Indigenous knowledge and while many aspects of it are not recorded, it is important to understand that what is recorded is the surface knowledge. To dig deeper is to spend time building understandings, observing over time and experiencing it. It involves watching what changes and what stays the same, as well as the other influences and how they interact with the laws of Indigenous peoples.

Many Indigenous societies use the teaching or medicine wheel/circles as a way of understanding the world around them and these strategies are used as ways of teaching and relating to a wholistic way of life. Chapman, Newhouse and McCaskill state, "the Medicine Wheel is a representation of traditional theology, philosophy and psychology. It represents the teachings of the Creator for all aspects of life for Aboriginal people" (1991: 338). There are a number of aspects to medicine wheel teachings that incorporate all aspects of life including: spiritual, mental, emotional and physical. This includes what should be represented in organizational functioning: the individual, the family, the clan and the Nation. They have further conceptualized this as program planning, training, special projects and administration (Chapman, Newhouse and McCaskill, 1991).

Community Centred Approaches to Research

There are a number of community centred approaches to research that are available in the literature. I will briefly survey the literature on community based research, community directed research, community-led research, and participatory action research throughout this section. It seems that these approaches were developed out of a recognized need to do research with communities instead of on communities. Community based research and participatory action research are certainly the two most prevalent

approaches in the literature. At the core of each of these approaches is the desire to have research be mutually beneficial for communities and academics.

Community Based Research (CBR) is defined by the Centre for Community Based Research, as striving to be: community situated, collaborative and action oriented. The hallmarks include: community relevance (project is identified or verified by community members); resources are shared with community; recognition of community expertise; recognition of power imbalances; process is driven by values (empowerment, supportive relationships, social change, learning as an ongoing process and respect for diversity); process and results are accessible and understandable to community members; process and results consider and adapt to the context that the research is conducted; and research leaves a legacy – both in terms of utilization of results and relationships (Centre for Community Based Research, 2017).

Community Directed Research is defined by Cargo, et. al. (2008) as recognizing the participatory and domain-specific influence of multiple stakeholders, yet respects the strong leadership provided by community stakeholders. They have identified the Kahnawake School Diabetes Prevention Project (KSDPP) as fitting into this model. They discuss the project as being between a model that includes consistency of equality in decision making and a community controlled model with minimal academic influence. KSDPP had complete control over the intervention activities (the project is a health intervention research project). The expectation of time the researchers spent in community was unable to be met due to competing academic priorities and, as a result, KSDPP intervention staff were unsatisfied with their engagement.

Community Led Action Research is,

> "…defined, undertaken, analyzed and evidenced by members of the community themselves. It is therefore research OF and BY the community and not, as is traditional, ON and TO the community. This distinction is fundamentally important because in the community – led approach it is the community who define and carry out the research to gather evidence and make recommendations for change" (Scottish Community Development Centre, 2016).

They discuss action research as using research tools and methods appropriate to engaging with community, such as arts based methodologies, story dialogue, etc.

Participatory Action Research (PAR) is a subset of action research, where data is collected and analyzed with the purpose of making social change or taking action. Action research includes researcher(s) and community/organization(s) who are seeking to improve their situation.

Community-driven research is a research approach that was introduced to me by the Ontario Federation of Indigenous Friendship Centres (OFIFC), through Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre and the Urban Aboriginal Knowledge Network (UAKN). Community driven research means that the research is co-developed with community(s), that the research is mutually beneficial to all partners, and that it could result in meaningful change for community (UAKN, 2015). Community driven research principles and community ethics are in addition to the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans 2 (*TCPS 2) and university research ethics boards, which are seen as minimum standards for researchers to meet.

For the Urban Aboriginal Knowledge Network (UAKN), there are a number of broad ethical considerations for research with Aboriginal people and communities, they include:

> "…a) the research methodology be in line with Indigenous values; b) that there is community and academic accountability; c) that the research gives back and benefits the community; and d) that the researcher is an ally and will not do harm (Kovach, 2009; OFIFC's Research Presentation Protocol, 2012)" (UAKN, 2015:2).

In addition, to the above statements, UAKN research must consider community driven research, protection, fairness, respect, honesty, and community relevance and practicality.

To further illustrate what community driven research is, the UAKN has outlined five key values of community-driven research:

> "1. Research is grounded in community priorities, and constructed or designed collaboratively between communities and researchers;
> 2. Research conducted is respectful of Aboriginal people's languages, cultural protocols, values, lifecycles and gender(s);
> 3. Research conducted is respectful of Aboriginal people's research approaches and protocols;
> 4. Aboriginal peoples and organizations will endeavour to be an active participant in the research process at the level of their choosing;
> 5. Principles of USAI (Utility, Self-Voicing, Access and Inter-relationality, (OFIFC, 2012)) and OCAP ™ (Ownership, Control, Access and Possession, (FNIGC, 2012)) will be looked to as useful and guiding references informing community driven research" (UAKN, 2015: 2-3).

In particular, the USAI (Utility, self-voicing, access, inter-relationality) Research Framework (2012) developed by the OFIFC "delineates the preferred research methodology called "orientation to research", to encompass various research practices that are appropriate in Indigenous research" (OFIFC, 2012:5).

The approach of USAI and the UAKN has guided the approach of this dissertation, although I acknowledge this is not a perfect example of its application. Specifically, for USAI, the divergence is apparent in authorship, where I am the author of the dissertation. In an attempt to address this, I do acknowledge the authorship and

ownership of specific stories and teachings throughout this work, where I have worked to compile and synthesize them in a way that represents the stories of those involved.

Beyond authorship, I believe that this project was community driven. This community driven process transformed the research process for me because the relationship between myself, the organization and the community created the foundation for this research. The methodology and methods are largely Indigenous with Western approaches woven throughout. The actual research exposes the functionality of Indigenous cultures and how they are embedded in the governance of urban Indigenous organizations, such as the Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre, its policies, programs and services. The real value of this research is in examining an organization where Indigenous ways of knowing are the foundation. It is also written in a way that speaks to the individuals who informed it, as there is little academic jargon throughout and it is written in plain language, so that it is accessible to Indigenous community organizations.

Most of these community centered approaches to research are very similar in their overarching principles. Intention and choice of language is often the difference. In the Indigenous research world, community based research has often received a negative reputation where the level of involvement did not align with the community's vision and, for these reasons, I am reluctant to say this research has been community based research. Based on my day to day relationship with community driven research, I would argue that this work has been an adapted form of community driven research. For reasons that have been outlined above, a dissertation cannot truly be community driven, however Wendy and I used USAI as a frame for how we approached this research.

Refusal

Dr. Audra Simpson challenges the anthropological narrative that has often been used to discuss Indigenous peoples. She notes that when Indigenous people, in this case the Mohawks of Kahnawake, speak for themselves they "interrupt anthropological portraits of timelessness, procedure and function that dominate representations of their past and, sometimes, their present" (2007: 68). Simpson set out to find what forms of knowledge and analysis might look like "when the goals and aspirations of those we talk to inform the methods and the shape of our theorizing and analysis" (2007: 68). She points to Aileen Moreton-Robinson's work that studies historical records from colonists, which became history, informed theories, and are emboldened in the laws of nation states; all of which have significant implications for Indigenous peoples and nations.

In Anishinabe thought, teachings are the histories and knowledge, they inform/are informed by their theories and/or structures, which translate into/down to the laws of the nation. For example, a teaching on roles and responsibilities as a member of the Turtle clan, fits into and is informed by the broader clan system, which is governed by universal laws, natural laws, great laws and tribal laws.

Simpson puts forward an interpretation of refusal, framed by sovereignty,

> "…a construct which is always a bestowal and as such is deeply imperfect but critical for these moments in Indigenous/Settler- State relations – is to think very seriously about needs and, basically, involved a calculus ethnography of what you need to know and what I refuse to write in" (2007: 72).

She discusses the refusal of the people of Kahnawake, who had and have refused the authority of the state over and over again, through the membership code, through the international boundary line and in interpreting their rights. Simpson notes that

> “…contemporary fieldwork with Iroquois peoples involves being pushed and pushing back, a kind of discursive wrestling. There are *multiple* sovereignties at work, all of with have worked to protect, to limit, to entrench what was already in place, an exercise of political will that generated an exception” (2007: 74).

Refusal is often discussed in the context of interpreting analysis. I think that Simpson is speaking of refusal at a broader level, not only thinking about what researchers or their participants refuse to share, but how researchers refuse to participate in analysis that can undermine Indigenous experience. Refusal, for instance, to put a Western lens or concept over an Indigenous one. Tuck and Yang argue

> “…refusal is a generative stance, not just a ‘no,’ but a starting place for other qualitative analyses and interpretations of data. Refusing the colonizing code of research is an analysis that must come after, before, and beyond coding. It must precede, exceed, and intercede upon settler colonial knowledge production” (2014: 2).

They further state that the strongest form of refusal in their work has been to study institutions and power instead of the social problems of people.

Tuck and Yang conclude with:

> “At the crossroads of communicating findings, that is, the analyses, theories, and propositions the researcher puts in print/public, the refusal stance pushes us to *limit* settler territorialization of Indigenous/Native/community knowledge, and *expand* the space for other forms of knowledge, thought-worlds to live. Refusal makes space for recognition, and for reciprocity. Refusal turns the gaze back upon power, specifically the colonial modalities of knowing persons as bodies to be differentially counted, violated, saved, and put to work. It makes transparent the metanarrative of knowledge production – its spectatorship for pain and its preoccupation for documenting and ruling over racial difference. Refusal generates, expands, champions representational territories that colonial knowledge endeavors to settle, enclose, domesticate. We again insist that refusal is not just a no, but it is a generative, analytic practice” (2014: 7).

This statement strongly challenges researchers to consider how they approach their work with Indigenous knowledge, how they present their work, and more importantly what they refuse.

Finally, in speaking about Indigenous scholars, Simpson concludes her paper with:

> "They might, however, work from different historical vantage points and locations within the space that Empire has claimed for some peoples. In this, their might be the centuries of warfare, exchange, alliance-making, diplomacy, petitioning, letter-writing and, most recently, armed resistance to the settler societies that have claimed and now claim North America as their own. I argued that this may produce different forms of analysis and thereby produce some of the anthropological limits that are discussed in this paper. Rather than stops, or impediments to knowing, those limits may be expansive in what they do not tell us. I reached my own limit when the data would not contribute to our sovereignty or complicate the deeply simplified, atrophied representations of Iroquois and other Indigenous peoples that they have been mired within anthropologically" (2007: 78).

I interpret this to consider that as we discuss sovereignty and decolonization, do we need Western theory to explain Indigenous experience and reality? If we consider the strength and resiliency of the knowledge systems that Indigenous peoples come from and if we consider the role of Indigenous Studies as a discipline, then we have to question the role of Western theory in building understanding of Indigenous knowledge. For these reasons, this dissertation will not use Western theory to frame this work – not because there is no value in using Western theory, but because in this context there is no added value. Battiste and Henderson (2000: 38) argue that Indigenous knowledge can only be understood through Indigenous pedagogy which includes apprenticeship, ceremony and practice. The value in understanding an Indigenous research process and the governance and operations of a Friendship Centre founded on Indigenous ideals – is found within Indigenous thought, which make up the theories in this case.

SOUTH: Time - Indigenous Research Process

Introduction

The previous chapter, vision from the Eastern direction, laid out the plan for this dissertation. This chapter, in the South, will focus on aspects of time. Time is closely linked to relationships because time governs our relationships with all life. Sometimes we require a short relationship with an aspect of Creation, other times we need to put significant time into building that relationship. I understand time as building the foundation for the idea to grow. In this context it includes contemplating how much time is required to complete the tasks? What do relationships mean in this context? What relationships will be involved? What protocols will be required?

Indigenous Research and Protocol

While I was at Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre, Wendy Phillips and I, and other staff and board members, had a number of conversations about what was needed for the Centre and for the community. As a volunteer, I initially had weekly and then daily conversations about the organization, about the challenges it faced, and about what was needed. I observed staff and community members having similar conversations at community events and at regular programming. As a staff member, I was more directly involved in these conversations about programming, planning and forward thinking. Some discussions were directed around research. In particular, we spoke a lot about Indigenous research and what a true Indigenous research process would look like today.

At first, I had many questions as I tried to understand what I was hearing, in addition to what I was planning on developing as a part of my studies. I started to think about what Indigenous people did when they had a question, before Google™, libraries and contact. What are the steps that they followed to seek answers? In a contemporary context, when a community member came into the Centre and they had a cultural or spiritual question, how did they find their answer? They were often directed to see an Elder or traditional person in the community. Once they come to an Elder, there are steps and protocols that are followed to gain an answer. Before Western methodologies existed, and were known to Indigenous people, they were doing research. Mark Phillips talks about the 16,000 plants that his teacher knew about, and the 32,000 that the teacher before him knew. The discipline to know the use of each plant, who could use it, for what, and the ability to recall all of this information orally, is a strong indication of the level of research that was taking place.

We also hear about this research in stories and legends, as important discoveries were made about the world around us. Spending time with traditional knowledge holders, there are stories to explain everything around you. This knowledge has been passed down continuously so that people recall the significance of the things and events. The stories are sometimes presented on their own and at other times are woven into everyday conversation. This is not always a formal act, as sometimes stories are simply offered.

Wendy and I began our larger discussions about this topic at the Native American/Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA) Conference in 2013 in Saskatoon, SK where we presented on Indigenous research ethics. Together, we began to unpack Indigenous research, how it fit into community driven research principles, and Wendy

spoke to delegates about ethics from an Anishinabe perspective. This was the beginning of a research project done by the Friendship Centre on Indigenous research ethics. I had the opportunity to interview Elders Harry Snowboy and Mark Phillips as a part of this project. I have received their permission, and the permission of the Friendship Centre, to use their interviews in this dissertation. The interviews were not used in the other project for a number of reasons. The context of the interviews again shifted the focus of this dissertation. I initially struggled with the need to keep them separate, but soon realized that I could not. I learned so much from the interviews that I could not keep them separated. Upon returning to Mark and Harry to ask their permission, they both responded that they expected the interviews would be a part of my dissertation.

Introduction to Participants

Before the interviews are presented, an introduction to some of the individuals who participated in the interviews will be helpful. These individuals provided brief biographies of themselves, which will help the reader to understand who they are. I will then share my relationship to them.

Harry Snowboy is an author, public speaker, cultural advisor, ceremonial leader and traditional healer to numerous Indigenous communities. A former Director of Police, Harry provides information sessions and guidance on leadership, team work, and lateral violence in the workplace, as well as reviewing and assessing projects involving programs focused on community well-being. His extensive experience in crisis response has provided him with insight on managing both short and long-term crises. He has also provided guidance to organizations seeking to incorporate holistic approaches on

problematic issues facing many Indigenous communities. These discussions are geared towards fostering understanding and bridging the gap between traditional and non-Indigenous belief systems. He is Cree from Chisasibi in Northern Quebec, speaks both Cree and English, and he now lives in Ottawa. Harry has written a book "A Voice from the Wilderness: A Cree Shaman's Story" (2010) outlining his life and how he came to be a medicine man.

I met Harry at the Friendship Centre, where he was a visiting Elder a couple of times a year to doing healing work with community members and work with the youth programs. I have participated in several ceremonies with Harry over the course of a number of years.

Wendy Phillips belongs to the Bald Eagle Clan:

> "She is Ojibwa and Potawatomi from Wasauksing First Nation in the heart of the Muskokas. Her spiritual role is Ahnikgokon, translation; One who works for the spirits or otherwise known as a traditional Seer for over 30 years. She is a pipe carrier, a sweat lodge conductor and a traditional healer.
>
> She has been fortunate to have been taught by her family, traditional Elders with our Ancestral knowledge that has been passed from one generation to the next. Her lineage is responsible for traditional Anishinabe knowledge and ceremonies.
>
> She is an alumnus of Trent University Indigenous Studies (Hons) and Business Administration (Minor). She is a graduate of the Fleming College with a Diploma in Career and Work Counselling and is a Masters Candidate from York University with a focus on traditional governance.
>
> In the last 25 years, she has been a cultural entrepreneur within small and large urban Indigenous ecosystems and she has been advocate for Indigenous issues regional, provincial and national. She is a visual artist, an actor, a writer, and singer.
>
> She is working towards helping people maintain their spiritual, physical and mental well-being with utilizing our traditional Indigenous knowledge, ceremonies, to education with the hope to preserve our traditional Indigenous knowledge for future generations."

I met Wendy first at Trent University and then at the Friendship Centre. My relationship and friendship began to grow with Wendy shortly after we met. When I lived in Peterborough, there were few days that did not include Wendy and we have spent significant social and ceremonial time together. At a minimum, I attended weekly teachings, but these were often several nights a week. Much of our deep conversations have taken place in the car, usually while driving to get supplies/groceries for ceremony or cultural camps.

Mark Phillips belongs to the Turtle Clan:

> "He is Anishinabe from Keewating Ziibii in the heart of the Kawarthas. He has been a pipe carrier, a sweat lodge conductor and a traditional healer for over 40 years.
>
> He has been fortunate to have been taught by traditional Elders with our ancestral knowledge from nations across Turtle Island. His head teacher, Niigan-Nodin, Makwa-Dodem (Wilson Ashkewe, Bear Clan) gave him the responsibility for traditional Anishinabe knowledge and ceremonies.
>
> In the last 45 years he has been a cultural advisor within small and large urban Indigenous communities. He has been a long advocate for Indigenous issues. He has an earned diploma from Trent University in Native Studies.
>
> He strives to strengthen traditional Anishinabe governance practices towards helping our people to maintain their spiritual, physical, mental well-being and future generations."

I met Mark first at Trent University and again during ceremonies. As my relationship grew with Wendy, it also grew with Mark. In days where I was not working at the Centre or at Trent, I often spent some time with Mark helping to prepare for ceremonies, teachings or visiting. After a while I met his eldest son Chizit, to whom I am now married.

Joe Keesickquayash is Ojibway-Cree. He worked at Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre as the Aboriginal Community Wellness Worker from 2010-2015. In his own words:

> "Originally born in Northwestern Ontario, I relocated to Toronto Ontario to embark on the journey of post-secondary education. Being of Ojibway Cree heritage, I had the opportunity to connect further with Indigenous culture and teachings while residing in Toronto. In 2010, my journey took my family and I to Peterborough where I became employed as Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre's Aboriginal Community Wellness Worker for five years. While employed at the NFC, I had the opportunity to be a part of a unique setting where Indigenous knowledge and culture was the primary objective of our programs and services.
>
> This objective supported my own vision for my five children, and grandchild, which is to encourage and offer them all opportunities to experience aspects of an Indigenous cultural way of life so that they will know who they are as an Indigenous person.
>
> As ACWW, many of my clients were just beginning to learn about their Indigenous heritage. Engaging with these clients and openly sharing my Indigenous knowledge with them allowed some barriers, such as trust and apprehension, to come down. With these barriers down I was able to build some positive rapports. Overall, many who I worked with got to a place that they felt safe and confident with learning about Indigenous knowledge. They gained more understanding about who they are, created relationships and connected with other Indigenous knowledge.
>
> A year after I left the Centre, I was told about a young man who used to come to the youth programs, and weekly drumming circles. When he first came to us, he was quiet and soft spoken. We lost touch with him after he left the area. This past year he sent a very heart -warming email expressing appreciation for the services and support he received, and for giving him the opportunity to learn about the Indigenous culture, and that the learning he received helped him. He then stated that he started a youth drum group for other youth and was teaching them the songs he learned. We were honoured to know that the unique setting and objective we believed in as an urban Indigenous organization helped him grow and start his journey of sharing his Indigenous knowledge. It is stories like this young mans that shows us that we are fulfilling the vision of upholding and continuing Indigenous knowledge."

I met Joe shortly before he began working at the Friendship Centre, at spring ceremonies. Joe's youngest daughter Louisa and I had an immediate connection, which

drew Joe and I to get to know each other. Over the years, through work, ceremony and play, I have grown close with Joe and his family and consider them to be family. We share in ceremony and deep friendship. We have spent many hours discussing teachings and Joe helped me to find clarity and understanding.

Susan Dowan is Swampy Cree, she was President of Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre from 2013-2015. In her own words:

> "Tansi. My name is Susan Dowan. I am a swampy Cree mother and grandmother, born and raised in Manitoba. Over twenty years ago I moved to Toronto with my young daughter. A few years after settling in Toronto I made my decision to make some life changes, so I sought out a traditional Elder who was visiting the cultural centre in Toronto. The Elder listened to my life story and offered me some kind words and advice. My daughter and I started going to the local Friendship Centre. We attended weekly teaching circles, went to sweat lodge ceremony, participated in community feasts, and met new friends at the weekly drumming socials. We continued seeing traditional Elders for guidance when we went through life changes. In the following years, I finished my pre-university courses, got married, had a few more children, obtained my university degree, and started working in the Aboriginal community.
>
> As my family needs and size change, I made a decision to move to Peterborough Ontario. I got involved in the Aboriginal community and the local Friendship Centre. I was welcomed as an active member, and later encouraged to become part of the Board of Directors. I accepted the role as president because of the values of its vision as a Friendship Centre. The distinctive Indigenous approaches the Centre had in place for the community reflected my own views and learning. It touched my heart when I watched my granddaughter dancing at a drum social the Centre was hosting. It took me back to when my daughter was the same age.
>
> After a few years a change took place in my life, and it was time for me to leave my role on the board and as a member of the Centre to focus on the next part of my life journey. I learned a lot during my terms at the Friendship Centre, just as I learned a lot many years ago when I was going to the Centre in Toronto.
>
> As time has gone by, I have seen communities and organizations change. When I see these changes I hold onto the hope that they will always continue the vision for the organization -to uphold the indigenous knowledge for our children and their children. This is a vision we all have."

I met Susan in 2010 during spring ceremonies. Susan and Joe are married, so our relationship grew similarly. I consider Susan family and we share ceremony and social time.

Relationship and Respect

Large portions of each of these interviews will be shared because I believe it is unfair to make decisions on how to edit their words. The words they have used have meaning in them and, if they are paraphrased too much, I risk changing the intent of their words and this is not what we agreed to in this research process. The interviews were not lengthy interviews, they had only a few questions. I asked Harry Snowboy, what he thought an Indigenous research process was and he responded,

> "I guess the most important thing is to follow protocol, I mean what you're doing is asking for information that is sacred in a manner that that information has been passed on from one generation to another so it has incredible importance to it. It is different, it involves life – this information has probably enabled our people to survive for countless generations.
>
> When you go seek for that answer it not only follows protocol when you ask someone like an Elder but it could also be ceremonial, it would require you to what you become is a holder of that information and great responsibility is entitled to you. And as an Indigenous researcher you have to realize how important that information is because it was held by countless others before you and it should be held in very high respect and in a manner that is sacred because our information has not been institutionalized.
>
> The Vatican for instance they have young priests go over there and learn and they learn in a classroom setting, a church is ceremony it is prayer but they learn in a classroom setting, so there is it is almost like the spirit has been taken out. In Indigenous research the spirit has to remain intact and you have to be aware that the information is a living energy and entity."

I have found this point, similarly stated, elsewhere, so I know this idea exists with other Elders and scholars. In Indigenous research protocol, respect and relationships are

fundamental. Acknowledging the spirit of the information you are receiving is a responsibility of researchers to ensure that they share the information in a way that was agreed upon and with great responsibility.

Our conversation centred on protocols and Harry described protocol as showing respect for both the individual and the knowledge. Protocol for him includes tobacco and a gift, or some form of reciprocity. He notes that we must acknowledge that the world has changed and, in traditional communities, the medicine people were always looked after. People brought them food, blankets, and whatever they needed because the medicine people were so busy attending to the needs of the community. Today, we must acknowledge the knowledge we receive with appropriate gifts, an honorarium or some other form of meaningful support.

Protocol includes consent, which goes beyond a piece of paper that the university requires. Harry talks about consent as a person coming to him with an idea or a research project and his ability to say yes or no, not only to his participation but also the research project. This consent process shows respect. Once consent is established, boundaries must be agreed upon, such as what you can ask, what your research covers and what is not permitted. Finally, a process is laid out. Harry shared that "before you can go to step one you have to go to the last step and determine if that last step is possible to get to" (Harry Snowboy). If an Elder has consented to a project, there are certain commitments that they would like from the researcher and if the researcher is not willing to follow through on the entire process, then the Elder will not consent.

Harry points out some of the challenges he has faced with researchers:

> "It is about respect this is the most important thing, what I do find about a lot in Indigenous studies, have had a lot of researchers come and see me, they pick the subject, they have never taken their subject to the Indigenous people that they study and ask if they can do it, and it is often very intrusive, it is like going into someone's house without knocking. This is why it is important to see an Elders council and have guidance."

I wanted to be clear in my own understanding of how this Indigenous process was different from research processes that I may have been trained in at university, so I asked him how an Indigenous research process was different from other research processes. His response was:

> "Yes, respect, again this word comes up and cooperation because it is about consent. Consent in my mind is more than a signed document, consent is between, it is about building relationship. If I just met you today and you expected me to consent to something - that is not real, consent is I know Pam Ouart, Pam Ouart is a good person, Pam Ouart will be responsible for taking care of this information, I know Pam Ouart and respect the information, I know she will take this information and educate people with it. So I am whole heartedly consenting to give Pam Ouart this information because I have a friendship with Pam Ouart, I have spent time with Pam Ouart it is a relationship building process other than a signed document. Spending time with people, before the research process begins, put everyone in a place where they are comfortable."

Finally, I asked about ethics and what Indigenous ethics meant to him. Again, the foundation of his words were about relationship and he talked about knowing the researcher lived their life in a good way,

> "…if she did not live her life the way I expect her to live, I wouldn't be comfortable giving her this information, to be shown this knowledge and wisdom I was expected to live a certain way, to live a good life – to have respect for people that way when I received this knowledge and this information it no longer, it wouldn't only be a part of my mind, but my life and my spirit. It is about having responsibility like I said. *You are getting sacred knowledge, live in a sacred manner* (emphasis mine).
>
> It is kind of different from what a researcher, western researcher and a would be Indigenous researcher it's in my culture it is about earning, earning it, earning the information – the most saddest thing I find is when they study Indigenous people as the researchers will go in there take what they need and disappear, in my

> culture you are expected to give something back for what my people have given you that is the way it works, it is an unspoken way of being in a relationship.
>
> My grandmother had people come and stay with her and she grew to love them because they became part of the family – researchers, because they studied Indigenous knowledge or whatever and I was always skeptical, one thing I always saw when they finished the research they would pack up and leave and my grandmother would be heartbroken – you just don't take a part of someone's life and disappear."

The piece in italics emphasizes the importance of the knowledge that has been shared with researchers over time. Too often this knowledge has been taken for granted but to the keepers of this knowledge, the expectation is that we hold ourselves to a higher standard when we interact with the knowledge they have shared. We must build genuine relationships with people in our research and recognize the impact that they have had on us, but also the impact that we may have had on them.

Harry focuses on the importance of relationships. Almost all research done with Indigenous peoples and communities acknowledges that relationships are important. However, the depth of relationship that is necessary and its meaning does not always seem apparent. As I mentioned in the introduction of Harry, we have a relationship and, over time, we were able to establish trust. This all occurred before there was any intention of his participation in this research. Our relationship continues after the research because the basis of our relationship was never about the research.

As I read the interview transcript, I know that it is my responsibility to present this interview in this way. It is not up to me to paraphrase the words of knowledge keepers, but, rather, support them in finding other ways to tell their stories to other audiences so that others can begin to build some awareness of their views. It is important to write my dissertation in this way and it is important that I find ways to share with other researchers

the expectations on us and the impacts that we have on the lives of those we work with. We also have the responsibility to bring about positive change or positive outcomes for communities.

Too often in research, the details of the process are left out. It has become apparent to me that when people say they are using Indigenous Research Methodologies, that we are not all speaking the same language. Of course not all of the details are shared of the relationships and how they are built, as some of those elements are sacred. It is up to the Elder/knowledge keeper and the researcher to determine what can be shared and how. This is what is meant by respect and relationship – it is about the actions that follow.

Time passed and at a later date I sat down with Mark Phillips to ask the same set of questions I asked Harry. When I asked Mark about Indigenous research processes, he told me,

> "…first you would look within the laws of creation and see are you are in line with them, and next you would look at the legends, and then next you look within the teachings and ceremonies to see the questions or question that you are looking answers for whether they are already there. When we are looking at things everything has to go back to the laws of creation if we are trying to stay in balance with it."

I asked for a bit more detail for someone who may not have a strong grasp of these laws and teachings and he shared:

> "That is the figuring out though, within those laws and within the clan system are the morals that we are supposed to try to uphold. That would be the process I would look at first, the great laws, universal laws, natural laws, tribal laws and then within the clan system and the morals that fall within there, usually all the answers are within there because it is a way of walking back creation. The idea is that any question we have, the answer should be there, we don't need to reinvent the wheel to figure things out."

This illustrates the complexity of Indigenous thought. Though this paragraph does not seem like many words, the ability to understand these words, to be able to make sense of a research question, requires many lifetimes of learning. As with Harry, I wanted to get to an understanding of how researchers and students should approach Indigenous knowledge holders and Elders, if the Elders were to lay out the process.

I know the kindness of Elders and they will often work with researchers and, because they are kind, they may not challenge their approaches. The goal of the original project was to give voice to at least two Elders who could share what they would like to see in a research process. Mark talked about building relationships, experiential learning and ceremony:

> "First, you have to get to know the person, and try and get to know what their questions are and what they are researching, and then get to know the individual and where they are coming from and whether I would be able to help them or not – or if I send them in a direction for someone that could help them, if I wasn't able to…
>
> A lot of the teachings and concepts come from experiential learning and developing listening skills, having the time and discipline to come to ceremony because that is where a lot of the learning takes place– whether it is sweat, pipe, fasting, different feasts done throughout the year, it is more hands on than sitting down and reading it out of a book. For example if you are doing stuff on the environment or relationship with the land, you actually have to be on the land to build a relationship, instead of trying to do it through Trent's library."

While the Elder may have an idea of how to answer the research question, an Indigenous approach to learning and research is for the individual to experience themselves. If they want to know about a particular ceremony or practice, they should make arrangements to be present for that ceremony or practice, until they gain some understanding of it.

In order to gain enough understanding of a question in order to write about it, there is an expectation of time, as Mark describes:

> “Well this is not something where they are going to come up with the question one day and have all the experience the next they have got to dedicate some time to this – if we are talking about Masters students or PhD students to prepare at a very minimum of several months – years.”

I asked about the considerations that researchers need to take when doing this type of research, Mark told me:

> “Just like university where you have different quotes from what you have read, for us it is more looking at where did our knowledge come from and how do we pass it on – looking at the long line of teachers who preceded us – and all the work, dedication and the discipline that it took to learn all that knowledge and then to pass it on.”

He continued to say:

> “In Indigenous research because it is hands on and experiential learning and because there is a lot of high moral expectations – it can’t help but change an individual’s outlook on life, because if you want to learn about this then you are expected to immerse yourself in it, so it can’t help but change the individual and their outlooks on life. The idea with our teachings is that it is not something that is just practiced in ceremony, it is practiced every day, the idea is the teachings you learn in ceremony you learn how to put those into your everyday living- to become a better human being.”

It was after this conversation with Mark that I started to weave all of my experiences together to understand what my dissertation should be. While I had not always consciously been asking the questions, I was seeking the answers. Over the course of years, I had been weaving together the answer with the guidance of those around me. While I had not been asking a specific question, I was building an awareness and understanding of the process and began to understand how the pieces fit together.

As a researcher, I knew that I must find a way to share this interview in my dissertation, because it has described the process that I attempted to build this research upon. It is my responsibility to share their words here. As I began to dig deeper and

unpack what respect meant in this context and what the elements of "living a good life" or "walking the red road" are, Wendy suggested the following as a frame.

Anishinabe "Bimadiziwin/Code of Life" Teachings

Kovach supports the claim of the need for a different approach to Indigenous research, she says:

> "We need to open ourselves to those teachings and then give ourselves time to integrate them so that we can be of use to our community. This requires preparation by the researcher, something that is unique to each individual. It is a process that can never lend itself to a check-box, universal approach, rather it is personal work that must be done by the researcher in conjunction with her world (both inner and outer)" (2010:50).

There is no "proper" way to do Indigenous research, it is a highly personal journey, and it is a process that needs to be negotiated continually with the community you are working with. Below is an outline of the process that guided this dissertation.

First, a note on the nature of the sacred teachings being shared. The sharing of these circles has been negotiated with Mark and Wendy Phillips and the words in this dissertation provide a glimpse into their meaning, as I understand them. The words themselves, and the descriptions attributed to them, are not sacred, they are doorways into the sacred nature of these teachings and concepts. I do not believe it possible to describe on paper their "sacredness". In some areas I will dig deeper to explain the meaning of these words and teachings further. These meanings are as I understand them, which cannot be compared to how they are taught or understood by the Elders teaching them.

I do acknowledge that my understanding, while very limited, is privileged because I have had the opportunity to hear, see and feel these teachings on a number of occasions.

My understanding comes from a selfish place because I have interacted with these teachings on a personal level and not with the goal of teaching them to you throughout this dissertation. I have not earned that, nor do I have the knowledge or right to do so. The true understanding of these teachings are sacred. If you would like to understand them on that level, you will need to build the relationship on your own. This is largely because there are many dimensions to each of these teachings and what is written on paper is only one of those dimensions, the doing and feeling takes the learning to a whole other level. The degree to which I describe these other dimensions is limited, because words cannot fully encompass the deeper meanings, nor will they make you feel it.

What I have learned in the relatively short period of time that I have interacted with these teachings is that they are dynamic, fluid and multi-purpose. I have carefully chosen which teaching circles to present here and there are many others that could have been used in their place. These teachings all build upon one another, and they begin to put together a puzzle of what it means to be Anishinabe. Consider what I am presenting a very small piece of that puzzle, though it is a foundational one.

I want to acknowledge here that there are many variations of these teachings, what is presented here is one variation and my interpretation of them. The errors in this interpretation are my own - I expect that as more time passes and engagement with these teachings continues, my understandings and interpretations will shift. I am acknowledging that there are other ways to interpret these teachings, as well as other versions of these teachings, and they are all equal and valid because there are many ways of knowing and understanding among the Anishinabe.

One of the earliest teachings that I heard was about mind, body and spirit. This teaching will serve as the methodology, to acknowledge that all of the discussions that follow have included the mind, body and spirit. For me personally, understanding spirit has been the greatest teaching, as it has traditionally been left out of Western approaches to learning. To include spirit in the learning process is key to building a meaningful understanding, it is central to Indigenous ways of knowing and being and forms a critical piece for understanding this work.

When I think of the Friendship Centre, it is in terms of mental aspects, physical aspects and spiritual aspects. This is further dissected in a couple of different forms: first, the Friendship Centre as an organization and second, the Friendship Centre as a community. As an organization, the mental aspects include the organization's governance structure, its policies and its goals. The physical includes its location, other locations associated with it, the meaning of the space, and who is in attendance. The spiritual aspect examines how the physical and mental aspects are being carried out, how the ancestors and future generations are considered, and the ways in which spirit is brought into the organization.

As a community, the mental aspects include community needs and desires; the physical aspect include the construction of the community, their location and any physical barriers; the spiritual aspect includes the cycle of ceremonies and ways in which the community can grow. As I work through the following chapters, I will weave together the organizational and community aspects of the mind, body and spirit.

Through the dissertation and the aspect of time, I study the Anishinabe clan system, as it is represented through time including the contextualization of the Anishinabe

clan system, the representation of that clan system at Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre (2010-2014) and consideration of issues to overcome as observed by those interviewed, as well as implications for other urban organizations who may wish to consider organizing themselves in this way.

The framework that has guided me in my conduct and approach towards this research is:

> "Code for Long Life and Wisdom
> Thank Kitche Manitou for all his gifts.
> Honour the aged; in honouring them, you honour life and wisdom.
> Honour life in all its forms; your own will be sustained.
> Honour women; in honouring women, you honour the gift of life and love.
> Honour promises; by keeping your word, you will be true.
> Honour kindness; by sharing the gifts you will be kind.
> Be peaceful; through peace, all will find the Great Peace.
> Be courageous; through courage, all will grow in strength.
> Be moderate in all things; watch, listen and consider your deeds will be prudent."
> (Johnston, 1972:93)

It is described by Mark and Wendy Phillips as being:

"Code of Bimadiziwin

Mind	Body	Spirit
Truth	Honesty	Honour
Kindness	Sharing	Humility
Courage	Love	Wisdom"

The above are Clan Morals, which are also interpreted as the Seven Grandfather teachings, more widely, which are known as:

Wisdom

Love

Honesty

Humility

Bravery

Respect

Truth

I suspect that if these were translated back into Anishinabemowin the intent and meaning of these three groupings of morals would be even closer than they are in English. I will focus on describing the "Code of Bimadiziwin" (M. and W. Phillips) in more detail, using descriptions of the Seven Grandfather teachings and Basil Johnston's work.

Truth is described as honouring promises and keeping your word (Johnston, 1972) and to walk your talk by practicing each of the Grandfather teachings (OAYC, 2011)[7]. Kindness is described as sharing your gifts. Courage is described as growing in strength, it is the act of being brave, the ability to face the foe with integrity. Honesty is described as being upfront and straightforward in your actions without any ulterior motives. Sharing is described as being kind and distributing resources. Love is described as honouring all life, to know peace, and loving your family unconditionally. Honour is described as acting according to these principles. Humility is described as being moderate in all things, understanding your ego and balancing your ego to understand your place in creation. Wisdom is described as cherishing knowledge, honouring Elders and the aged, and learning from mistakes and experiences (Johnston, 1972; OAYC, 2011; M. and W. Phillips).

It has been my task in this work to understand these principles and to do my best to live by them. This, of course, is a learning process where mistakes are made and

[7] OAYC, 2011 note on their website that: "7 Teachings Excerpted and compiled from information developed separately by Georgina Toulouse, Dominic Eshkakogan, and the North Shore Tribal Council – Health Program, Cutler, ON, 07/00, M. Elliott, Health Educator."

lessons are learned. Thankfully this is part of the process and these mistakes have brought lessons into my life which are carried forward. I understand that these are the expectations in Anishinabe communities, which are the characteristics and morals that parents, grandparents and Elders work to instill in children. Through the relationship building process with the Friendship Centre and the community, I can see, in hindsight, that I was being watched for these attributes in my actions. Others were being observed for their actions as well. As time went on, my relationships grew and then I was able to co-develop a research project that would be of benefit.

This process happens each time a new person comes around the community. As an organization, each time a new client came in, the staff observed them for these attributes and supported them as they worked through their own lessons and personal development. As individuals hear teachings about these attributes, they assess where they are in their journey and what they may need to do to bring themselves into balance.

This approach is simple, but profound. Many researchers can think about projects they have taken part in, where those involved likely wouldn't be able to vouch for their character. These teachings create a foundation for relationship. These elements together exemplify what respect is, what it looks like, and how it can be measured or evaluated. As this creates the foundation for understanding and the methodology, next is a description of the methods used in this dissertation.

Methods

This study was a mixed method study examining how Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre incorporated and interpreted Indigenous cultures within their governance,

programs and services. The methods were mixed between Indigenous methods of research and Western academic methods, often used in Indigenous research. I will begin by describing the Indigenous methods:

1. Build relationship with a supervisor.
2. Build relationship with Helper(s).
3. Build relationship with Elder(s).
4. Build relationship with community (W. Phillips, 2014).

Relationship building was the key component to this research project and, as mentioned, the relationships go far beyond this research and have extended beyond the timeframe of this study. Professor David Newhouse was not my initial supervisor, however within about two years at Trent, it was obvious that Professor Newhouse's and my research objectives were aligned. I had the opportunity to work with Professor Newhouse and a team of academics, community organizations, governments and other stakeholders to submit and implement a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada partnership grant known as the Urban Aboriginal Knowledge Network. Professor Newhouse and I worked together on the implementation of this grant during my time at the National Association of Friendship Centres. As a result, we communicated regularly on a variety of topics outside of my dissertation.

My relationships with the Helpers, meaning the traditional helpers of the Elders that I would work with, emerged organically as a result of my attendance at ceremony and other events, as well as volunteering at NFC. Being new to Peterborough, I did not have many family or social obligations, meaning that my spare time was open. I volunteered at the Friendship Centre far beyond my academic requirements and, as result, was aware of

ceremonies and cultural events that would be taking place. I was also willing to help with the necessary preparations ahead of these events. This meant a variety of different things. It could mean giving someone a ride, helping to pick medicines, helping to build a lodge, watching the kids so their parents could prepare or any number of things. It was during these times that I was able to connect with many of the Helpers and build relationships with them. Again, these relationships extend beyond this research and remain very meaningful to me.

My relationships with the Elders were built largely in the same way, because I was willing to help out in a variety of ways and had time to do so, I was able to build relationships slowly. In addition, people that Mark and Wendy trusted, including Elder Doug Williams and Professor Mark Dockstator, introduced me to them. My cohort spent a lot of time with Doug and Mark during our course work and they had encouraged me to meet with Wendy for my community placement. I spent many hours sitting with Mark and Wendy, both together and separately, with their helpers and other members of the community listening to teachings, participating in ceremony and cultural events. Spending significant time with Mark and Wendy, led to introductions to a number of other Elders and traditional knowledge holders.

My relationship with community was one that I was able to build as a result of working with the Helpers and Elders. I started this work with youth at NFC during their Cultural Connections for Aboriginal Youth project. My journey began alongside theirs in attending ceremony and cultural events, many who were understanding what it meant to be Indigenous for the first time. Working with these youth was some of the most rewarding work that I had the opportunity to experience. The larger community would see

me on outings with the youth and this created an opportunity to expand those relationships. I also volunteered as a board member at the Native women's organization, Niijkiwendidaa Anishinabekwewag Services Circle, for a few years, supporting them in a variety of capacities, which built relationships with members of the community in a way that I would say I was a part of the community.

Building relationships with the helpers, Elders and community, included learning cultural protocols. I was quite cautious in this process and asked a lot of questions to the Helpers to ensure that I acted appropriately. Of course mistakes were made along the way, which were quietly corrected. There are formal protocols like approaching Elders for specific teachings and attending ceremonies, of which I was aware and cautious about. As a result of my relationships with the Helpers, they would make me aware of any protocols or expectations associated with an event or ceremony and we were able to have open conversations with them about protocol and expectations because of the significant time we spent together. Being around them often enough, I heard others approaching them with protocol questions and was able to learn with others as well. This broad process helped us to build community at ceremony and cultural events.

There are also a number of informal cultural protocols that I was unaware of at the time, which are largely noted in the listing of cultural engagement in a cultural setting below:

"Learning about the cultural protocols:

1. Helpers would identify protocols.
2. Enter cultural setting to observe the cultural engagement.
    a. Elder is watching how you are with Truth;
    b. Elder is watching how you are with Kindness;
    c. Elder is watching how you are with Courage;
    d. Elder is watching how you are with Honesty;

e. Elder is watching how you are with Sharing;
f. Elder is watching how you are with Love;
g. Elder is watching how you are with Honour;
h. Elder is watching how you are with Humility;
i. Elder is watching how you are with Wisdom.

3. Helpers would support during the cultural engagement"
(W. Phillips, 2014).

The Elders and their Helpers were in communication about those who were attending ceremonies, to ensure that everyone had the support that they needed to get to ceremony, to have a culturally safe experience and to ensure that they had supports after the ceremony should they need any. In my experiences, cultural engagement was ceremony, including: Feasting, Feast for the Dead, Pipe Ceremonies, Sweat Lodge Ceremonies, Naming Ceremonies, Doctoring, Vision Quest Ceremony and Fall Ceremonies.

The concept of cultural safety is incredibly important. As discussed earlier, Indigenous knowledge includes the mind, body and spirit. Often times when we think about safety in a mainstream sense, we think about physical safety. Sometimes we think about safety of the mind, including being aware of the words that we choose and ensuring that we are inclusive of a variety of beliefs, abilities, etc. It is rare that we think about safety of the spirit in the mainstream. Ensuring a safe cultural space is the responsibility of the Elders, specifically those who are conducting the ceremony or circle, and their helpers. Safe cultural spaces allow people to be open and vulnerable in a way that does not make them feel violated afterwards. It also ensures that there are people to follow up afterwards – either physically or otherwise.

Again, much emphasis is usually placed on the Elders and their teachings, however the role of the Helpers is important to recognize as an Elder may have a number

of Helpers who often act as a buffer to the Elders to protect them and ensure that people's intentions are good ones. In addition, the Helpers play vital roles in conducting the actual ceremony. Once the Elders have spent enough time with an individual, they have had an opportunity to observe how an individual reacts within the "Code of Life" teachings, this is where trust has an opportunity to develop and the relationship between researcher and Elders begins.

Of course relationships exist along the way, but the depth of the relationship does not exist. I have heard Mark and Wendy reference eighteen months as the timeframe that it takes to get to know someone and their actions. Researchers and other individuals come and go long before this time frame. Often times they are still helped and supported, however the depth of their relationship will be different simply based on time.

As NFC is a cultural based organization, the NFC programs are culturally based and in order to understand the organization and programs it was important to build trust first, develop relationship and then to begin with an academic research process. It is essential to note, again, that this relationship was very organic, because there was no intention for research in the beginning – based on the relationships that developed the relationships evolved for the purpose of research.

In terms of academic methods, data collection, methods and analysis included a variety of different techniques to ensure that I could understand both the policies and the practices that affect the incorporation of Indigenous cultures into programs and services at Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre. Information was collected through institutional records and interviews. The types of information included policy, program directives, proposals, reports, and requests for grants and funding. Finally, the policies and programs of

Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre and particularly how cultures were incorporated into their programs and policies were examined.

I worked with the Executive Director of Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre, Wendy Phillips, to explore, interpret and analyze this work from an Anishinabe perspective. This work began with the Friendship Centre in 2010, and from 2010-2014 I was a student, volunteer, contract employee, and finally, a researcher. I have extensive knowledge of the operations of the Friendship Centre during that time period and have relationships with the board, staff, clients and other volunteers that extend far beyond this research project. As a volunteer and as an individual I have attended many ceremonies, teachings, cultural events; resulting in profound academic and personal growth. It is important to note that the research was not an intentional process in the early stages, but rather the relationships grew and the idea for research was developed collaboratively.

A variety of different research projects were discussed and thought out, many elements of these projects remain in this dissertation. Wendy and I often got onto these topics of research and how my dissertation could support the goals of the Friendship Centre while driving. They were never scheduled and often came up naturally, I was almost always driving so there are no notes on our conversations, but trusted that I would remember what was needed. Reflecting back on this process, it was important to not take extensive notes on the conversations, to be fully present in the conversation, rather than focusing on notes. This was also a way to divert me away from my Western academic tendencies of learning and comfort zone.

A total of nine formal interviews were completed during the summer of 2014. Interviews were with staff and members of the Board. There are two additional interviews

from another project conducted, around the same time, which were used to describe the methodology and Indigenous approaches to research. Both individuals (Harry Snowboy and Mark Phillips) have provided consent to use their responses for this dissertation. Interviews were all conducted in person, primarily at the Friendship Centre. A questionnaire was used to guide the interview process, with an openness so that the conversation could divert from the actual questions. The people who were interviewed had the opportunity to review the transcript and make any changes they saw fit; one person withdrew their consent at this stage. Their responses have been destroyed and are not included. As a final step, all individuals interviewed will receive an electronic copy of my dissertation for their records. The dissertation has been written in a way that a community report is not necessary, the point was to create something that would be useful to community as is. For me, I have done this to be of use to the community, if it cannot be used, I have missed the target.

Research Ethics Board

This project was reviewed through Trent University's Research Ethics Board and the Indigenous Studies Traditional Council. In addition, the Ontario Federation of Indigenous Friendship Centre's USAI research framework and protocols were negotiated directly with Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre and myself (OFIFC, 2012). I worked closely with Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre to ensure that this research would be useful and relevant for them in their work. Cultural protocols were followed where appropriate and this was directed by the Friendship Centre to ensure that I acted respectfully.

As an additional layer of transparency, Wendy Phillips sits as an informal member of my dissertation committee. This was for a number of reasons, including: to ensure that the traditional knowledge and information about NFC was accurately portrayed and to recognize this knowledge as equal to academic knowledge that many of the other committee members represent. However, I note that all committee members are well versed in both Indigenous knowledge and academic knowledge.

Finding Meaning

The section that would typically talk about "data analysis" has been reframed to finding meaning. The word data, seems so disconnected from what I have experienced in collecting stories and gathering information, finding meaning seems more appropriate. I worked with Wendy Phillips to find an appropriate methodology and framework to discuss the nature of this dissertation, which is found above. I worked collaboratively with Wendy Phillips and other contributors to determine how best to present the stories of Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre. We determined that the Anishinabe clan system was most appropriate, as the governance of the organization is based upon this model and the roles and responsibilities of Anishinabe (and various other nations) people are determined according to clan systems. This will be discussed in more detail in the chapters that follow.

Dissemination

Academically, I have written this dissertation that will be disseminated with other dissertations nationally online. I may produce publications or present at conferences or in

other venues, and this will be negotiated with those who participated in the research, particularly the knowledge keepers. It is important to note that the completion of this dissertation will not complete my relationship with this community. In terms of my reciprocity for this work, I ensured that the relationship was reciprocal throughout the process. I volunteered in a variety of different capacities throughout and to share this work is now my role and responsibility. I intend to do this using the same framework that has guided this work. This goes far beyond a report back to the community, which is often times standard and seen as reciprocal. My agreement with this community is to continue doing this work, using the knowledge they have shared to ground me. I remain committed to sharing space and ceremony with them to determine how we may continue this work in the future.

Conclusion

This chapter has been about an Indigenous research process, specifically what it has meant in the context of the research presented here. It has positioned this work as being based in relationships with Elders, knowledge keepers, community members and myself. There is an acknowledgement of the many Indigenous researchers who are approaching their research in similar ways, with similar intention. I have attempted to describe this further, and go deeper than what has been presented in the literature. I recognize the words of scholars before me who describe this type of work and acknowledge that they have also gone through similar processes in their research. I have described this in more detail for those who may not have had those experiences yet, so that they may understand the significance of time, respect and relationship in this work.

It has built understanding of Indigenous research from the perspective of two Elders, through portions of their interviews. The key messages are that relationships are the foundation to any work that we do and that relationships are based in broad morals. The Code of Bimadiziwin is one way of understanding the complexities of relationships in an Indigenous context. While this level of detail is not common in methodology chapters, it is foundational to Indigenous research processes. These processes came first and it is important to present them in that way.

This chapter has been focused on the southern direction and the teaching of time for the coming chapters on feeling and movement. Understanding the time and relationships required in doing this kind of research has revealed some of the basic principles and teachings that will be important to use as a lens in understanding Indigenous governance systems. This will provide some context for how Indigenous communities have organized themselves in a traditional sense, before looking to movement where these concepts were operationalized.

WEST: Feeling, part 1

Introduction

This chapter will be focused on Indigenous governance systems. Specifically, I will present the Anishinabe clan system as presented by Basil Johnston (1972) because it is the same clan system taught by Mark and Wendy Phillips. However, I will include other clan systems for broader context building and to illustrate some of the common themes within Indigenous clan systems. This chapter will highlight the role of the Anishinabe clan system in governance and everyday life prior to contact with European explorers and settlers. The clan system is the cultural foundation of the Anishinabe. It lays out the roles and responsibilities of individuals and how they are to conduct themselves every day. For the Anishinabe, the clan system is imbedded in their ways of knowing. The point of this chapter is to conceptualize and build an understanding of the role of the clan system for Anishinabe communities.

This chapter is situated in the West and is focused on Feeling. The western direction includes connection to spirit and also the animal world. The clan system which was given to the Anishinabe by the animal world. Negative feelings associated with the loss of this way of life for many Indigenous peoples is also what this direction is about and these issues of colonialism will be discussed in the next part of this chapter. This section provides an opportunity for re-education, remembering and re-learning what was left for Anishinabe to govern themselves.

In looking to the past, we must start with the beginning. The beginning for Anishinabe people lies within their creation story. If you are interested in understanding

creation stories, you should listen to some Elders or knowledge keepers, as only they can do the story justice. King, Borrows and Youngblood-Henderson agree that "First Nations' creation stories ...provided the foundations of their legal and governance traditions" (Bruhn, 2009: 19). Within creation stories, come pieces of instructions for all of creation. In Anishinabe belief systems, all things are interconnected.

Before I discuss the clan system specifically, it may be useful to gain an understanding of what anthropologists, academics and Indigenous scholars have observed about Indigenous peoples and their governance systems over time. It is important to note that these governance systems are very different than those developed by European nations. European systems were designed to maintain the power and privilege of those in power, with the belief that they had the right to rule over other individuals and the earth. For Indigenous people, governance is expressed with human beings as a part of the circle of life along with the mineral world, plant world and animal world, including the Earth herself (Ladner, 2009; Mark and Wendy Phillips).

Indigenous Governance Systems

Jodi Bruhn (2009) provides an overview of Indigenous peoples in what is now known as Canada and their lifestyles, drawing on Dickason's work (2006). Indigenous communities in Canada were primarily hunter-gatherer societies, organized into bands or tribes. Bands typically were made up of extended families or clans, who moved together across the land in seasonal patterns. Tribes were larger and sometimes established fixed settlements. Leaders were usually granted authority for particular tasks. On the northwest coast, there were permanent villages, where Chiefs were hereditary and were more

authoritarian. These differences show the diversity of Indigenous communities in Canada, who survived in a variety of different types of communities based on their surroundings and their understandings of the world around them.

Indigenous governance systems were defined by nations in ways that made sense for their specific territories. Ladner outlines the Blackfoot Confederacy to illustrate this point and states they,

> "…created a complex web of clan, society and bundle structures of governance at the sub-national, national and confederal levels, each of which operated within its set area of responsibilities or jurisdictions and in a manner defined and confined by their own constitutional order" (2009:89).

The Haudenosaunee's Great Law of Peace is traditionally performed orally and only at certain ceremonies. This is an example of an oral history that outlines the protocols, laws and governance of the Haudenosaunee, through the Peacemaker's journey. The address provides specific instructions to the Haudenosaunee on a wide range of topics including how to run councils, adoption, international relations and condolence (Bruhn, 2009).

For Anishinabe communities, the clan system and various laws and morals shaped community life, conduct and governance - the particulars of this are discussed in some detail below. While different nations and tribes had different ways of choosing and raising up their leaders, many communities groomed their leaders from very young ages (Wesley- Esquimaux and Calliou, 2010).

Regardless of how Indigenous communities organized themselves, they had systems of governance that had the "tools, jurisdictional authority and capacity to address the needs and aspirations of the nation and its subunits or constituent communities"

(Ladner, 2009). These nations dealt with peace, war, crisis, hunting and other aspects of day to day life. However, these systems of governance were complex and ancient. Community members were held accountable for their actions and as such their leaders were accountable to them. These systems were also adaptable to change and deeply rooted in spirituality (Ladner, 2009; Alfred, 1999).

The Anishinabe

Anishinabe society is based on the moral teachings of the Seven Grandfather Teachings (similar to the Code of Bimadiziwin presented in the previous chapter), these teachings are referred to as Sacred Gifts given to the Anishinabe by the Creator and include: Love, Truth, Respect, Wisdom, Humility, Honesty and Bravery. In some beliefs, the gifts are represented by the Clans, which are (beginning in the eastern direction): Deer (Love), Eagle (Truth), Crane (Respect), Turtle (Wisdom), Loon (Humility), Bear (Honesty), and Marten (Bravery):

> "The Clan System of Government has within it all the roles and responsibilities required for peace, order, and good governance in Anishinabe society. All the Clans work together to maintain balance and equality, and to make the best decisions for the People" (Anishinabek Nation, 2011:2).

Clans are referred to as "dodem" in Anishinabemowin and are also represented as totems. Basil Johnston breaks down the meaning of the word:

> "The evidence is strong that the term "dodem" comes from the same root as do 'dodum' and 'dodosh'. 'Dodum' means to do or fulfil, while 'Dodosh,' literally means breast, that from which milk, or food, or sustenance is drawn. Dodem may mean 'that from which I draw my purpose, meaning and being'" (1972:61).

This meaning illustrates the meaning behind the ways the Anishinabe organize their society and draw purpose for their way of life.

Beyond replicating the attributes of the Seven Grandfather Teachings, clans were instrumental in establishing relationships between bands, they enabled inter-community cooperation, relationships, diplomatic relations and they helped to regulate societies (McGuire, 2008). Clans functioned at the individual, family, community and nation levels, "based on one of the core teachings that continuously arose during the interview process - the interrelationships between the individual, family/clan, community and nation" (Watts, 2006:24). Watts (2006) describes this Anishinabe teaching as fundamental to understanding the roles and responsibilities with each of these relationships. She refers to this as the Four Levels of Anishinabe Governance. Here, Shirley Williams describes the teaching:

> "You have to be responsible to yourself first. And then to your family and your clans. Clans are extended family. And then of course your tribes, your community. And then of course your nation. And that's the same thing you know how we have Creator, and then yourself, and others, and the land. The Creator gave us the land, the Creator made us, and in order to survive we have to depend on others" (Watts, 2006:24).

Beyond these instructions, the clan system gives Anishinabe people a sense of belonging and identity at each of these levels. Watts (2006) notes that in the context of the Anishinabe, an individual does not imply isolation but, rather, dependency on collective responsibilities. Wendy Phillips has spoken of this in terms of an individual's responsibility to bring honour to their nation, community, clan and themselves in all tasks.

In exploring these relationships further, Watts (2006) continues to define family and clan as one in the same, as the clan system is considered an extended part of the family collective. Community refers to people on a specific territory that are governed by politics, law-making, ceremonies, health, etc. The nation refers to those under the Sacred Law of the Anishinabe, language, concepts, philosophies, ceremonies, etc. (Watts, 2006). It is important to recognize that these four levels are not hierarchical, but rather interconnected and interdependent on one another (Watts, 2006).

One of the roles of the clans was to bring unity to a nation, who was diverse and covered an extensive land base, as Johnston describes here:

> "The bonds that united the Ojibway-speaking peoples were the totems. The feeling and sense of oneness among people who occupied a vast territory was based not on political considerations or national aspirations or economic advantages; not even upon religion or similarity of view or ceremony; but upon the totemic symbols which made those born under the signs one in function, birth and purpose" (1972:72).

This exemplifies the value that the Anishinabe placed on their clans as being central to their identity and belonging.

McGuire (2008) further discusses the functionality of Anishinabe clans as contributing to the overall social organization and governance, while functioning at individual and communal levels. She points out the importance of the communal ties to the Anishinabe, which could include gifting, stories, marriage, and alliances with other societies. Fred Kelly notes that the Anishinabe clan system has three functions: to identify families/groups and their responsibilities; provide a structure for laws about family bloodlines, marriage and inheritance; and to contribute to the system of government at the tribal level, and to enforce the tribal laws within the family (Watts, 2006: 52).

Gender roles and responsibilities within the clan system were not necessarily separate, where man or woman could become leader in their clan. Each clan had its own leadership structure, with distribution of people throughout the lifecycle to ensure the knowledge, responsibilities and stories of the clan were continued (McGuire, 2008). Passing on of stories was done using a variety of different approaches, but usually by the Elders in the clan. As with other Indigenous knowledge there are protocols for hearing, telling and learning these stories. Some stories can only be heard in specific ceremonies. These stories tell individuals about clan affiliations, adoption practices and relationships protocols. There are some stories that are only taught to select members of the clan who have been identified to learn and/or teach them (McGuire, 2008).

In order for balanced roles within the community and nation, marriage within a clan was not permitted. Preventing intermarriage was crucial to protect the roles and responsibilities of all clans (Watts, 2006; Johnston, 1972; Mark and Wendy Phillips).

Because each clan is responsible for some aspect of survival, it is important that balance is maintained. I will now turn to a more detailed discussion of the Anishinabe clan system as presented by Johnston (1972) and Mark and Wendy Phillips. I acknowledge that there are alternative understandings and interpretations of the clan system and I am choosing to use this one because it was also used by Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre. A visual representation can be seen in Figure 2 below.

Basil Johnston describes the Anishinabe clan system here:

> "From man's five basic individual and social needs and endeavours, leadership, protection, sustenance, learning, and physical well-being, emerged the framework and fabric of Ojibway society. It was the fulfilment of these needs for individual and social growth that formed the *raison d'etre* for society. Each function in the Ojibway schemata of society, government, defense, provision of necessities,

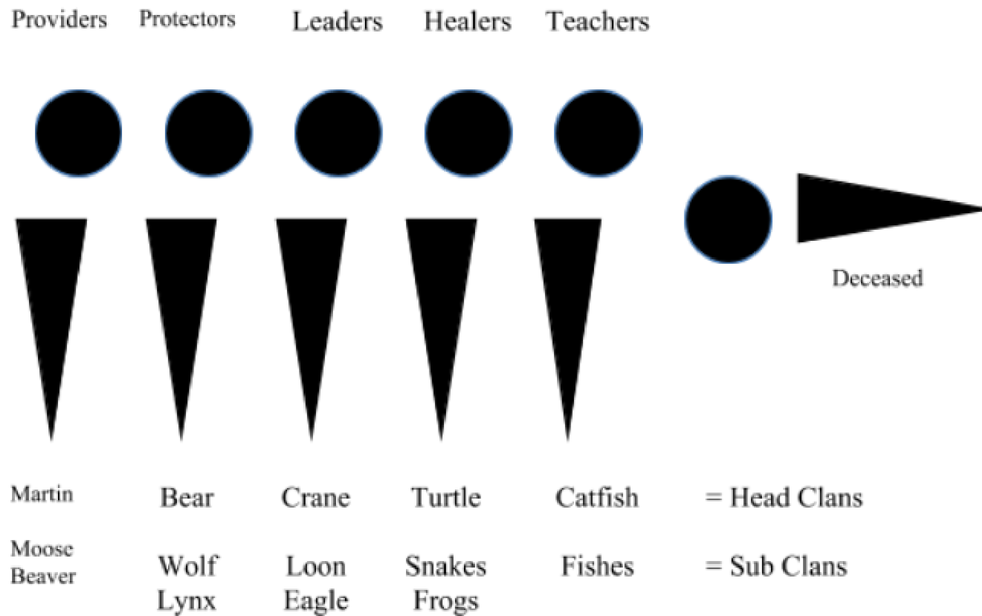
> education, and medical practice, was discharged by a social unit whose members were born into the unit and especially trained. Each social unit represented one form or aspect of public duty which was symbolized by an emblem, known as a totem. The totem was probably the most important social unity taking precedence over the tribe, community, and the immediate family" (1972: 59).

Here he attributes individual and social needs with five different clans: leadership - Chiefs, protection - defense/warriors, sustenance- hunters, education - learning/teaching, medical practice - medicine/healers. The next several pages will outline the responsibilities of each clan and their roles as described by Johnston (1972).

Figure 2: Doodim/Clan Teachings[8]

[8] Taught by: Wendy Phillips, Bald Eagle Clan & Mark Phillips, Turtle Clan, the Late Emma & Basil King of Wasauksing First Nation.
Written resource: Basil Johnston, Ojibway Ceremonies and Ojibway Heritage

Doodim Teachings
Clan



Notes:

Doodim: "What you draw nourishment from!"

Purpose:
1. To develop and sustain a community.
2. To provide a place to belong.
3. To provide first teachings: Morals and clan specific.
4. To provide a quality of life for families and community.
5. To maintain strong bloodlines.
6. To maintain Great laws, Natural laws and Tribal laws.

Leadership

Johnston (1972: 61-64) discusses leadership and shares a story of the crane, who is a natural leader within the animal kingdom. He says that the crane commands attention when they call because they do so infrequently. As such, leaders only exercise their authority as leaders from time to time. Leaders are such because of their character, where they lead by example and speak for their people and not only themselves. There were leaders in place based on need by the community, when a particular need ended, so did the leadership. For example, the need for different leaders during times of war and peace was important because their skills and purpose were vastly different. The leader is first only to show the way, but remains equal to the rest of the community in all other ways. The community chooses the leader based on who they follow, but there is no obligation to follow and individuals are free to withdraw.

However, in this society, leadership is not often contested because it is seen to be a burden and most would try to avoid it. As a result, the youth who were born to leadership clans were trained for their duties. They studied,

> "…history, tradition, grammar, and speaking. Part of the training fostered eloquence, wisdom and generosity. It was hoped that such training would inculcate in the tentative candidate a special deference to the principle that in government the well-being of people superseded all other considerations" (Johnston, 1972: 63).

These trainings were lifelong endeavors, and were the focus of their tasks each day of their lives (Mark and Wendy Phillips). As a result, when leadership was needed a leader emerged and the community member was prepared for their task.

It is important to recognize that being born into a leadership clan, and/or being trained as a leader did not always translate into leadership. Depending on the situation, someone born of another clan could be put into the position to lead if the community felt they had a greater capacity to lead. Again, leadership was seen as a burden and not an entitlement, where true leaders did not act upon their own initiative.

While an individual was designated as the leader, they did not make decisions on their own. Where the community was concerned, they sought the guidance of a council consisting of the leading men and women in the community, typically these were the Elders. The composition of this council was not rigid but would have usually included the Elders of each clan represented within a community. Where the leader sought this direction, they may then have greater authority in the adjudication of wrongs, settlement of dispute, distribution of hunting and fishing territories, or choosing between war and peace (Johnston, 1972).

In the Full Circle Project, responsibilities of the clans are discussed in detail. Mark and Wendy supported this project, which uses the same Anishinabe clan system discussed above. It describes leadership clans as being responsible for governance and decision making; community consultation; maintenance of accountability to principles and values, as well as systems balancing various powers across community; and development of councils for youth, Elders, women and men, as well as specific areas of responsibility (NCFS, 2009:26). It also describes the characteristics of leaders:

> "…qualities include humility and a strong ability to listen and empathize, resulting in an increased capacity to take on leadership roles grounded in cultural strengths – for example, training and involving more and more young people in community based justice models, developing culture-based youth councils, building into and

> preparing for men's and women's councils grounded in traditional wisdom" (NCFS, 2009: 72).

Protection/Warriors

The bear, wolf and lynx were typical warrior clans and warriors were a necessary evil. Often it was the youth who sought to prove themselves as worthy warriors and courageous and, while there were several ways of doing it, physical combat was common. Battle was seen as a test "for heart, strength, and skill" (Johnston, 1972:68). Elders often tried to prevent young men from going out to seek battle, but they were unable to stop young men from initiating fights.

Warriors were necessary to defend family and community from attacks. As mentioned above in times of war the leadership of the community was entrusted to a war Chief. This leader had limited authority and power, which was proportionate to the number of warriors that followed him. Warriors had the ability to choose if they would follow a war Chief into battle. Johnston speaks of war pipes and that,

> "…smoking the pipe indicated his willingness to take part and formed a firm commitment from which there was no withdrawal. A man was also free to refuse the invitation; and since refusal was his prerogative there was no censure or recrimination" (1972:69).

Realistically, the war Chief did not have great authority over his warriors, as it was never certain how a battle would be carried out or what warriors would do in life or death situations. As discussed above, warriors saw war as a chance to prove their worth and they looked to show courage, rather than kill people or occupy their land (Johnston, 1972). However, there were series of bitter fights, with less than noble outcomes.

The Full Circle Project identifies the roles of protectors as including teachings on safety, love, family and community, including child protection and development; social

order, including teachings on clans, life stages and rites of passage from birth to death; natural roles and responsibilities of men, women, Elders, youth and children; teachings on relationships and sexuality; and justice, policing and military functions. They describe the characteristics of protectors as:

> "…qualities include a strong sense of cultural belonging, through discovery of clans, through rites of passage that bring youth the realization of their own inwardly driven vision, and through other teachings related to becoming responsible men and women and caring for the social order. This sense of belonging supports healthy and loving relationships, through strong feelings of connection with – and knowledge of our place in relations to – family, clan, past and future generations, and ultimately the whole world and universe.
>
> These inner characteristics are the basis for healthy families, communities and social order and justice. The rest is different forms of violence, or worse, a false sense of stability with inner stagnation – a body with the spirit missing, which results in many lonely people and a lack of true community, leading to all kids of social ills, including crime, addictive behaviours, gangs, family violence and breakdown, "mental illnesses" and suicide" (NCFS, 2009: 71).

Sustenance/Hunters/Providers

The role of the hunters was an important one, as they were charged with providing food and materials for clothing and shelter. As with the warrior clans, there was much honour for those who were skilled hunters or fishers. The hunter clans included the marten, moose, deer, caribou, beaver and muskrat.

Hunters required a special set of skills to track game and then patience to get close enough to take a shot. They required endurance to travel, sometimes days at a time, strength to carry their kill, and resourcefulness to overcome hazards and hardships. Hunters had to learn about the character and nature of animals, as well as learning to build and maintain their own hunting and survival tools. Hunting and fishing success

were honoured by giving thanks to the animal for their sacrifice and by celebrating the first kill of a young boy (Johnston, 1972 and Mark and Wendy Phillips).

The Full Circle Project describes providers' roles as including traditional teachings and values on providing for families' and communities' needs related to food, shelter, clothing, jobs, wider economic development and balance; skills building grounded in values and character; knowledge and practice of survival on the land and principles of harvesting any plant, animal or mineral substance; and traditional ecological knowledge and practice, maintaining or restoring balance in the environment for sustainable survival. The characteristics of providers are described as:

> "…qualities of understanding, values and character related to work and responsibly providing for themselves and others, including their families, clan, community, nation and environment, as stewards of the land. People with a strong inner sense of this responsibility in relation to their clan…These inner characteristics support improved survival skills and wealth in our communities, regardless of external circumstances. The rest is welfare and idleness, or worse: the greed, materialism and blind selfish ambition" (NCFS, 2009: 70).

The role of the hunter or provider was to feed the community and provide a better life. A skilled hunter was often viewed as a desirable husband. For many communities it was common to invite a young man to live with his future wife's household and to support them for an amount of time to prove his ability as a provider. Proving this would result in the family's support of the marriage.

<u>Education/Teaching</u>

It was the role of the teachers to ensure that the knowledge of the community was passed on from generation to generation and to support the spiritual growth of individuals. The fishes are attributed to the teaching clans, as fish are known to be

especially resourceful. It was necessary for the young people to not only build the skill, but to build understanding, knowledge and wisdom of the task. Johnston describes learning as two-fold,

> "…one end of training was to prepare man or woman to serve his physical needs; the other, to enlarge his soul-spirit or inner being. For the first, adults imparted their skills and knowledge to the young; for the second, the Elders passed on their wisdom. Both forms of training were given at the same time. By combining both forms of training and teaching the product would be a well-rounded man, skilled and wise" (1972: 69).

He continues to discuss the complexity of the training, where the end of one cycle resulted in the development of a skill. They next for prepared for the vision and fidelity to the vision and, finally, the acquisition of some wisdom (Johnston, 1972). Similarly, Elders Michael Thrasher and Mark and Wendy Phillips have often used the teaching circle awareness, understanding, knowledge, and wisdom to talk about the stages in which individuals come to make meaning of things. They talk about repetition in tasks to build understanding and knowledge, with wisdom being something that is sought but not often obtained.

Training was given in three stages. During the first seven years of a child's life, the women and Elders looked after and taught the children. In the second stage, the young boys went with the men to learn hunting and fishing and the girls remained with their mothers and the Elders. The third stage began when the person sought wisdom from others. Often the Elders, grandmothers and grandfathers taught using stories, songs, dances, and ceremonies as teaching tools. They were deemed to have lived long enough to build wisdom, along with knowledge, patience and generosity. In order to foster individuality and self-growth, children and youth were encouraged to interpret the stories

and teachings for themselves. The goal of this was to have them build understanding and knowledge on certain topics. Each individual learned according to their intellectual and physical capacity and according to their individual gifts (Johnston, 1972).

This is not to suggest that the learning was not serious, the teachings had important information for community and individual well-being and growth. As such, the testing was serious. This was one way that a person came to know their own worth and demonstrate merit. These tests often included the vision quest, where individuals would build greater understanding and wisdom. Johnston describes the final stage of learning here:

> "During this last phase in life that the learner realized his want of knowledge, and sought out the wise to teach him. A man or woman begins to learn, when he seeks out knowledge and wisdom; wisdom will not seek him. He may never attain it, but he can live by those principles given to him" (1972:70).

The Full Circle Project discusses the roles of teachers as addressing how we learn, grow and develop: cycles of time, nature and cosmos, creation stories, prophecies, cycles, calendars, various sciences, histories and migrations; knowledge and understanding of the world, and of human rights, urges, tasks, privileges and endeavors; mathematics and the significance of numbers; and all art forms including visual arts, dance, drumming, song, theatre, storytelling, architectural, regalia and crafts. The characteristics of teachers are described as:

> "…qualities include good story telling/speaking skills, living a good example, humour, and deeper knowledge, understanding and wisdom based on experience. Youth develop a level of inner understanding that allows them to develop wisdom in all functions addressing how we learn, grow and develop.
>
> These inner characteristics are the basis for passing on what remains of our traditional knowledge to future generations, and of restoring the precious knowledge that has been lost to us (it never dies, but rather disappears from our

> perception and understanding, and can be restored with the help of our authentic rites and spiritual practices). Anything else is knowledge leading nowhere, or worse, to our own destruction" (NCFS, 2009: 72).

Medicine/Healing

Medicine men and women, often came from the otter and turtle clans. However, birth into one of these clans had to be accompanied by special gifts for healing. Healing was unique, in that it depended not only on the knowledge of plants, but on personal ability. As Johnston describes here: "Few men and women were endowed with the spirit for healing and preserving life" (1972:72). As such, boys and girls who were deemed to possess these gifts were chosen by medicine men and women for training.

Once chosen, individuals underwent long periods of training with the guidance of a medicine person. The training was designed to enhance the individual's ability to heal others and impart knowledge of plants that would assist them in doing so. Among the healers was a need to share knowledge with others to better understand how best to preserve life and mitigate pain, while offering guidance and principles for Bimadiziwin, the good life (Johnston, 1972). It was important for the healers to understand all areas of ailment of an individual which would include physical, mental and spiritual.

In order to address all aspects of an individual in healing, the spirit of the being needed to be addressed. As physical sickness is often a result, in some form, of inner turmoil, it can be seen as a last resort to warning the individual that something is wrong and needs to be addressed. To address all aspects of an individual in healing, in addition to plant medicine, much can be learned from an individual's dream state (Johnston, 1972; Mark and Wendy Phillips).

Healers had a specific code of ethics to be followed if they were to be respected by other healers. From healers came a set of ethics which had application not only to healers, but to others. Well-being and health was more than a lack of sickness but, rather, balance within the individual, and it was the role of the healer to work with individuals to support this balance. In this way, the work of a medicine person overlapped into various fields of metaphysics, psychology, ethics, morality and ceremony (Johnston, 1972).

The Full Circle Project describes the roles of healers as: health, healing and medicine at all levels (spirit, body, and mind); ceremony and ritual maintaining health and balance; teachings on all aspects of the human being and their functions and place in creation; food and nutrition; teachings on principles for maintaining balance through values such as the Code of Bimadiziwin; and play and leisure. The characteristics of healers are described as follows:

> "…qualities include an awareness of the need to find and walk in balance, and what it means to be healthy in mind, body and spirit – and how to do this in obedience to the natural law of reciprocity between all beings at all levels of existence. Walking in balance means having a strong internal sense of what is required to maintain peaceful and ordered relationships between all orders of nature, within and between individuals as well as between all life forms and beings, including the mineral and plant worlds.
>
> These inner characteristics are the basis for health, long life and peace of mind. Neglecting them leads to imbalance and sickness at many levels" (NCFS, 2009: 71).

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the complex societal structure of the Anishinabe using the clan system. Building knowledge and wisdom on each of these aspects would literally take multiple lifetimes, as such, the overview provided above is limited. However, what I hope is apparent is the intentional ways that the Anishinabe functioned and survived. By

recognizing the roles and responsibilities of various clans to do their part in ensuring the health and survival of individuals, families, communities and nations, there can first be an awareness of this structure, followed by a building understanding and then knowledge.

The clan system in particular has created a foundation for Anishinabe to make sense of the world they live in both in the past and today. It puts feeling into systems of governance and organization. The next section will outline some of the colonial realities that separated Anishinabe from these ways and look at how Anishinabe are putting this into practice in their communities and within their organizations.

WEST: Feeling, part two: Literature Review

Introduction

The last section focused on the role of the clan system in Anishinabe life. This section begins by briefly illustrating the impact of colonization on Indigenous communities and their ways of life. Then urbanization of Indigenous peoples will be discussed, followed by a discussion on the development of urban Indigenous organizations, focusing on the development of Friendship Centres. Next, I will discuss the interpretation of Indigenous cultures by Canadian Courts, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, and others. This portion of the 'feeling' chapter will read much like a literature review.

Impact of Colonization on Indigenous Ways of Life

To illustrate the impact of colonization on Indigenous communities and their traditional territories, I would like to share this quote from Leanne Simpson:

> "Our clans relate us to the land, and our system of governance comes from the land through our relationship with our Clans. The people of the Fish Clans, who are the intellectuals of the nation, have important responsibilities, and they have an important relationship with the Fish Nations. Twice a year for thousands of years, those Fish Nations have met at Mnjikaning, in small narrows between Lake Simcoe and Lake Couchiching. The Fish Nations gathered to talk, to tend to their treaty relationships, as the Gizhe-mnido had instructed them. The people came as well, to fish, to talk, to meet with the Fish Nations. Indigenous Peoples tended those complex fish weirs at Mnjikaning for thousands of years, but we were forced to stop about 100 years ago" (2008: 208).

Simpson is speaking of Mnjikaning, a site of ancient fish weirs and part of the Trent-Severn Waterway. Nogojiwanong (Peterborough) is also on the Trent-Severn Waterway and the flooding and imposition of lift locks throughout this water system have impacted

the fish life, which in turn has impacted the Anishinabe who are caretakers of this water system and have been for generations. The lift locks are a constant reminder of colonization and the privileging of settler communities and desires above those of the Indigenous communities in the area. When all of colonization is considered this may seem like a small piece, but the ongoing impacts, the dramatic change to a way of life, and the overall impact on the minerals, the plants, the animals and the humans, have had generational effects that have rippled outwards.

Colonization of Indigenous peoples in Canada has been written on quite extensively and I wish to give a short overview of the literature. Colonialism created the reserve system, the *Indian Act*, residential schools, loss of territories, loss of culture, loss of historical economies, and created tactics to destroy communities that included violence, starvation and alcoholism (Ladner, 2009; Simpson, 2008). Of course this process did not take place at one point in time, but over time. And while all of these horrific acts against Indigenous peoples took place, I believe it is important to recognize that Indigenous peoples have survived. The ingenuity of Indigenous people to continue to share their cultures, although in different ways than in the past, shows the strength and resiliency of these knowledge systems.

However, it seemed that for every success that Indigenous peoples had, the Canadian government found a way to stifle it. This stifling was largely done via the *Indian Act* and other federal government policies and practices which were designed to "eliminate indigenous sovereignty, indigenous government and indigenous constitutional orders" (Ladner, 2009: 90). The creation of band councils removed Indigenous communities from their traditional governance systems, such as the clan system.

However, band councils as governments were not designed for success - they were not provided with the jurisdiction, authority, accountability or the overall tools to effectively operate (Ladner, 2009). Unlike other governments in Canada, a band council's ability to govern is based on the willingness of the federal government to allow them to do so.

When we think of the clan system compared to the band council model, an Indigenous community's ability to maintain themselves and their needs was not provided. In terms of leadership, elections now took place with fixed terms and the stamp of approval by Indian Affairs, which was much different from leaders chosen based on need, with no fixed times, and where the community decided if they would support their leader. In addition, consensus style decision making was removed and the councils that supported the leader no longer formally existed.

The ability of the community to protect itself was diminished as external forces, such as the North West Mounted Police and later the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, took over. This removed the ability of communities to enforce their own laws and it also removed the ability for warriors to prove themselves and their worth as warriors. Dempsey (1999) and others have argued that Indigenous people fought in the world wars in such high numbers as a way to prove themselves as warriors.

Similarly to the warriors, hunters were impacted as they could no longer move freely across their traditional territories and had to abide by foreign conservation laws. Being confined to reserves and not moving seasonally as many communities had in the past impacted their ability to provide for themselves. Some communities were entirely relocated to foreign territory (RCAP, 1996).

In terms of education, the federal government believed it was responsible, along with the churches, for educating Indigenous children. The approach to education was foreign to Indigenous people, where their languages and teachings were not a part of what they were learning and they were not being taught by their own community members. The residential school system's impacts on Indigenous communities and education go far beyond the scope of this dissertation (TRC, 2015).

Finally, healing was a challenge, like hunting, as the access to medicines changed. Approaches to medicine and healing were different for non-Indigenous communities. The ceremonies that often accompanied healing were outlawed beginning in 1880, by way of the *Indian Act* and either had to take place so the Indian Agent would not find out, or they did not take place at all. These examples are brief and only provide a glimpse of the changes that Indigenous people faced in the ways their communities functioned and governed themselves.

While the *Indian Act* has been amended over time, other changes have taken place, including the negotiation of self-government agreements in some communities. The band council system still exists and communities still lack the tools, resources and authority to make decisions on their own, without the approval of the federal government (Ladner, 2009).

After over one hundred years of this colonial system, many community members have forgotten that the band council system is not their way. Rather, the band council system is imposed by the *Indian Act.* While the broad literature points to the importance of self-governance for Indigenous communities, there remains little academic work on the implementation of these systems and the transition that may be necessary.

Culture and Indigenous Knowledges

There is no denying the importance and value of cultures, languages and Indigenous knowledges. These are the broad themes that are seen throughout consultations and reports commissioned by the Canadian Government to consult Indigenous peoples on reconciliation and moving forward, focusing on languages and cultures. When these issues are discussed in terms of policy and programming directives and implementation they are extremely complex, from a government's perspective. However, from Indigenous communities' perspectives they are relatively simplistic because these cultures and languages are embedded in their very way of life, in their identities and in all that they say, do, feel and experience. The Government of Canada has been in the business of challenging, defining, and legislating Indigenous languages and cultures since before they were a nation state. The *Indian Act*, residential schools and other policies have created many challenges for Indigenous peoples over the history of Canada. While Canada makes some attempts to rectify the past, their policy directives remain broad and often challenging to implement.

Indigenous knowledge is not static, rather, it is always changing and adapting to explain and understand what is happening in different contexts. There are different Indigenous knowledges and they shift depending on culture, geographic location, family, clan, and individual experience (Battiste and Youngblood Henderson, 2000). The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples defines traditional knowledge as the "cumulative body of knowledge and beliefs, handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another

and with their environment" (RCAP, 1996: 454). Leanne Simpson (2004) discusses Indigenous knowledge as being primarily oral, as well as containing complex social, cultural, spiritual and political systems. Within these Indigenous knowledge systems are the cultural knowledges and teachings that are carried by Elders and traditional knowledge holders.

Defining culture is problematic. It is problematic because of the broad use of the term. While it is understood that there are many different cultures, the ways in which people and institutions understand culture is vastly different. In many ways, defining the term culture, or the parameters of culture, is counterproductive and does not achieve desired outcomes. There is no easy way to translate what we mean by "culture" in English into Indigenous languages. The knowledge of these nations, peoples, clans and groups cannot be compartmentalized (Traditions: National Gatherings on Indigenous Knowledge, 2005).

However, if the term is going to be used, and it is throughout this paper, there needs to be an understanding of this term. Culture is a difficult term to define; psychologists and anthropologists (and many others) have been working to define the term for decades without much agreement. This is likely because culture cannot be defined in a way in which all peoples can understand and identify. Matsumoto and Juang introduce culture broadly as ways of living, thinking and being (2011:13). This definition is useful because it can include many different understandings. Essentially, culture is all encompassing; it influences our decisions and our behaviors without individuals realizing it because it is embedded in everything we do. Culture cannot be separated from an

individual and, as a result, culture means different things to different people, even to those who identify themselves similarly.

Regardless of how you may define or understand culture, it is acknowledged that cultural identity is important for individuals and communities. Kumar and Janz (2010), exploring cultural activities of Métis in Canada, point out that cultural continuity, the transmission of culture from one generation to the next, indicates that culture is important in fostering personal identity development and it contributes to positive mental and overall physical health and well-being (Smith, Findlay and Crompton, 2010). They acknowledge there are several factors which contribute to cultural continuity including: Indigenous languages, land claims, self-government, cultural facilities and culturally appropriate education, health, police and fire services and participation in traditional activities, arts and crafts, consumption of traditional foods and spiritual and religious practices.

Particularly for Indigenous peoples, language and culture cannot be separated. Indigenous languages have the cultures embedded in them, as the languages describe the people, their values and beliefs and the relationships to the land and each other (Task Force on Aboriginal Languages and Cultures, 2005: 21). These languages are profoundly different from languages spoken in other areas of the world, especially the Western world. Language is key to identity and culture; culture animates the language and there cannot be one without the other. Indigenous cultures are passed on orally through language in stories, songs and ceremonies. As Elder Shirley Williams says, "Language and culture cannot be separate from each other – if they are the language only becomes a tool, a thing…Our language and culture are our identity and tell us who we are, where we

came from and where we are going" (Task Force on Aboriginal Languages and Cultures, 2005: 58). For Indigenous peoples, culture is all encompassing, it is flexible, and it is up to individuals and communities to determine how they will engage with it.

Not allowing Indigenous peoples to engage and interact with their cultures and ways of life historically is one of the ways that the Government of Canada is a part of this discussion. The term "Indian" was first legally defined in *An Act for the Better Protection of the Lands and Property of the Indians in Lower Canada* in 1850, and in 1876 all previous legislation referring to Indian peoples were combined into the *Indian Act* (Furi and Wherrett, 2003), which defined virtually all aspects of Indian life. It is important to note that legal definitions of who is or is not an Indian have little to do with Indigenous cultures and who identifies himself or herself as an Indigenous person. However, the *Indian Act* outlawed spiritual ceremonies for decades and attempted to regulate nearly every aspect of Indian people's lives, which affected cultural continuity. Until the 1951 and 1960 *Indian Act* revisions, there were many aspects of culture that were outlawed. However, residential schools were the institutions that powerfully affected cultural continuity and nearly every aspect of Indigenous peoples lives (see Milloy, 1999; Miller, 1996; RCAP, 1996; Churchill, 2004). As RCAP, states of residential schools:

> "Absorbing Aboriginal people into Canadian society and erasing Aboriginal identity were openly stated objectives of government policy for many generations Education has been a principal instrument of this policy [residential schools]. While many Aboriginal people wanted access to formal education they did not consent to the often brutal policy of residential schooling. Under this policy Aboriginal children were forcibly separated from their families not only for the duration of the school year but also, in some cases, for periods of years. They were punished for speaking their languages, and they were often physically or sexually abused" (RCAP, 1996: 17-18).

Experiences as a result of Government policies encouraged dependency, enforced cultural loss, exposed people to foreign justice, health and education systems, and left people to deal with the ramifications of widespread racism (Berry, 1999).

Despite these aggressive attempts by the Government to culturally assimilate Indigenous peoples, there were pockets of people who practiced Indigenous cultures. Indigenous peoples have been resilient. In a report for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP), research showed that for most participants maintaining an Indigenous identity was very important and at the core of their existence. The stated they gained self-esteem from being Indigenous, but noted that this was not always the case earlier in their lives (Berry, 1999). Berry (1999) identified twelve major groups of factors that have influenced the cultural identity of Indigenous peoples including: traditional culture, family, land and environment, and social relationships (all key aspects of Indigenous societies, which strengthened their cultural identity); and residential schools, education, prejudice, addictions, economy, government institutions, church and mass media.

Gathering Strength, the response of the federal government to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal peoples, fell short in the opinion of many peoples, organizations and governments. After the extensive research that was undertaken as a part of RCAP, thousands of recommendations were made and very few of them were acted upon. However, the Aboriginal Healing Foundation (AHF) was a result of *Gathering Strength*, which began in March 1998. AHF was a federally funded, Indigenous run, not for profit organization that supported community-based healing initiatives of Indigenous people affected by residential schools (Kirmayer, Simpson and Cargo, 2003). This

funding stream provided funding to a variety of projects, including traditional activities, and it helped many people to reconnect with their cultures after they had not done so in generations. The current challenge is finding pockets of funding that allow for cultural activities to fill the void for communities that was left when AHF funding ended.

It must be acknowledged that there has been a long period of time where people were afraid to practice many elements of their cultures, although many still continued to do so. Governments outlawed them, residential schools told people their practices were wrong, and communities felt intense racism. The world that we live in today, barely resembles the world prior to the events listed above. Ten years of AHF funding was helpful for communities and community members to remember parts of their culture and identity and gain pride, but now the organizations that provided access have lost the funding to do so. There are some indications from the courts that cultural rights are in fact Indigenous rights that are protected, however this remains largely unclear and not effectively challenged.

The notion of culture as an Aboriginal right entrenched in Section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982 is an area that has been somewhat negotiated in the courts. In *R. v. Van der Peet*, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that included in Aboriginal rights are cultural rights, the court argued that “Aboriginal rights arise from the prior occupation of the land, but they also arise from the prior social organization and distinctive cultures of Aboriginal peoples on the land” (Niezen, 2003:1). However, it remains difficult for the courts to understand culture and rule on it. Niezen argues that Arjun Appadurai’s view on culture is important. Appaduarai argues that culture should be considered an adjective, as

opposed to a noun, because culture is not a thing, but rather a process that is integral to identity formation and not a fixed part of history (Niezen, 2003).

Not all courts have been of the same opinion of *Van der Peet*, but the *Van der Peet* decision made a number of significant statements. In *R. v. Van der Peet*, the court recognized that traditional practices do “not require an unbroken chain between current practices, customs and traditions and those existing prior to contact” (*Van der Peet, supra* note 1). This is recognition that cultures will change and adapt over time and that cultural practices, even if they were continually practiced from before contact to now, will change. But it also acknowledges that for a variety of reasons, many associated with colonialism, periods of time passed where certain aspects of cultures were not practiced, but this does not make them less valid.

However, the court is very specific in what it believes are changes as a result of technology, but still reflective of tradition, and what changes are not central to tradition. Niezen (2003:8) argues that while cultural practices can survive some discontinuity, the courts largely rely on the “frozen in time” approach to culture which “sets limits on change, even in response to challenges to the prosperity and survival of distinct cultures as a whole.” Borrows (1997:45) argues that, in addition to reinforcing stereotypes, this approach fails to recognize practices that grew or emerged through intercultural exchange and does not recognize the impacts of Aboriginal rights on non-Aboriginal peoples. Regardless of what Aboriginal peoples and nations do at present time, the courts view is that if they were not doing that prior to and/or at the time of contact it is not an Aboriginal right (Niezen, 2003).

In other cases the court has completely dismissed the cultural testimony. The case of *Delgamuukw v British Columbia*, whose original decision was delivered in 1991, heard cultural testimony to support the hereditary chiefs of the Gitskan and Wet'suwet'en First Nations. The trial judge dismissed much of it, based on the fact that oral testimony was deemed to be invalid. The appeal at the Supreme Court of Canada in 1997 ruled that oral testimony has equal weight to written testimony and set the bar for other court cases to prove the "activity" in question as "being integral to the distinctive cultures of Aboriginal societies" (Howes, 2005: 18).

Governments have taken a number of different approaches in attempting to understand Indigenous cultures and if/what their responsibilities are. While the courts define what is legally expected, the federal government has had various gatherings on the topics of language and culture in the last 15 to 20 years and provided pockets of funding. However, it remains unclear what their understanding of culture is and what they perceive their role to be.

The bureaucracy that exists within government departments gives some insight into policies and actions. Research out of Australia discusses the government's 'culture of governance' in Indigenous affairs being based on:

> "…institutionalized forms of policy, program and grant funding that are supported by the tools of financial compliance and accountability, service delivery outcomes, administrative review, and technical audits. These tools are activated by the ever-changing face of government departments, agencies and committees, which work to defend their relative influence, functional 'territories' and budgetary power" (Smith, 2008:79).

Smith (2008) argues that in this process public servants find themselves further removed and disengaged with the communities they intend to serve and she points out the mutual

'blind spots' for both government and Indigenous communities. All of this, in addition to changing policy and government direction, makes for a challenging climate.

Adorno (1991) argues that when culture is administered it is threatened, no matter who does the administering. From his perspective, while culture is threatened by administration, it also threatens administration because it does not fit into prescribed objectives neatly. However, he discusses the challenges in balancing the true nature of 'culture' in holistic health and what can be administered, ensuring that cultural appropriation does not take place.

Heritage Canada has provided a majority of the cultural funding over the years to support Indigenous specific programming that focuses on language, arts and culture, however this funding is highly competitive and leaves many communities unable to access the funds. RCAP, and subsequent reports after RCAP, urged government to support cultural programming development for Indigenous peoples, because the health and identity outcomes are positive and create healthier communities. However, the single year or project based funding can be devastating when the funding expires. Government also seems to lack the capacity to fully understand the projects they are funding, which can be problematic when organizations and communities submit their reports. There is definitely the need for growth in that capacity and more research to show the importance of these programs and their long term positive results. Better yet would be to devolve many of these programs and their funding to Indigenous organizations that have the capacity to understand the cultural differences and cultural needs.

The Aboriginal Healing Foundation (AHF) brought this approach forward and continued to provide the much needed evidence of the importance of Indigenous cultures

to the realm of healing, as an appropriate approach to working with residential school survivors, their families and communities. DeGagne describes the issue:

> "As First Nations, Metis and Inuit communities and organizations enlarge the scope of their responsibilities for public services, they are calling for increased flexibility to make adaptations that fit their cultural environment. They argue that culturally appropriate service delivery is essential to achieving program goals. Administrators of public funds, on the other hand, are reluctant to vary public-service norms of goal-setting, fiscal management and reporting, because they believe these to be necessary for prudent management. Lack of clarity as to what adaptations might be implied and their impacts on administration practice impedes the utilization of community expertise to improve the effectiveness of services and build capacity for self management in Aboriginal agencies" (2008:559).

The AHF, through its mandate, provided a strong base of evidence that projects administered by Indigenous organizations could be both culturally based and appropriately administered. Using effectiveness, efficiency and accountability as guideposts, the AHF modified their administrative practices while ensuring appropriate outcomes and ultimately responsibility for funds.

Through a performance measurement strategy, the AHF was able to link the goals of communities with the ultimate outcomes that the federal government was seeking through its support of the AHF. This was challenging, as communities and the federal government interpreted how to achieve outcomes differently. Indigenous communities saw addressing the trauma of residential schools as much more wholistic and inclusive of all community members and not just those who were directly affected by residential schools. The AHF was tasked with ensuring each of the key groups of stakeholders was satisfied with the approach.

When the AHF proposal intake process was launched, it received criticism from communities based on the complexity of the application form, the short timelines and the

proposed themes. The AHF took its mandate seriously and, as a result, made significant changes to its process as it moved forward, including supporting proposal development, simplifying the program handbook, creating a continuous intake for proposals, loosening the restrictiveness of themes, providing support to community coordinators preparing proposals, and creating knowledge mobilization tools for sharing best practices between communities. The change to approach was highly successful for the AHF as it showed communities that they were the priority, and that the organization was willing to meet them where communities were at to build missing capacity, and provide other supports (DeGagne, 2008: 665).

This community directed approach to program and service delivery administration is a key indicator of success for the AHF and part of the legacy that it leaves behind, in terms of beginning to change the narrative of the role and effectiveness of culture in programs and services. This point is illustrated here:

> "…approximately eighty per cent of individual respondents reported good or extremely good achievement of their primary personal healing goals, which were predominantly gaining self-awareness, coping skills and ability to help other survivors. Sixty per cent of individual respondents rated AHF activities and support services as good to excellent. Services offered by Elders, ceremonies, one-on-one counselling, healing/ talking circles, traditional medicine and workshops were some of the most highly rated services" (DeGagne, 2008: 665).

In order to evaluate the effectiveness of the projects, the AHF used a number of methods, including: surveys, interviews, focus groups, and case studies to "look for evidence of individual progress along a healing continuum and increased capacity of communities to facilitate that progress" (DeGagne, 2008: 663). By placing the importance on individual outcomes as foundational to building ultimate community progress, they

found space to support the types of programs that communities identified they needed. In doing this research, they identified that the healing journey of residential school survivors is similar to those with post-traumatic stress disorder. They also uncovered stages of community healing:

> "…The healing journey of communities, developing capacity to support their members, is similarly seen to follow four stages. The first stage is characterized by a prevailing sense of crisis that is challenged by a core group engaged in personal healing; the second stage sees healing gathering momentum, with more people involved and demands for healing escalating; the third is called ''hitting the wall,'' when, despite visible progress, momentum stalls, new problems are disclosed, and front-line workers are burning out. Stage four, still partial and visionary in many cases, sees healthy individuals functioning in a vibrant community, where healing is integrated with other dimensions of community development" (DeGagne, 2008: 664).

The healing journey described above in the AHF can also potentially be used to describe community capacity and community readiness to move forward in meaningful ways, where they reclaim their cultures and teachings and move into healthy patterns as an organization, while building programs and services that bring community members along on the healing journey. Individuals and communities are dealing with trauma and they need to be healed, whether it be from residential schools or other outcomes of colonization or trauma, and this model can be useful. Friendship Centres facilitate healing within individuals and within communities. They were often created as a result of strong community need, where the needs of individuals were not being met, with the vision of a vibrant and healthy community for the future.

In some ways at a national level, working through these issues are much more complex because there is no singular Indigenous culture to draw teachings from and ensuring that the diversity of nations are reflected is likely impossible in a true form.

This means that you cannot dive too deep into cultural meanings and must stay at the surface of imagery and common ideology. However, it is this common language that can create more confusion and there are varying interpretations. At a local level, with a particular community's teachings at the base, this may be more straightforward. However, it must be acknowledged that the teachings are not carried as they once were, where the burden may have been on dozens of people, it now may be on one person. The effects of colonization and assimilation have resulted in many people not being raised with their traditions and, rather, picking them up later in life, without the full understanding of what they mean and why they are taught in certain ways. This, then, can create further division in communities, where people argue about whose teachings are the right ones, rather than working together to understand the various strands that have been carried forward.

Wuttunee (2000) also acknowledges that Indigenous people are not all on the same page when it comes to Indigenous traditions. In some communities traditional spirituality may compliment activities, while in others it can circumvent them altogether. She acknowledges various obstacles such as, Western religions, residential schools, incarcerations, family breakdown and dysfunction, community disinterest or isolation, which can all influence individuals' motivations to be a part of the community.

Individuals who are a part of the community are often at different places in their lives, meaning that programs and services are not always successful based on what obstacles programs are trying to address. Wuttunee discusses the importance of communities having the ability to access resources and make programming decisions for those they serve:

> “It is a question of managing individual needs with what will build community and for three of the selected communities the leadership are able to exercise influence into final decisions. For the urban community, the leadership of many organizations face resource constraints and competing jurisdiction that hinder forward development” (2010: 205-206).

Ensuring that cultural programming is available is a balancing act for both governments and the organizations that administer the programs. There are a number of very important and complex factors that must be considered at all levels when working to support Indigenous organizations to provide services to community members. The Aboriginal Healing Foundation provided research and evaluation that shows the effectiveness of cultural programming on a broad scale, however its mandate was concluded and not renewed.

Urbanization

Reserves were set up with the objective of administering services for, and assimilating, First Nations people, as well as representing a way to clear them from the land for non-Indigenous settlement (Brealey, 1995). Reserves were seen as a place where Indigenous peoples could “catch up” in terms of behaviors, values and skills to the rest of Canadian society (Peters, 2002). There was a limited documented Indigenous population in urban centres until the 1950s, when Indigenous people increasingly began to move to urban centres. In 2011, nearly sixty percent of Indigenous peoples lived in urban areas (NAFC, 2014). There is considerable research documenting the migration of First Nations peoples into urban areas, however there is not the same consistency of documentation for Métis and non-status peoples.

There were reasons for Indigenous people moving to urban centres. Métis and non-status Indian peoples did not have a land base set out specifically for them, so many people found themselves living in urban centres. For many First Nations peoples it was a lack of opportunity on reserves that drove them to relocate to urban centres (Peters, 2002). There were additional factors involved in the decision to relocate from reserves and rural areas to the city. Researchers identified a number of reasons First Nations peoples left reserves including, difficult social conditions, poor economic conditions, marriage and family formations, boredom, quality of life, lack of housing (or poor quality of housing), health facilities, educational opportunities, social service and band politics (Norris & Clatworthy, 2003; Frideres & Gadacz, 2001; Peters, 2002).

Once Indigenous peoples reached urban areas they were faced with a number of challenges, although this is certainly not the experience of all urban Indigenous peoples (see Ontario Urban Aboriginal Task Force, 2007). Krotz (1980) argued that the major issues Indigenous peoples faced moving into the city were associated with poverty. However, Silver (2006: 29) argues that the situation of Indigenous peoples in urban areas cannot be simply attributed to poverty. Instead, it is related to socio-economic factors such as low education levels and high unemployment. He argues that social exclusion, racism, and colonialism are all factors that distinguish the Indigenous situation, even though the issue is repeatedly treated as one of poverty. Indigenous cultures have often been viewed as an obstacle to success in the city. Non-Indigenous peoples and organizations believed that in order to succeed, Indigenous peoples would need to assimilate and integrate into mainstream culture leaving behind their Indigenous cultures (Silver, 2006; Peters, 2000). More recent research has shown that, in fact, the opposite

seemed to be true and that the promotion of Indigenous cultures in cities was important to the success of Indigenous peoples in urban areas (Peters, 1996; Peters, 2000; Cairns, 2000; Newhouse, 2000; Newhouse & Peters, 2003).

All three levels of government were slow to act on new programs and policies for urban Indigenous peoples (Peters, 2002; Hanselmann, 2001). Therefore, the Indigenous population was in urban areas without adequate programming until the mid-1970s, and even then early policies were often misguided due to the lack of understanding of an urban Indigenous population. As Peters discussed, "as government agencies struggled to make sense of First Nations urbanization, they were influenced by a colonial history that relegated First Nations people and cultures to spaces separate from modern and, particularly, urban society" (2002: 76-77). Basically, the policies developed during this time period still had similar goals of the early 1900s, goals of assimilation and integration.

However, defining these policies was difficult due to jurisdictional issues. The federal government did not want to admit responsibility for First Nations peoples off reserves or for Métis people. The provincial government argued that all Indigenous peoples were the responsibility of the federal government. The municipal government, like the provincial government, provided services for all people without distinguishing cultures (Silver, 2006). Despite the lack of jurisdictional clarity, the federal government did manage to create funding for some programming for urban Indigenous peoples including the Placement Program (early 1960s – 1975) through the Indian Affairs Branch and the Migrating Native Peoples Program (1970s) through the Citizenship Branch. These programs were initially designed to act as referral agencies to mainstream agencies

(Peters, 2002). The goals of these programs remained assimilative with the assumption that Indigenous peoples had moved to urban areas to leave their traditional beliefs behind and integrate into mainstream society.

The experiences of urban Indigenous peoples in Canada in the voices of urban Indigenous peoples are a more recent addition to the academic literature. These experiences and stories provide a context that has been left out. Bonita Lawrence's work (2004) discusses the complexities of identifying as Indigenous in the urban setting of Toronto. She found that Indigenous peoples grapple with issues surrounding community. The Urban Ontario Task Force (2007) found that the growing Indigenous middle class is struggling with finding organizations and services that suit their needs.

Urban Indigenous Organizations

By the turn of the century, academic writing recognized the important role of urban Indigenous organizations in maintaining and recreating Indigenous identities in cities. Newhouse (2000) noted that urban Indigenous identities were consciously and systematically being reconstructed differently in cities and that Indigenous organizations played an important role in this process. Similarly, the Ontario Urban Aboriginal Task Force's (2007) study of Indigenous communities in major cities in that province noted that urban Indigenous organizations are at the forefront of developing Indigenous communities in urban areas. Silver et al.'s (2006) interviews with twenty six Winnipeg inner city Indigenous community leaders showed that Indigenous organizations based on Indigenous cultures helped these leaders to overcome barriers linked to racism and colonial histories, as well as empower themselves. The authors noted that Indigenous

organizations with Indigenous leadership contributed to rebuilding “the pride in being Aboriginal and an understanding of the process and consequences of colonization” (2006: 26).

While there is a considerable body of literature on the development of urban Indigenous communities in American cities (see for example LaGrand 2002, Weibel-Orlando 1999), there is little material on this topic in Canadian urban areas (but see Dosman, 1972; Krotz, 1980; Newhouse and Peters, 2003; Ouart, 2009; Peters and Anderson, 2013). Anthropologist Mark Nagler (1970), writing about Indigenous migrants to Toronto, reproduced common stereotypes of Indigenous peoples and suggested that the fact that Indigenous migrants to cities did not value wealth and consumer goods meant that they did not have the motivation to work hard. These attitudes, with that addition that Indigenous migrants did not adhere to Canadian conceptions of time, meant that they would have difficulty succeeding in urban areas economically. Indigenous cultures in urban areas were only useful for a temporary reprieve as Indigenous peoples became accustomed to the cultural mainstream (Peters, 2002). These assumptions had a number of implications for expectations concerning the roles that early urban Indigenous organizations could play.

Government officials viewed integration as the main goal for urban Indigenous migrants and they saw urban Indigenous organizations as being key for urban integration and assimilation of Indigenous peoples (Dosman, 1972). According to federal and provincial governments, the appropriate goals for urban Indigenous organizations were to help Indigenous people in urban areas become familiar with urban life and assimilate into mainstream society. This goal was achieved through referrals to mainstream

organizations. Governments assumed that there was no need to support culturally specific programming because the need for this programming would only be temporary at best. Because Indigenous cultures were viewed as creating barriers to successful assimilation, it was assumed by non-Indigenous peoples that Indigenous peoples did not have the capacity to contribute to what governments defined as successful initiatives in the city.

Finally, urban Indigenous peoples were viewed as homogenous with similar objectives, needs and concerns. This idea is also associated with the assumption of inevitable assimilation because 'Nativeness' was seen as an initial stage in the process of assimilation (see also Belanger, 2013). Nuances of different cultures and rights were not viewed as significant for the process of adapting to the city. Instead, all Indigenous people were seen as requiring the same programs and services which stressed adaptation and referral to mainstream organization.

This approach is understood to be problematic, as Indigenous people struggle with their identities in the city. Brock Pitawanakwat describes here:

> "Urban alienation is magnified for Indigenous peoples because the opportunity to participate in ceremonies and social events have generally be rare or none. Fortunately, the growing urban Nishnaabeg populations in Canadian cities have been actively promoting the creation of their own institutions such as Friendship Centres, as well as cultural events such as round dances, pow wows, and pipe and sweat lodges" (2008: 169).

Identity is of key importance to many Indigenous people in urban areas. As such, while pan-Indigenous approaches are sometimes used, it is important for people to recognize the various different cultural beliefs and protocols of Indigenous people.

Wanda Wuttunee (2000) discusses the importance of kinship for Indigenous people as inherent in their values and playing a role in the distribution of goods and

services. While kinship is not often identified as a community asset, doing so helps to appreciate the role that Indigenous traditions and values play today in community economic development. She also points out that in the city kinship can include new friends, local community members and those with common experiences when biological family is not always close.

Governance of urban Indigenous organizations is also a key area of importance in understanding how these organizations may be different from mainstream organizations. Because governance as a concept varies considerably in different cultures it is not reasonable to expect that all not for profit organizations, or even all urban Indigenous organizations will be governed the same (Mitchell and Bruhn, 2009). As Chapman, Newhouse and McCaskill (1991) discuss, Indigenous communities typically favour localized approaches as opposed to the broad policies that are developed for Indigenous peoples from distinct cultures and across various regions in Canada by Canadian governments. These differences of Indigenous philosophies translate into differences in the ways that Indigenous organizations are managed when compared to similar mainstream organizations.

However, these differences in philosophies can place urban Indigenous organizations in positions where they are straddling both a Western world and an Indigenous one. Mitchell and Bruhn (2009) argue that Indigenous governance systems are often seen as at odds with Western systems, but they note that Western ideals of good governance can be adapted in ways to make them more culturally relevant. In their work they identified five governance pillars that are common in strong Indigenous service delivery organizations: the incorporation of Indigenous values and culture; strong

executive and board; formal processes and structure with flexible application; continual planning and evaluation; and strategic sustainability (Mitchell and Bruhn, 2009: 5).

The incorporation of Indigenous values into an organization, specifically into its governance, can be a challenge. It is not enough for organizations to state that Indigenous values or cultures are important, they should elaborate further on what those values are (Mitchell and Bruhn, 2009). The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) identified nine key aspects of Indigenous traditions of governance, which are: “the centrality of the land; individual autonomy and responsibility; the rule of law; the role of women; the role of Elders; the role of the family and clan; leadership; consensus in decision making; and the restoration of traditional institutions” (Mitchell and Bruhn, 2009:6). However, the challenge in wholeheartedly adopting Indigenous concepts in governance is that these organizations are funded primarily by Western governments, who require various regulations to be followed. Below, the importance of focusing on Indigenous governance values and systems is discussed further.

Indigenous organizations often look to tailor their board of directors to reflect their cultures. Broadly speaking, the board of directors is responsible for guiding the organization at a high level, however there are various kinds of boards with varying roles. The structure of the board and the desired attributes and experiences of board members can be tailored to favour criteria that closely reflect Indigenous values. For example, many boards attempt to have gender balance, an Elder member, a youth member, and ensure that community members hold seats as well as making decisions using consensus building instead of majority rules (Mitchell and Bruhn, 2009; and DeGagne, 2008).

Cultural values can be incorporated into Indigenous service delivery organizations in a number of areas including: organizational structure, bylaws, mission and/or vision statement, and policies and procedures. Organizations will often use traditional symbols and practices to help with planning, for example some organizations use the medicine wheel as a framework to guide planning (Mitchell and Bruhn, 2009). It is important to state that medicine wheel frameworks can be presented with very limited cultural knowledge, meaning that using these tools does not necessarily mean an organization is truly functioning using Indigenous values and practices.

Sustainability remains a key challenge for not-for-profit organizations. Funding for most not-for-profits, Indigenous or non-Indigenous, comes from governments. As such, these agreements, grants or contracts typically have specific deliverables attached to them, with timeframes and accountability structures. These structures then flip the accountability from the membership of the organization to the funder. Often times these agreements are for limited periods of time, which make long term planning and sustainability challenging for organizations. This is particularly a challenge for small organizations (Mitchell and Bruhn, 2009). Larger organizations with more capacity may have the opportunity to spend more time negotiating the details of a funding agreement and more time building relationships with the funders.

Friendship Centres

When Indigenous peoples began migrating to urban areas in Canada there were no programs in urban areas directed specifically to their needs. In the late 1950s, the Canadian Citizenship Branch began to develop policies and programs for Indigenous

peoples in urban areas. The Citizenship Branch expected that its experience helping immigrants adapt to Canadian life could be applied to urban Indigenous migrants (Peters 2002). Indigenous people did not wait for governments to create programs for them, rather, they began gathering to discuss the challenges they were facing and how they may approach them together – these were early goals of Friendship Centres.

Friendship Centres were often developed by Indigenous people for Indigenous people, typically starting in community members' kitchens. Friendship Centres are status blind service delivery organizations and they offer services to people of all ages in a variety of circumstances. In the 1950s, Friendship Centres were established in Toronto, Vancouver and Winnipeg (NAFC, 2015). During the 1950s and 1960s, Friendship Centres relied primarily on volunteers and were funded by fundraising activities, churches, service groups, and small grants (Graham and Kinmond, 2008). Friendship Centres have been run by Indigenous people since their inception and, in a discussion paper by OFIFC, it was noted that inexperienced and poorly trained staff were working in four key areas: counselling and referral, social and recreational programs, cultural awareness programs, and community development and community awareness (1978 :8).

Satzewich and Wotherspoon described the history and characteristics of federal involvement in the Friendship Centre Movement. Beginning in 1959 with a 'pilot project' in Winnipeg, the Citizenship Branch had provided federal funding for Friendship Centres in a number of cities by the mid-1960s. In 1962 the Citizenship Branch developed a program that reimbursed provincial governments for half of the costs of core funding for Friendship Centres (1993:241-3).

Following a review of Friendship Centres in the early 1970s, the Citizenship Branch adopted its *Migrating Native Peoples* program that set out regulations for providing core funding Friendship Centres in co-operation with provincial governments. In 1988, the federal government established a permanent program, called the Aboriginal Friendship Centre Program (AFCP), which provided core funding to Friendship Centres. In 1996, the administrative responsibility for the AFCP was transferred from the Department of Canadian Heritage to the NAFC. This devolution signified a new era in Indigenous/Government relations and suggests a unique relationship with the Government of Canada. In 2014, the relationship changed again when Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada decided to streamline the Urban Aboriginal Strategy, collapsing four old programs into two new programs: Community Capacity Supports (core like funding) and Urban Partnerships Program (project based funding) (Graham and Kinmond, 2008; NAFC, 2015).

For federal and provincial governments, the main purpose of Friendship Centres during the early period of their existence was to integrate Indigenous people into urban support systems. This was a period in Canadian history in which many of the Indigenous political organizations in existence today had their genesis (Abele and Graham, 2012). Federal and provincial government funding for Friendship Centres emphasized that their purpose was referral and integration, and that Friendship Centres should not take on a political role.

Today Friendship Centres have expanded across the country and are now structured to include a national body, National Association of Friendship Centres, out of Ottawa and provincial organizations, such as the Ontario Federation of Indigenous

Friendship Centres in Ontario. These larger bodies work to advocate for additional funding for Friendship Centres and administer federal and provincial funding programs, as well as providing support systems.

Friendship Centres have been incredibly successful, grassroots organizations across Canada. In 2013, there were 119 Friendship Centres from coast-to-coast-to-coast. In 2011/12 Friendship Centres offered over 1490 programs in over 2.2 million points of service. Friendship Centres serve as hubs in their communities for social, cultural and economic activities. Friendship Centres are experts in partnership creation, catering to specific community needs partnerships include: municipal, provincial, federal and Indigenous governments; trade unions; educational and training institutions; private industry; and other service delivery organizations. The range of services provided by Friendship Centres include: justice, housing, health, youth, employment, education, economic development, and cultural programs (NAFC, 2013).

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples noted their success:

> "Friendship Centres have generally been more successful that other Aboriginal institutions in meeting the needs of Aboriginal people in urban areas. Their programs have helped Aboriginal people maintain their cultural identity and group solidarity. In most urban areas, the Friendship Centre is the only major voluntary association available to Aboriginal people to fulfil their social, recreational and cultural development needs. Friendship Centres have played an important role in the revitalization of Aboriginal cultures currently underway in Aboriginal communities across Canada and have helped Aboriginal people assume a place in the Canadian cultural mosaic" (1996:424).

Friendship Centres are important places for Indigenous people in urban areas in Canada. They are recognized as supporting Indigenous people as they transition into urban areas and today they support Indigenous people of all ages and Indigenous cultures.

Much of the success of Friendship Centres is attributed to the cultural roots they represent. In 2008, the NAFC commissioned a report by Graham and Kinmond to draw out best practices in governance and management across the Friendship Centre Movement. Many of the best practice centres highlight shared the importance of culture and community to their success, they concluded:

> "Friendship Centres are founded on and operate based on aboriginal values – a common theme in all the case studies. Important concepts like transparency, accountability, respect, and client-based service are often understood and approached from a traditional aboriginal point of view. Culturally-based management is a common management framework of the Friendship Centres studied, whether informally demonstrated or explicitly stated" (Graham and Kinmond, 2008: 71).

In particular, the Executive Director of the United Native Friendship Centre described the organizational structure as:

> "Within the organization, the community is on top, then the Board of directors, then the ED. The Friendship Centre Movement is a feeling, not just a mandate; it's a community, based on our membership… Every practice within the Friendship Centre is based on cultural values such as respect. All the programs are based on Aboriginal teachings and mutual respect… It is important to 'walk the walk' [with regards to how Aboriginal values are incorporated into the Friendship Centre]" (Graham and Kinmond, 2008:12).

Cultural approaches manifest themselves in a variety of ways from personnel policies, the incorporation of ceremonies, using the teaching circle in planning and evaluation and consensus decision making. As Friendship Centres have always been Indigenous spaces, building on Indigenous values, they have even played a role in revitalizing Indigenous governance systems.

Resurgence of Indigenous Governance Systems

Today, we are left with institutional capacity that has survived attempts at assimilation. The survival and growth of Indigenous organizations and governments has come at a cost of compromising Indigenous values and beliefs, at times, in favour of Western ones. Many Indigenous communities and scholars are now on the path to reclaim their Indigenous governance systems, as Alfred describes below:

> "Indigenous people have made significant strides toward reconstructing their identities as autonomous individual, collective, and social beings. Although much remains to be done, the treat of cultural assimilation to the North American mainstream is no longer overwhelming, because substantial pride has been restored in the idea of being Native. The positive effects of this restoration in terms of mental, physical, and emotional health cannot be overstated. But it is not enough. The social ills that persist are proof that cultural revitalization is neither complete nor in itself a solution. Politics matters: The imposition of Western governance structures and the denial of indigenous ones continue to have profoundly harmful effects on indigenous people. Land, culture, and government are inseparable in traditional philosophies; each depends on the others, and this means that the denial of one aspect precludes recovery for the whole. Without a value system that takes traditional teachings as the basis for government and politics, the recovery will never be complete" (2009: 25-26).

Many other academics agree that returning to traditional teachings, governance and ways of being are necessary for recovery and well-being of Indigenous communities (Simpson, 2008; Wesley-Esquimaux and Calliou, 2010; Youngblood Henderson; Battiste, 2000).

More recently, Indigenous organizations and researchers have been more explicit in the ways that they describe the inclusion of culture, but this is not new. However, it is acknowledged that there are certainly challenges in bringing it back to the forefront. Described here is a case study of an Indigenous organization in Ontario, as they made a conscious effort to include culture in their organization in the 1980s. Newhouse and Chapman state,

> “[a] long period of acculturation had led aboriginal organizations to believe that they must act like those in the mainstream society. But the aboriginal culture lingered in many communities and individuals. Their cultural memory provided the leadership with a vision – a realization that the collectivist nature of aboriginal culture, for example, could lead potentially to a more effective organization in which the members would feel comfortable and accomplish their goals. There was also considerable debate within the organization about the nature of this change: there were those who felt that the organization should continue to evolve along the lines of mainstream organizations and leave aboriginal tradition and custom behind; another group felt that this was the way to go, that it was possible and indeed imperative to begin to operate in an aboriginal fashion. Within this group, there were also debates about the way in which the values should be interpreted within the organization” (1996: 998).

In the 1980s, this was not common. The organization began to implement their new vision by establishing a formal Code of Ethics, which established standards of interaction between members and individuals and urged the adoption, respect and honouring of Indigenous cultural values. The Executive Director spoke of the approach, “the emphasis was to be on behaviour, behaviour supported at all times by the potent symbols of aboriginal culture” (Newhouse and Chapman, 1996: 999). In centering Indigenous values and beliefs, the board made decisions by consensus, but maintained the corporate structure. This was important to maintain partnerships and funding from mainstream sources (Newhouse and Chapman, 1996).

Indigenous communities are using a variety of innovative approaches to infuse their cultures and beliefs into the work they do. The Anishinabek Nation adopted the Chi-Naaknigewin as their approach to governance as an attempt to re-establish the nation to nation relationship that was intended generations ago. They have done so to once again present themselves internationally as a distinct nation (Anishinabek Nation, 2011). The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development (HPAIED), found that communities who were self-governing were more likely to be successful in economic

development ventures and noted that having institutions that matched the culture was another common marker in success. They concluded that government, in this case the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the United States, approaches to economic development resulted in short-term results that meet external needs and policies as opposed to meeting the community's needs (Cornell and Gil-Swedberg, 1995; Wesley-Esquimaux and Calliou, 2010).

To expand further on what is meant by building institutions that match culture, and ultimately have buy in and support from the communities they represent and/or serve, Wesley-Esquimaux and Calliou break it down to include formal and informal institutions. Formal institutions include tribal constitutions, laws and courts; and informal institutions include protocols, norms, morals and values. They argue that in order for institutions to be effective they must "achieve stability, security and certainty for the community in how members are expected to behave in all their relationships" (2010: 8).

The Anishinabek Nation has based their governance on the clan system. They have done so because the clan system represents all the communities' needs for peace, order and good governance. As it was historically, clans work together to maintain balance and equality and make the best decisions for the community. The clan system was an effective way of governance for thousands of years and sets the foundation for contemporary governance (Anishinabek Nation, 2011). Other communities or organizations use other approaches to integrating Indigenous knowledge into their work. Within Anishinabe communities and organizations, the integration of the Seven Grandfather teachings are common, as these teachings are simple for Indigenous and non-

Indigenous people to understand and value (Borrows, 2008; Wesley-Esquimaux and Calliou, 2010).

Wesley-Esquimaux and Calliou further conclude that community-centered, strength-based approaches work to strengthen social organizations and, in turn, are an opportunity for:

> "…community members who interact regularly and share institutions of social life. Strengthened social organization is, in turn, a means to enhance the ability of community members to engage in collective problem solving, to improve self-sufficiency and efficacy, bolster internal control, and to make the community a desirable place to live. Such changes benefit individual and family functioning" (2010: 17).

There are, of course, a variety of ways that organizations and communities have chosen to incorporate cultures and knowledges into their work and these approaches are ultimately up to community members themselves to advocate and support.

In addition to governance, Indigenous models are becoming more predominant for Indigenous organizations to outline the work they do in delivering programs and services. An example of this can be seen in a common teaching wheel used by the Ontario Federation of Indigenous Friendship Centres (OFIFC), particularly in their FASD toolkit for Aboriginal Communities. Starting in the east: vision, south: relationships, west: reason, north: movement.

> "East: The Eastern Doorway houses the gift of Vision. As a front line workers, you need to establish a strong vision, beginning with a basic awareness of what the brad issues are related to FASD. This basic awareness will give you the foundation for moving to the south where you can begin to establish relationships.
>
> South: Once you have an awareness of FASD, you can begin to develop relationships with both clients and resource people. Establishing relationships means taking time to make connections with those affected by FASD, as well as those who can support them. This process of sharing will lead you to the west,

where you will be better prepared to develop and effective plan for addressing FASD in the community.

West: Here you will use the gift of reason, based on existing knowledge around FASD, to develop strategies for dealing with the issue in your community or agency, including concrete ideas on how to access and develop community programs both for immediate guidance on FASD issues and for planning a community-wide response to FASD.

North: Once you have been able to tend to the first three directions, you will be in a good position to move – to take action and help mobilize the community around the issue of FASD. Your activism and advocacy in the community, and the links that will be created in this process, will lead back to the east, where the gift of vision will have been made stronger and more inclusive of the wider community" (2008:4).

There are a number of similarities in approaches to framing ideas. Below, I will outline the similarities between the framework set out by the Aboriginal Healing Foundation, mentioned previously, and the OFIFC's framework directly above.

Vision, like "[a] prevailing sense of crisis that is challenged by a core group engaged in personal healing", is about planning or looking for a strategy or a way forward. It is learning about the issue that community members are facing and planning ways to address it.

Relationship, like "healing gathering momentum, with more people involved and demands for healing escalating", is about building relationships, developing trust between participants and with the organization, and building a team in the community. Relationships with one individual may turn into relationships with three or four individuals.

Reason, like " 'hitting the wall' when, despite visible progress, momentum staffs, new problems are disclosed and front-line workers are burning out", is about building

community strategies to address the challenges where progress is stalled and creating concrete ideas to build a long term strategy.

Movement, like "healthy individuals functioning in a vibrant community" is about moving forward, mobilizing healthy community members to bring in others to start the process again, while increasing capacity. It also involves sharing best practices with others in order to celebrate the success with the broader community.

This is an example of two Indigenous approaches which, while presented very differently at their core, remain very similar. One informed by Indigenous communities but presented in a way in which non-Indigenous peoples and organizations are familiar and the other presented in a very Indigenous way.

Conclusion

This chapter has briefly outlined the impact of colonization on Indigenous people in Canada, the urbanization of the Indigenous population, the development of Friendship Centres across Canada and the interpretation of Indigenous cultures by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous systems and institutions. This has shown the complexities of the history of Indigenous organizational development, working to maintain Indigenous ways of being while struggling against non-Indigenous systems who do not understand them. It has encased the concept of Feeling from the Western direction, showing the knowledge that exists in the area of Indigenous governance systems and providing a context as to the complicated history that has unfolded to bring Anishinabe (and other Indigenous nations) to a place of re-educating and re-learning these governance forms. The next chapter, in

the north, is focused on Movement. The Movement of these ideas into Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre from 2010-2014.

NORTH – Movement, Part One: Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre

Introduction

In the north, the teaching of movement is about bringing a vision into reality. It is the process of putting the vision, the time and the feeling into an action. How does it work and what are the results? In this section, the history of Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre, and discussion of the organization's approach to governance using the Anishinabe clan system presented in the first section of the feeling chapter. Next, I will share Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre's approach to program and service delivery. This chapter will rely heavily on interviews conducted for this research, as well as document analysis.

Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre was located in downtown Peterborough, Ontario, though it has since moved. Peterborough, or "Nogojiwanong", in Anishinabemowin translating to the place at the end of the rapids, is in the traditional territories of the Mississaugas. The Centre's mission is: "Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre will strive to enhance the quality of life for Aboriginal Peoples in the Peterborough County by supporting self-determined activities that with strengthen our community." The vision statement is:

> "Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre values all Aboriginal beliefs as given to us by the Creator through our ancestors and strives to promote good health, long life and peace of mind through cultural, social and recreational activities for Aboriginal peoples of Turtle Island, today and in the future that will bring about a good way of life (Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre).

The Centre was incorporated in 2008[9], with five objects of incorporation:

> a) To establish and operate a Native Friendship Centre to be used for workshops, programs, athletics, drama, art, music, handicrafts, hobbies and recreation for the benefit of the general public.
> b) To advance Aboriginal culture-based education for the benefit of restoring and maintaining the values and beliefs of original teachings for Aboriginal people and the larger community.
> c) To provide childhood development, education and support services to youth, adult, seniors and community members.
> d) To advance the betterment of and provide support services for Aboriginal relocating to an urban area. Services will include but are not limited to Leadership Development Training for youth, women and men to provide the betterment of Aboriginal people and the broader community.
> e) To offer the opportunity to experience the spiritual observances of Aboriginal faith" (Ontario, 2008).

The above information outlines the importance of culture in the structure of this organization from the inception of the organization. Within these objectives, all stages of life are acknowledged (children, youth, adults and seniors). In addition, each of the Anishinabe clan roles are imbedded. With leadership evident through "Leadership Development Training for youth, women and men", protection/warriors through "restoring and maintaining the values and beliefs of original teachings", sustenance/hunters through "support services", education/teaching through "culture-based education" and "workshops" and medicine/healing through "experience the spiritual observances of Aboriginal faith" (Ontario, 2008).

According to the 2011 National Household Survey, the Indigenous population for Peterborough, ON (CMA) was 4,385, or approximately 3.8% of the population. There are approximately five other organizations that offer services specific to Indigenous peoples

[9] This was not the first Friendship Centre incorporated in the Peterborough community, previous Centres had shut down for a variety of reasons that were outside of the scope of this research.

in Peterborough: Kagita-Mikam, an Indigenous employment organization; Niijkiwendidaa Anishinabekwewag Services Circle, an Indigenous agency providing counselling and traditional healing services for Indigenous women and their families; Peterborough Native Learning Program, which provides educational support to adults to assist them with reading, writing, math, and/or basic computer skills; First Peoples House of Learning at Trent University, which provides post-secondary students with support; and Fleming College, Aboriginal initiative program. In addition to Indigenous organizations, there are four First Nations in close proximity: Curve Lake First Nation, Hiawatha First Nation, Alderville First Nation, and Scugog First Nation. There are also other communities of Indigenous peoples in smaller populations that Peterborough serves.

This research is a snapshot in time of Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre, from May 2010 - August 2014. Interviews were conducted with staff and board members during the summer of 2014. In comparison to other Friendship Centres in Canada, Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre (NFC) would be considered relatively small with regards to the programs and services offered. They offered five programs including: Akwe:go program, Wasa-nabin program, urban Aboriginal healthy living program, Aboriginal addictions and mental health program, and the Aboriginal community wellness program.

The Akwe:go program is designed for at-risk urban Indigenous youth between the ages of 7 to 12. The program focused on five objectives: social supports, children in care, healthy and physical development, institutional interventions, and FASD and other disabilities. The Wasa-nabin program is a self-development program for at risk Indigenous youth ages 13-18. Programs are provided in group settings, as well as one on one, to address the following areas: social support, youth in care, healthy eating and

physical development, education, justice, and preventing violence. The addictions and mental health program is for people of all ages and provides service in two key areas: one on one consultation to provide support in navigating options for treatment and culturally based services and support groups. The urban Aboriginal healthy living program is for all ages, focusing on learning about healthy living and participating in active lifestyles, with an emphasis on youth leadership development (OFIFC, 2015). The Aboriginal community wellness program is focused on violence prevention and the promotion of healthy lifestyles through culture-based programming (MNO, 2015). In interviews with staff, they noted various activities to match up with their program objectives, but each stated the importance of their cultural approach to programs and services several times. I will discuss these approaches in more detail below, but first I will discuss NFC's approach to governance.

Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre's approach to Governance

Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre's approach to their work is deeply grounded in culture, specifically Anishinabe beliefs. This is consistently evident from the mission and vision of the organization, to the approaches to governance and, finally, the delivery of programs and services. As outlined above, the mission and vision statements put culture in the centre of the work that is done at the Centre. Wendy Phillips, Executive Director, spoke about culture being the thread that tied everything together in the creation of the organization - they spoke to children, youth, adults and seniors and the themes of culture and self-determined programs were common. Many of the Elders involved were adamant that Indigenous models, frameworks, knowledge and beliefs were used instead of

Western based models. Wendy recalled incorporating belief systems into the mission and vision statement as particularly challenging, with much discussion on the appropriateness of the language and the approach. In the end, they went back to a focus group of Elders and community members and they agreed upon the mission and vision statements. The challenge was in how to write down elements of the Indigenous frameworks within the statements, as they are not always written and there is controversy in writing them down (Phillips, 2014).

Culture stems from the vision and mission statements. For Wendy, Friendship Centres must be centred on Indigenous cultures because "what makes us distinct and unique across this continent is who we are, it is our cultures and practices and traditions that each of those nations have, and it is what makes us unique." Being in an urban area, serving a diverse Indigenous population can be a challenge. Even though the centre is in Mississauga territory, they have to be inclusive of the many different nations of people they are serving, which has included incorporating elements from Launapee, Haudenosaunee, Mi'kmaw, Cree and other nations through program delivery approaches, staff knowledge and guest Elders and knowledge keepers (W. Phillips, 2014).

Another challenge is the Western governance model that the Centre must fit within. Friendship Centres try to balance both Indigenous and Western models and operate with both as best they can, which can be a challenge because beliefs do not always line up and can sometimes be in conflict. The challenge is that NFC is to recognize Indigenous governance systems first and foremost. While the Centre now has an understanding of how to balance the two, external forces both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, can find it challenging to understand. Wendy describes,

> "It is this colonization that fogs the minds of our people, because they get so absorbed in a Canadian society, they can't tell what is Indigenous and what is Canadian, so this is the saddest part when we talk about governance is those differences. As a Friendship Centre we are stuck in the middle of that, because our mandate is to serve Indigenous people, but we are serving them with a foundation of Western frameworks [the Corporations Act]."

The Centre is incorporated under the laws of the Province of Ontario and, as such, has a number of requirements that are imposed. Some of these requirements are, at times, at odds with Anishinabe beliefs, which has created moral challenges for the organization.

Using the Anishinabe clan system as a framework to guide Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre is not without its challenges, however it provides a concrete way to see Indigenous ways of knowing as still valid and functional in today's society. The Code of Bimadiziwin or the Seven Grandfather teachings, as described in earlier sections, is used as a guide for overall morals and actions. Regardless of the clan and the specific responsibility, it is expected that all Anishinabe act in accordance to these morals.

As discussed in the previous chapter, there are five roles or attributes of the Anishinabe clan system presented by Johnston (1972) and Mark and Wendy Phillips: Leadership, Protection/Warriors, Sustenance/Hunters, Education/Teaching, and Medicine/Healing. John Borrows (2010) discusses the role of clan systems as regulating behaviour and resolving disputes and argues it is the foundation of Anishinabek law and a way to regulate communities. Each of these clan responsibilities plays an important role in the governance and operations of Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre. While having representatives from each of the clans on staff and board would be ideal, as Johnston discussed, there are often individuals with skills other than those of their clan and they may be chosen as favourable to complete a task. What is important from a board and staff

perspective is that the skills across this system of governance are balanced in order for optimal functioning. It is also important to ensure the inclusion of genders, individuals from different stages of life, those who represent different nations, and those who are culturally competent.

Each of the clans should be represented both in staff, board of directors, and volunteers to complement each other. With a small organization such as this one, this can be a challenge. Particularly because the organization is balancing traditional knowledge and skills with Western skills and knowledge. Ideally, these skill sets are balanced within various individuals, but in some cases strengths in one area make up for weaknesses in others and provide an opportunity for both personal and organizational growth.

The Full Circle Project imagined what each of the clan roles could be/ is represented in a contemporary Toronto Indigenous service delivery landscape. It states that it could include political processes and policy making and that leaders are also found on boards of associations and councils. Within NFC, the Board of Directors, specifically by the President and the Executive Director, represents leadership broadly. It is their leadership that brings the Board to consensus and provides the staff with the direction to follow through the Board's direction. However, much of the staff also need leadership qualities and skills to lead the groups and activities in order to further the organizations objectives. A balance of leadership qualities is important to bring a variety of perspectives to the table when making decisions and building consensus. There is a need for ultimate leadership, which becomes the job of the President, to lead the board of directors, and the Executive Director to lead the staff.

The protectors/warriors role in the organization is to ensure the safety of the staff, board/members, community and nation, as well as ensure that the teachings and beliefs of their nations are restored and carried forward. In addition, because of the nature of the work with vulnerable clients, it is necessary to be able to provide support and protection by creating safe spaces for clients. This includes a number of tactics for programming including peer circles, community events, and one on one counselling. It is up to staff to access where each client is emotionally, physically, mentally, and spiritually and to determine if they will put themselves or others in harm's way in these interactions. Advocating for the needs of the organization and the needs of the members and clients that it serves is another important role for this clan. This can take place internally, but mostly occurs externally, with partner organizations or organizations that clients may be referred to in their search for balance. The protectors are also responsible for ensuring that rites of passage ceremonies are available, including fasting ceremonies, walking out ceremonies, etc.

Those members who are responsible for sustenance and hunters are responsible for securing resources to ensure the organization can continue operating. This means employing staff with proposal writing skills, negotiation skills, partnership development skills and evaluation skills who can grow the organization's vision. While each staff member should have elements of these skills, it takes individuals with focus on these elements to create success. This clan is also responsible for supporting clients to develop the skills and resources to sustain themselves through various programs, such as those focused on employment and life skills. This also includes ensuring that clients have their fundamental needs met with clothing, shelter and food. In addition, actual hunting skills

may be of particular interest to clients and developing skills in this area is also important to achieving balance.

The teachers/educators are responsible for ensuring that the knowledge of the community and the knowledge of the program objectives are being disseminated, through reports and otherwise. Each program has objectives built into it, which often links back to skills development or knowledge. It is the responsibility of staff to design and deliver workshops and other activities so that clients and staff build awareness and understanding of certain issues. For staff, in particular, delivering similar workshops multiple times may develop knowledge. They also engage Elders or knowledge keepers, either on staff or in the community, to pass on stories of wisdom. It is important to note the art form aspect of this clan's responsibilities and NFC offered a number of workshops and activities that focused on these areas. Again, most of the programs and services offered by NFC promote learning and growth, which requires the skills and attributes of this clan.

Finally, the healers/medicine people are those with special abilities to help people rid themselves of imbalances that may be causing difficulties in their lives. Staff bring forth these attributes as they work with clients to ensure they are addressing issues from physical, mental, emotional and spiritual perspectives. Medicine people who work with the organization also meet these needs during ceremonies. This includes food and nutrition, living a balanced lifestyle and play and leisure. A combination of staff who have these actual skills, and those who have connections to the broader community with these skills, is important to meet these objectives and support clients who may be unwell.

While each staff and board member may have skills in each of these areas, having particular strengths in specific areas will support further learning and training among

other staff, building overall capacity. The reality is that each board and staff member is responsible for performing aspects of leadership, protection, sustenance, teaching and healing. Each client and member will also have aspects of each of these attributes within them, and various programs and services offered by the centre bring these skills into balance. So there may be leadership aspects to programming, specifically within the youth focused programs; there are protection elements within the violence prevention programs; there are sustenance aspects in job readiness and entrepreneurship programs and referrals; there are learning aspects in the workshops; and there are healing aspects within sharing circles and ceremonies.

In traditional communities, these five clans met all of the tasks for survival and growth. Today, while the actual tasks may have shifted slightly, the overarching needs still remain the same: the need for leadership, protection, sustenance, learning and teaching. For thousands of years Anishinabe communities organized themselves and survived using this model. This has been an explanation of how this approach was relevant for this Friendship Centre. Balance between all of these aspects is always a challenge, specifically for a small organization. However, the organization was able to lean on the support of members, partners and the broader community to meet their objectives.

Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre's approach to Program and Service Delivery

The governance of the Centre is important to understanding the foundation for which programs and services are delivered. The Anishinabe clan system has provided that foundation for Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre to deliver programs and services that are

culturally relevant and in line with their governance structure. It is of great importance for the Friendship Centre to continue to use their traditional ways, such as the clan system, in all aspects of the organization so that community members, particularly children and youth, understand how it works and can in turn use it in their own lives. Further, it is vital that community members understand that the system is still functional in present times and that it remains a way to approach everyday challenges in a way that works for Indigenous people throughout time.

As I thought about how I would approach this section of questions within the interview guide, I went back to the basic understanding of culture. As was discussed previously, defining culture is a challenge in itself. Through the interviews I have confirmed that culture, and the way that individuals understand it, is very personal. However, there are some common themes that emerged including: culture as a way of life, challenges associated with pan Indigeneity/impacts of colonialism, and interconnectedness.

Almost every person I talked to, spoke about culture as being their way of life, from which they could not be separated, and not as something practiced only during certain times and places. They talked about it being individual, but also related to family/clan, community and nation. It is how you carry yourself on a day-to-day basis and it is the foundation of your morals and beliefs (i.e. the Seven Grandfather teachings for the Anishinabe). Luke Isaacs, recognizes culture as a way of life,

> "It truly is a way of life, and people will say that all the time and it truly is, you know from the moment you wake up I practice my culture, I wake up and give thanks every day for everything that is in my life, culture and gratitude kind of go hand in hand to me, like I said I give thanks every day when I wake up, its ways of knowing why the earth knowing why the earth is the way it is, why the animals

> do the things they do, its embedded in everyone, it is embedded in all Aboriginal peoples, it's their culture, its knowing the past the present and the future and how they relate to each other and how they all play into each other really. Culture is always changing, it has to change to be able to keep up with the times but the core fundamentals and concepts don't really change. It is different ways of knowing why things are the way they are. It is a good question, it can't be answered in a few minutes, you really have to think about it. Culture is life, it is every day, from the minute you wake up to the minute you go to sleep."

Another person shared:

> "The problem with this question [how do you define culture], in some ways is that it assumes that there is a pan native culture, which there isn't but there are similarities with different nations in Ontario. Culture really is about that good way of life, I am more familiar with Ojibway cultural teachings, so the Seven Grandfather teachings, which is basically a code to live by, in a good way to get along with others and respect everything and acknowledge that everything is related and connected.
>
> It is intertwined in everything that you do, it is not like going to church once a week, it is about how you behave throughout the week, the culture it is about honouring different changes in the life cycle, and honouring changes in the seasons, being respectful of everything in creations and being thankful, and through ceremony and even how you gather medicines, how you prepare you meals, how you get up in the morning, how you go to bed at night, how you treat your relations- your family, your extended family and your nation. Even in expressing yourself through art and music, there is a good way, a respectful way of doing things."

Another person shared:

> "Culture is what defines me as an individual, plays and integral role in who I am as Anishinabe, it is what defines us and separates us different culture group. Increased sense of self- awareness, self- identity and when you have a good solid sense of your culture and what defines you, you have an increased confidence and you are not lost. I see so many people who were western influenced and we get caught between two worlds and this creates a lot of confusion. Am I Canadian or am I Anishinabe…as a youth I understood that I was different and I had different challenges and understandings than my peers, I didn't know about the historical impacts then like I do now and so I understand and value my cultural identity a little bit differently now."

Culture defines who you are as an individual, it is at the core of your identity and how you interact with all of Creation, which includes how you conduct yourself at home and

in the community. All those interviewed were challenged to find ways to answer this question. However, they all had similar answers and spoke about how there is no separation between self and culture and that it is embedded in who you are in every aspect. They also spoke about it as different from region to region and Indigenous cultures being distinctive from each other. They talked about it as informing all aspects of life and of its meaning changing over time, depending on where a person is at on their journey.

> "It is about what we leave for future generations, Joe Keesickquayash shared
>
> the work that I do here is not only for my children, but for those clients who come through the door so that future generations will have something to look to for answers regarding their identity, how to deal with certain things whether it be personal reasons, or for cultural practices. So I can give them answers or provide them with access to a network."

Those I interviewed spoke about the impact of urbanization and the development of a "pan-Indian culture." They recognize that as Indigenous people began gathering in urban areas, especially in large urban centres, they found people from nations across Turtle Island. Some of these people only discovered they were Indigenous later in life and may not have connections to their community. As a result, people gathered to honour their Indigeneity in ways that welcomed people from many nations.

Several generations later, you have individuals who have no connection to their home communities, but have built an identity in the city. While this is mostly a positive thing, there is a consequence. That consequence is a sense of pan-Indianism, which the Indigenous knowledge pieced together from a variety of different nations, meaning that the teachings have not been walked back far enough. In the last couple of decades, as the

population has grown and urban Indigenous organizations have grown, there has been more emphasis on recognizing which teachings belong to which nations.

Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre plays a key role in offering programs and services from cultural perspectives. The Friendship Centre has to respect all cultures and nations, because people come from all over. Staff need to educate themselves on different cultures so they can offer meaningful cultural programs and so they can build their networks to be able to engage people from various nations for activities at the Centre (staff member). The Friendship Centre is the community hub for urban Indigenous people that don't have connections to their home communities or Elders. This shows the role of this Friendship Centre with regards to culture, as community members have come to expect that services are offered in ways that are in balance with Indigenous beliefs.

All who were interviewed agreed that it is the Centre's role to provide a wholistic approach to programs and services by offering opportunities for ceremonies, traditional sharing circles, traditional teaching circles, gathering people for feasts and celebrations, and to advocate for the importance of culture in programs for Indigenous people. The programs and services must be delivered in a way that the spiritual, physical, mental and emotional is balanced. As one person accounts:

> "Our role is to ensure that we provide a wholistic approach to the development of the urban Aboriginal population. So spiritually, emotionally, physically and mentally and ensuring that we support individual balance so they are better in their families and in their communities to create a stronger nation. We have a pretty strong responsibility to ensure this, because this is not offered just anywhere, this is what makes us unique – the culture is the foundation to all of the work that we do. We look at the whole individual and not just one particular area, and we can provide that well rounded support. [When working with families] we can ensure that everyone gets service here and it is more of a fluid process rather than mom getting services over at one place, dad at another, and children elsewhere."

Luke Isaacs, echoes this point:

> "It is establishing connections, it is what urban Aboriginal people do at the Friendship Centre and it is a cultural space which makes our friendship centre unique from other ones, how we really put culture as the focal point and in terms of health that is what I like to think of, is the culture. Especially my role here as the healthy living worker, I really look into the cultural aspect of a person's life see if they are spiritually healthy. This is particularly important in terms of health and in the work that we do. We provide ceremonies for the people here, if they are 1500 km from their home reserve, it's not realistic for them to go there every time for sweats and establish those connections, or maybe they don't feel comfortable doing it. A space where the people can come and experience those things."

The Friendship Centre is a gathering place for Indigenous people in the community, a place where they can go to learn about their identities at a deeper level. By coming to programs and events at the Centre, people establish connections. Connections to their cultures and connections to the people in the community they live in. Having this space is important for all members of the community, but of particular importance to children and youth in care. For these individuals, the Friendship Centre is often the only connection they have to their identity and to their biological families.

An example of using culture as a way to build skills and self-esteem could be seen in the men's drumming night. This activity was initiated by the youth in the Cultural Connections for Aboriginal Youth program. First, the teachings on the drum were given to the young men, which are essentially relationship teachings, which discuss that how you treat the drum is how you treat women. The youth then made the drum, which allowed them to put their feelings into it, as well as learn about patience, teamwork, and honour for the materials they were using. Finally, they were able to sit at the drum and learn songs.

Drum nights continued for the youth and also began for men. When the men initially sat at the drum together, they found that they did not know many of the same songs, nor did they sing leads or understand the teachings for singing at a big drum. Over time, they built upon their understanding and knowledge of songs and the conduct that was expected when you are at the big drum. While they sat together, built confidence and self-esteem, a knowledge keeper or experienced drummer would come by, periodically, and teach them a new song or share teachings and tips. The group has improved and grown to create a support system for each other. Many of the clients first came to the Centre after leaving various correctional institutions, and they found that this was a group that was available to them. It was something positive that could support them if they were trying to change their behaviours (Joe Keesickquayash).

Similarly, the Cultural Connections for Aboriginal Youth program helped youth improve their lives by supporting them in becoming more confident in their social interactions with peers and adults. They were more willing to express their feelings and ideas in a positive and productive manner. Parents, teachers and caregivers verbally acknowledged the improvement in their behaviours and academic progress. In addition to this, youth were incorporating the traditional teachings in their daily interactions, such as: the Seven Grandfather teachings, teaching circle, sweats, pipe ceremonies, storytelling, creation stories, the roles of men and women, drum teachings, etc.

Luke Isaacs discusses how the Centre, acts on its roles and responsibilities when it comes to offer cultural programming:

> "Through programming, through the core programs that we offer hear, each one has a tie to the ceremonies in one way or another…we do program integration, if clients ask for something we do it. That is as simple as I can state it, we conduct

> the ceremonies. If we cannot do it, then we would bring people in that can do it, it is just as simple as that.
>
> We [the Centre] are really, really unique in that culture is the focal point of this organization, the executive director here is amazing in that she walks the red road. There are not many truly traditional people out there that truly live what they preach, they really walk the red road…we practice what we preach. We are lucky in that the executive director is a traditional leader and has traditional knowledge we wouldn't be able to comprehend the amount of knowledge that she has, she can speak for days, and the helpers that work in the friendship centre, their knowledge grows everyday as a result of this.
>
> It is finding those truly traditional people and that's what puts us in an interesting standing because we truly are a different organization. Not many places can say that their ED conducts sweats, she actually does the sweats, that is kind of unheard of, but that is how things should be in my opinion. Those people in power should know stuff about culture and spirituality."

This statement further emphasizes the unique cultural approach that this organization takes in their approach to implementing programs and services. The recognition of the traditional skill set in the staff is something that was emphasized by others interviewed as unique.

The success of these programs is grounded in the cultural competency of the program design, delivery and evaluation. Each of these aspects is understood by using the Relationship Teachings/ Cultural Competencies Circle (Figure 3) and the Annual Service Plan (ASP) Circle (Figure 4). The Executive Director, describes the circles and how they are used by NFC:

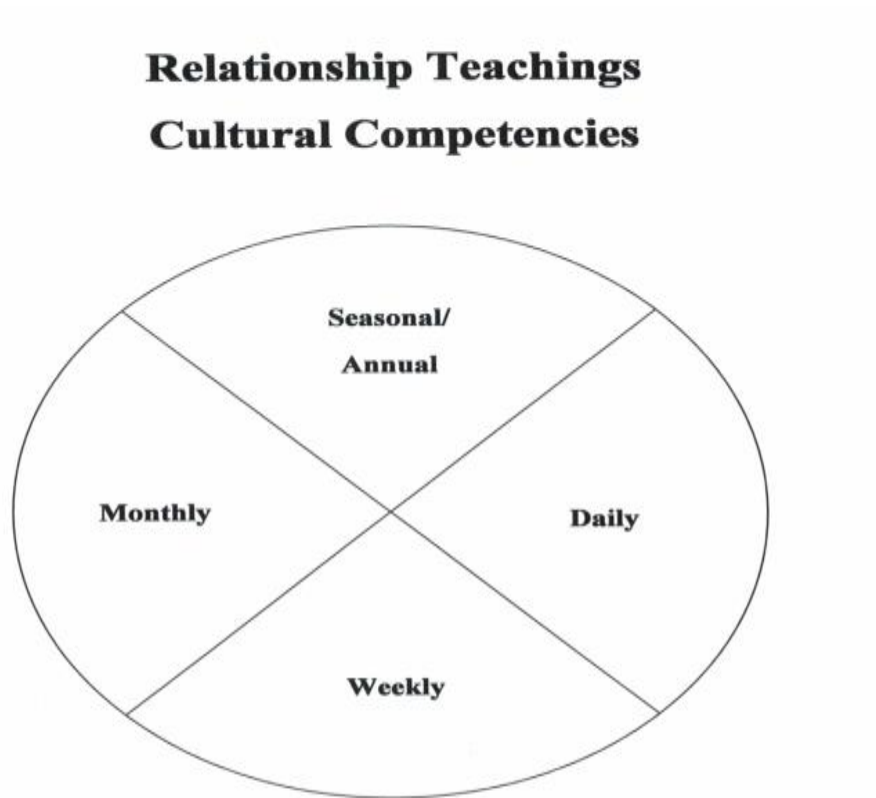
> "With understanding or interpreting culture within the programming I really look at our competency...you really need to think about what do you do annually, quarterly, monthly, weekly, and daily to truly evaluate those short term cultural competencies. If you can check them all off then you are in good standing, to me then you are functioning in a good way – we were taught that those were short term ones.

> Long term is considered 20 years and over, this is the way we were taught to think, the idea that your spiritual and cultural wellbeing was your responsibility but in order to have good health and long life that you had to fulfil all of those competencies and that was your checklist to see how well you are doing. If you missed any of those then you know you will have some weaknesses in other areas. So that is the framework that I brought into the centre here, specifically when we do annual service plans this is the framework that I used.
>
> The staff initially didn't understand it, but I told them about what we do annually, and quarterly and monthly, weekly and daily, that is achievable and manageable for us to do as our cultural activities here whether they may be for our clients, participants, communities or families...The one thing that we said we wanted to do was fall ceremonies (as an annual event), feast for the dead (annual event), when we spoke about quarterly we wanted something that included cultural camps one was fasting, summer camp and March break cultural activities (sugar bush, etc.), monthly is monthly sweats, and weekly is seen as drumming and singing, daily is ensuring that we have enough smudge. That is how we broke that down. Some things have been added and some have been taken out, it depends on what the staff wants to learn, and what they are truly willing to commit to doing.
>
> For example,
>
> We have talked to Harry (Snowboy), and Harry was really wanting to do a Sundance in the city, and we didn't know if any city would agree to that. He found a First Nation that would do that and so we said that we would support him through our cultural learning. None of us had been to a Sundance before, so we had put that as a cultural competency that we wanted to achieve in that year. Other things have come and gone off of the ASP. We used to put on full moon ceremony and pipe ceremony and mid-winters and others, but we found it difficult to do all of it, there is not a lot of us here, trying to be realistic about what we can achieve in the time that we are here. This is the foundation of our programming and our work plans is this ASP and the cultural competency."

This is an Indigenous approach to program and service delivery. The cultural competencies circle can be applied to all components of the organization. Wendy discussed the components as they apply to clients and participants, but they also apply to the staff as they interact with each other. On a daily basis they work together to provide support when needed, while on a weekly basis there are staff meetings. On a monthly basis there is a cultural event (sweat lodge) and on an annual basis there are quarterly

ceremonies, as well as a cultural competency building event, such as the Sundance mentioned above. The board of directors and members also can cycle through this circle, with opportunities to be involved with the Centre.

Figure 3: Relationship Teachings/ Cultural Competencies Circle



Used by: Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013

Traditional Knowledge Keepers by: The Late Wilson Ashkewe, Mark and Wendy Phillips

Figure 4: Annual Service Plan Circle

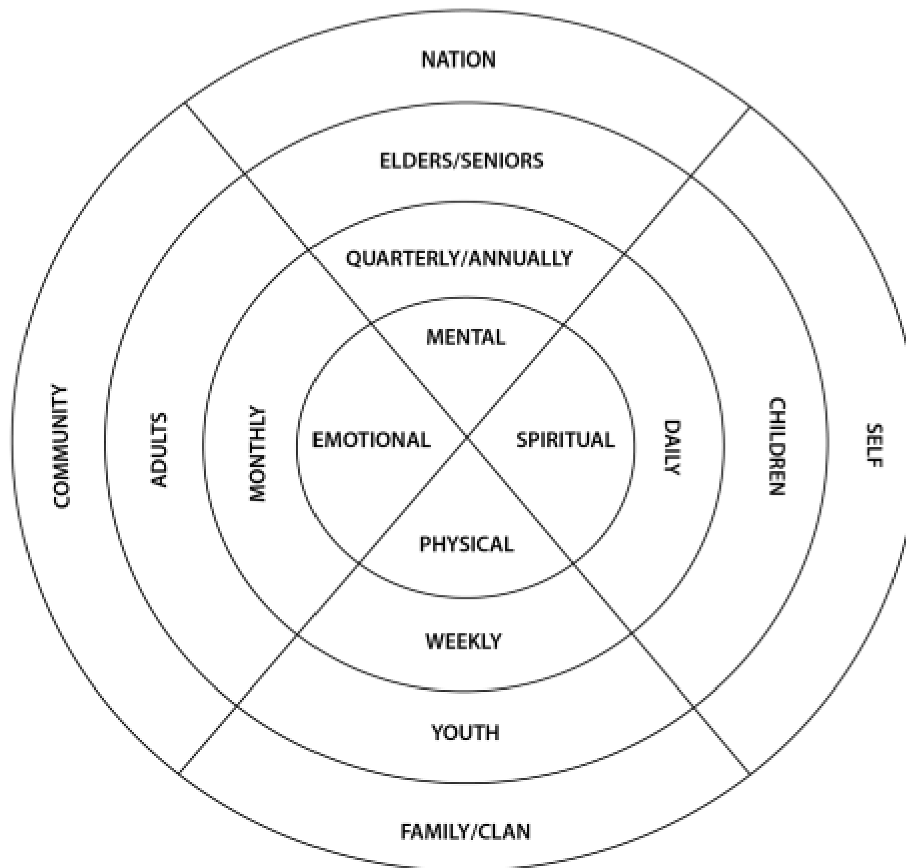
Figure 4 is a demonstration of the ASP circle, where you can see opportunities for various cultural events, as well as community events. This example demonstrates how

NFC uses cultural competency to plan and execute their activities. Each of the programs offered at the centre are able to contribute to these events in various ways. Often one staff member takes a lead role on certain events based on their knowledge, experience or desire to learn something new. From this broad annual circle, staff are then able to work these activities into their program work plan and measure the competency of their program in meeting daily-weekly-monthly and quarterly/annual goals.

Throughout this dissertation, and based on my time at NFC, I understand that developing culturally appropriate programs involves more than the cultural competency circle. In other chapters I have discussed the importance of the roles of self, family/clan, community and nation, as well as the importance of balance in spiritual, physical, emotional and mental, and the four stages of life (child, youth, adult and Elder). Each of these components (and many others) are a part of the planning process. These are some of the key considerations when developing, implementing and evaluating programs. Figure 5, NFC Program/Activity design incorporates each of these areas along with the cultural competency circle.

Each of these objectives must be represented within the programs, and for programs that focus on one specific area of the lifespan, there is a greater emphasis on that area. However, the idea is to include interaction with other lifespans as appropriate through community events or even program objectives, such as having Elders share stories with children and having youth and adults share special skills with children's groups.

Figure 5: NFC Activity Design[10]



One of the staff provides an example:

> "…group targets within one month the cycle of physical (YMCA or UAHL), mental (workshops, games, etc.), emotional (movie nights, peer support, discussions and workshops), spiritual (arts and crafts, language classes, guest speakers - this is the first time many of them are being exposed to culture and so their comfort level has to grow)."

[10] Teachings by: Wendy Phillips

This shows how this model can be worked through, particularly for children's programming on a monthly basis in group programming. There are similar approaches to youth, adult and Elder programming that follows a similar schedule. In addition to focus on the self, there are one on ones with clients to provide them with specific support that may be needed. The organization as a whole offers at least quarterly family events and community events. These activities bring communities together, helping to build more unified nations.

This cultural approach for staff begins in the job posting where there is a strong emphasis on cultural knowledge. As Susan Dowan, President of the Board describes:

> "…the key questions for most of the positions are about culture, you have the HR questions, the policy questions, but then you have questions about culture- even in job postings there is an emphasis on culture. Our vision and mandate has culture embedded, the OFIFC's mandate is cultural based. In the position the staff act as role models for community members and clients, being a mentor and being involved in the cultural work and partaking in the ceremony itself whether it be helping with the food, the fire, transporting, etc. As a team, all staff together, having that communication to discuss what they can do and how it turned out, overall it is a shared responsibility."

The Board of Directors also ensures that they conduct their business in a culturally appropriate way, starting each meeting with ceremony and conducting their business according to Indigenous values. The Board is responsible to ensure that culture remains at the forefront of the activities of NFC.

This is important because it demonstrates a different approach to Indigenous service delivery that can be visualized and broken down in a way that can be understood. Unfortunately, it is a consequence of colonization that Indigenous people and organizations are in a position where they have to demonstrate their Indigenous ways of

knowing. Many organizations will do activities like this informally. NFC's approach is different, in that they begin with this cultural model and work it into the work plans required by non-Indigenous funders or funders who have non-Indigenous approaches.

Having this cultural approach at the forefront can cause challenges for the organization, particularly in their work with their funders. Wendy Phillips describes the challenge in having funders understand the value and importance of culture, while demonstrating the integration into all programs:

> "With OFIFC we can write some things in there where it is not too challenging, where our non-Aboriginal funders, that is where you get into challenges. With Heritage Canada, and the Ministry of Economic Development and Service Canada when we would put in the report things like feasts, ceremony and traditional activities, they would challenge those types of things, like feast for the dead, solstice feast, fasting ceremonies and there is a feast – just different wording that they are not used to in their reporting so that was always a challenge was having to explain these events... [These] cultural events are the main reasons why clients and participants are coming to the Friendship Centre is for cultural support and cultural learning, and so when we get a program that might be for seniors or for entrepreneurs you will find that culture is still a big component of that somehow.
>
> The funders don't always see the value in culture and the value of integrating culture within the programming and how it truly helps our clients and our participants – lots of time this is why people come back is because of that cultural engagement – whether it is ceremonial component, the songs and dances -is the belief of uplifting the spirit, when that occurs in a person that changes them and awakens the spirit, and when people start that journey it might last a lifetime, so that is the type of support that we do is to maintain that type of cultural activity or support.
>
> We just did our annual survey and they want more culture and more ceremony and we just came through the fall (there are a lot of ceremonies in the fall). It is a lot of work, but it is very fulfilling and rewarding, to see the changes in people are pretty amazing because it has really changed a lot of the clientele here."

It is important for funders to begin to understand that when Indigenous people and organizations are involved, they should expect a different approach. It is not possible to separate program objectives from cultural values and understanding, which may mean

having a celebratory ceremony to conclude a component of a project or to think about how to move forward. With organizations, such as NFC, that are driven by community and membership direction, it is important for the organization to follow through, where possible, and deliver on the activities that the community is requesting, which ensures that the community will remain engaged in the centre. Unfortunately, government priorities do not always align with community priorities.

Beyond funders, NFC also works in partnership with a variety of non-Indigenous organizations. Their role in doing this is to advocate for Indigenous clients that visit those organizations, support those organizations in understanding Indigenous cultures and approaches and to co-deliver workshops or programs. A staff member talks about this role broadly:

> "By advocating I mean providing information workshops to them to give them a better background and understanding of the struggles and the different issues that people face today and historically - to build bridges with external organizations, based on that as far as the understanding and ability to communicate effectively and offer services jointly that are meaningful for First Nations people. We have a Board of Directors here that includes community members, that might have specific concerns to this particular urban setting here, so to follow their leads and offer meaningful programs and interventions that are helpful for community members here. To provide a safe and welcoming environment here at the centre that is respectful of everyone that comes through the door."

Here the individual discusses the role of the staff at NFC in supporting clients and community members as they access programs and services from external agencies which involves cultural education in a variety of ways based on the relationship.

NFC is continually working to develop new partnerships with agencies in the area. This involves offering workshops around the issues that affect the Indigenous population in the area and giving an historical perspective of the challenges that these communities

have face. They also teach them some basic customs and traditions so these agencies have a better understanding of what clients are talking about or requesting (staff member). These partnerships also try to encourage the awareness of spirit in the work they do. Many organizations do a great job of addressing the physical, emotional and mental, but they ignore the spiritual aspects. At NFC they include all four areas in counselling because

> "…physical ailments are often an indication of something happening with the spirit and by addressing that, you can get to the root of the problem as opposed to addressing the symptoms, emotions whether they are negative are still a healthy component of being human...but when they focus on the emotional and ignore the spiritual they aren't really treating the issue, they are treating the symptoms...Here the clients feel the difference, past clients will tell you that a lot of the circles they have attended have helped them, they look forward to the weekly or bi weekly circles and they come back for it and this is the spirit component that they come back to" (Joe Keesickquayash).

The distinction, frequently, between mainstream organizations and organizations like NFC, is the cultural approach. When NFC is offering a program, they don't have to advertise that it is cultural, because that is a given and embedded in all aspects of it. They often use similar curriculums to other organizations and add in cultural components to ensure that there is balance. Staff indicated that there is an overall willingness of other organizations to work in partnership with them and receive workshops and other information about Indigenous peoples and cultures. However, several staff noted that they felt as though their approach was seen as less legitimate than the approach of other organizations.

Staff also noted that many mainstream organizations attempt to replicate cultural approaches when they see they have been successful. Unfortunately, the delivery often comes after reading about it in a book, rather than understanding the meaning and the

outcomes from a cultural perspective. While it is possible to run a talking circle, if you don't understand the purpose and why Indigenous communities do certain things you cannot expect to have a successful outcome.

However, staff also noted that most people are really curious about Indigenous approaches. Once relationships are built, there is a comfort between individuals and those who are unfamiliar with Indigenous cultures can ask the questions they want to know. Questions such as: why do you smudge, what do certain songs mean, etc. Staff see this as an opportunity to educate the uneducated. They would prefer it if partners and funders would come to the centre and experience their approach first hand, to gain an understanding of what they do.

Staff understand that cultural awareness and understanding takes time and so, when possible, they give presentations and cultural training. Moving forward continuing to build these relationships is increasingly important for the survival of the organization as well as for the health of the clients that are served by multiple organizations.

Example of Clan Principles in Program Delivery

In order to illustrate the planning and implementation of the clan system in a particular program/project, I will use the Cultural Connections for Aboriginal Youth Program as an example. Many of the program aspects could be included as achieving multiple goals and multiple teachings. Because of the diversity of nations within the individuals attending the program and their varied understanding of their own teachings and collective identities, the teachings, for the most part, were delivered uniformly to each of the participants. Below, I will describe activities that can be attributed to one

specific clan focus, however, many of the activities could be seen as having aspects in each of the five areas and all include elements of the clan morals outlined in the methodology chapter.

Leadership activities were included through the youth advisory committee, which was a youth committee made up of youth who attended the program. They chose a president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer to represent them and their needs. Staff worked with the youth council to provide them with support in understanding how to conduct their meetings and make decisions and recommendations on the larger program. This empowered the youth to make their own decisions, advocate for themselves and come to consensus on the ideas brought forward in a good way. Leadership was a key component of this project and many of the activities had leadership elements within them.

Protection/Warrior activities included culture camp, to ensure that traditional ways were carried on by the youth involved in the program and, therefore, protected. In addition, life skills workshops included topics on conflict resolution, healthy relationships, and problem solving. These workshops gave participants skills to protect themselves and others using traditional knowledge and Western knowledge.

Sustenance/Hunters activities in contemporary times have additional elements to those that were needed in the past. For example, having the skills and knowledge to hunt and provide for your family and community still remain important for many people. Additional skills are needed, particularly for those who live in urban areas, to remain able to provide for their families and communities. These necessary skills included a variety of employment workshops including, resume writing, interviewing skills, as well as life skills workshops on topics such as self-care and budgeting.

Education/Teaching activities were present across all programs and activities. The Cultural Connections for Aboriginal Youth Program highlighted education and teaching options in a traditional sense, by sharing traditional teachings with the participants from a variety of different Elders and traditional knowledge holders. In addition, the program highlighted post-secondary options and post-secondary cultural supports to youth, to encourage the continuation of their education within the mainstream realm as well.

Medicine/Healing was a key component of this program to ensure that youth had access to their ceremonies and traditional activities including: feasts, sweat lodge, teachings, drumming and singing. Through the program there were weekly teachings, weekly drumming and singing, monthly sweat lodges and quarterly feasts. Some of the teachings and sweat lodges were exclusively for youth involved in this program, but quarterly feasts and other ceremonies were community events, where youth from the program had the opportunity to build their community connections.

The importance of program design in this way is twofold: first, it provides overall continuity with the organization and its broad approach to ensure cultural continuity while having an intentional cultural approach. Secondly, many of the youth participants did not grow up in environments where their sense of Indigenous identity was strong. Many of the youth were unsure of their clan or did not have an understanding of their responsibilities as being a part of a particular clan. The approach utilized by NFC built skills in all areas for the youth, where they could connect with their particular responsibilities, as they began to build an understanding of their Indigenous identity.

Conclusion

By examining the governance structure of Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre, the community they served and their approach to program design and implementation from 2010-2014, it is evident that this approach had a broad impact, as shown in the specific examples from Cultural Connections for Aboriginal Youth. Critical to understanding these approaches are the ways in which individuals define and understand culture. In the case of staff and Board at NFC, culture as a way of life, challenges associated with pan Indigeneity/impacts of colonialism, and interconnectedness were all consistent themes in how they understood culture.

Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre interpreted their cultural programming by using a number of Indigenous tools including: relationship teachings/cultural competencies circle, the annual service plan circle, NFC activity design circle and the Anishinabe clan system. Using these tools, among others, NFC provided programs and services to its clients and members in culturally competent ways. This was their approach to moving forward their vision of the Centre. Of course, it would be impossible to capture all of the cultural elements that are embedded throughout the programs at NFC, because they are fluid and adapt based on the staff, board and clients. However, the stability is within these defined tools to ensure continuity in approach and governance, which puts Indigenous ways of knowing and values at the forefront.

NORTH – Movement, part two: Final Thoughts

Introduction

The previous section of this chapter focused on the experiences and approach of Nogojiwanong Friendship Center in implementing a cultural approach to program and service delivery, and its impacts. This section will look to the work that needs to be done moving forward, as we learn from the experiences of implementing the vision. Movement is not seen as an ending, but a new beginning as it leads into a new or revised vision and you contemplate the work that remains to be done and the challenges ahead.

This chapter will begin to discuss the challenges that remain ahead of urban Indigenous organizations as they return to Indigenous governance systems and some of the literature around this topic. It will also discuss some of the recommendations from the interviews and, based on my observations at the Centre and in program delivery, for urban Indigenous peoples in general. Then, I will move on to a discussion on the implications for policy development. Finally, a discussion of planning ahead for seven generations.

The Work Ahead for Indigenous Communities

Ladner (2009) states that though the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) outlined the importance of self-government, its justification and some models, it did not discuss the relationship between governance and well-being. Beyond this, little has been written on the details of implementation that could be useful for communities. Monture (1999) argues that the change needed in communities will come from the grassroots, primarily made up of women, as communities are rebuilt through families and

traditional teachings are remembered. I believe that in communities this work is beginning to happen at varying levels. The Idle No More movement, for example, was founded by Indigenous women, who challenged the structures that Indigenous peoples encounter in Canada today. Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre has explicitly designed its organization based on Indigenous knowledge, which was also primarily led by women.

It is widely agreed upon in the literature that returning to traditional governance is the way to restore balance in Indigenous communities (Alfred, 2009; Monture, 1999; Simpson, 2008). This is a critical piece of community-wellbeing and decolonization, in that recognition of the ways that had resulted in the survival of Indigenous people for thousands of years are the way to ensure they survive for thousands ahead. However, this is no easy task and, for some communities, it will take time to understand the traditions they need to rebuild. Then, there will be a time of community consensus building, as some community members will fear change and, finally, there will be action for some communities to rebuild their own governance infrastructures.

McBride (2003) discussed the healing journey of the Sault Saint Marie Tribe of the Chippewa and noted that cultural renewal has impacts on communities and individuals. This community's journey also focused on clan teachings, roles and responsibilities. Through these teachings, community members came to understand their roles as individuals within their clans and their communities. McBride (2003) found that the impact of this on individuals was tremendous. The clan approach is to focus on the strengths of individuals and the gifts they bring to the collective, instead of focusing on the negative (Ladner 2009). Again, community readiness needs to be considered, as there will be members in communities who are currently well positioned and may not be

willing to change, which is yet another impact of colonization. It can be expected that it may take several attempts to effectively return to traditional governance because of the resistance that will be offered by those who fear change. However, individuals and communities will persist and, thankfully, there are models of success to guide the way.

Ladner sums up the sentiment well in saying that:

> “[t]here is no limit to the potential that this holds for rebuilding strong, capable, resilient communities or for addressing those conditions that enable/disable community wellness. This is because the mere process of renewing constitutional orders has the potential to facilitate community healing, community building and capacity building. Renewing governance and creating honourable governance will require community discussion (involving all people within that nation) as the renewal of the constitutional order and the meaning of honourable governance will have to be negotiated within each nation. Indigenous peoples will need to engage in processes of decolonization for indigenous governments and indigenous constitutional orders have not been predominant in indigenous politics since the Canadian government institutionalized the Indian Act system of government in 1876” (2009: 97-98).

This exemplifies the scope of the work ahead, but more importantly points to the open possibilities for Indigenous communities as they embrace these traditional ways.

The Work Ahead of Canadian Institutions

A key challenge for Indigenous communities across Canada includes the interpretation of court rulings. While there have been some court decisions which have acknowledged the importance of Indigenous cultures and traditional practices, these have not translated to support for cultural programs and approaches in urban areas. Indigenous peoples in urban areas, and the organizations who provide services to them, may opt to pursue and challenge this. However, these are very different circumstances than those which have typically been successful in the Canadian court system. There remain many

unanswered and complex jurisdictional questions that service delivery organizations do not have the capacity or mandate to represent.

Even with the Calls to Action from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission receiving full support from the Liberal government, many opportunities and questions remain. What does the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples mean for urban populations and for the organizations who represent them? How are urban Indigenous people included in the implementation of these recommendations and what is the mechanism that best serves urban Indigenous peoples? It seems as though there is a tremendous opportunity before Indigenous peoples and all Canadians in how to move forward and implement these Calls to Action. It will be a challenge over the coming months and years to move many of these big questions forward and begin acting in ways that are meaningful and long lasting.

Recommendations from Interviews

Wendy Phillips pointed out in her interview that some of the challenges for urban Indigenous organizations come from the government's adoption of an economic framework. This means that programs are measured by their bottom line and how number of outputs, instead of focusing on the quality of the program. She also discussed the lack of policy commitment for urban Indigenous people and organizations and that, as a result, they will suffer, and possibly close, removing necessary resources from the system. For First Nations reserves, there are certain policy commitments that have secured a base level of funding and programming, but this is not the case for urban Indigenous organizations.

Those interviewed had several recommendations for those who work in the area of urban Indigenous service delivery. In terms of research, Wendy noted that there is still a lack of research on urban Indigenous topics, furthermore, the continued use of Western models in research is problematic. She believes that Indigenous research frameworks need to be developed and applied within education and economic models. Wendy believes that this can be done through Treaties. Rather than thinking of Treaties as documents of the past, we must remember that the Treaties are alive and they remain alive through the people. Future Treaties are done through those who are alive today and they will be kept alive by future generations. Treaty making stretches far beyond land entitlement and that is something that people need to recognize in order for this to be a viable option with which to move forward. It is about building partnerships with the communities whose traditional territories you reside.

Wendy also made recommendations about the roles of urban Indigenous organizations in terms of culture. First, communities need to determine and negotiate the role that organizations will play in culture. Will specific organizations be responsible for specific things? For example, if an organization is mandated to take care of a child, group homes and other child care agencies, then this should include ensuring children have access to their culture. If the parents, foster parents or group homes do not approach care from a cultural perspective, then how will a child understand their specific identity as an Indigenous person? Friendship Centres often get these kinds of requests, where they are seen as a cultural hub. However, the challenge in providing this type of cultural assistance to external organizations is that it is not a specific role of the Centre and there is no specific funding to support this. As a result, these activities add to staff workloads.

Wendy also noted that there is a cultural reawakening happening among Indigenous people. Many people who are residential school survivors, or intergenerational survivors, are reclaiming their identities and want cultural knowledge and teachings. The requests can be overwhelming. As staff determine what their focus will be in a specific year, they cannot meet all of the ceremony requests. All this to say, when the Aboriginal Healing Foundation funds were discontinued, there was a major gap created for community members to access cultural teachings and ceremonies. Many community members were just gaining some understanding of their identities and now find it difficult to continue on their own healing journeys without enough cultural support.

Others interviewed noted opportunities for mainstream organizations like schools, hospitals and mental health facilities to make their spaces more Indigenous and welcoming to Indigenous people. It is important to recognize the traditional territories upon which you are situated, but it is also important to understand other Indigenous cultures, as there is no pan-Indigenous culture. Organizations should reach out to Indigenous organizations for workshops and collaborations and build bridges with new people and organizations.

Those interviewed recommended that there should be more knowledge of Friendship Centres and the work that they do. Those involved with the Centre remain surprised when other agencies ask about what they do. It is important that other organizations are aware of the work of Friendship Centres, specifically the cultural supports that are available, as mainstream organizations usually do not have the understanding or capacity to address these needs. They should also know that anyone is welcome and, if they are curious, they should come and visit.

Staff noted recommendations for people who are working in the field. They said that you have to be honest with yourself and understand why you have undertaken this work, educate yourself, and approach your work with clients without judgement. Understand that there are many teachings and, rather than judge someone on their interpretation of teachings, recognize that they have held on to that interpretation for a reason. There needs to be recognition that social service is a difficult field, and it is necessary to use self-care, ceremonial tools, and self-reflection to keep yourself grounded and ensure that you don't burn out. Joe Keesickquayash says:

> "To work in this field, you have to come from a place of honesty for yourself, why are you here, you're trying to meet the needs of the client, your own culture and philosophies must include that you have to start from a place of respect and not to jump to conclusions about how people conduct themselves and what their teachings are, because there are so many different teachings and some people get really hung up on thinking well this Elder said this and you have to recognize that what works for people is what they have picked up – you must be understanding and non-judgmental."

They also noted that this work is a constant learning curve and you need to keep your eye on emerging trends and issues, especially for youth, because change can happen quickly and it is important to keep the youth connected to their cultures so they do not lose themselves.

Human resources are another area that those interviewed talked about. It is important to hire people who are culturally competent and who live their lives in a good way, as clients will gravitate towards those people. Luke Isaacs states:

> "Hire good people that know what they are doing. Hire cultural leaders and spiritual people because this is what our people need at this point in time – it is not professionals in western professionals with degrees. We need to hire traditional professions who have "traditional degrees" [someone who can say] I have a traditional degree, I know 5000 medicines. I would hold more value to that then a

> doctor, a Western doctor and I truly believe that, it is hiring traditional professionals."

Organizations should recognize traditional degrees for knowledge holders as equal to degrees and certificates from post-secondary institutions, as the balance of both sets of skills within an organization are important.

Those interviewed also recommended that the funding approach for these organizations be addressed so that organizations can plan beyond a fiscal year. Often times, it is well into a fiscal year before funding is confirmed and then, once the program is up and running, it is time for renewal or it gets cut. For small organizations in particular it is not possible to cash manage these programs and it becomes difficult to do meaningful planning. They also recommend that the funders and decision makers understand that culture is a necessity, as it helps people in many ways that other approaches cannot.

Building on this, those interviewed challenged decision makers and funders to go out and learn about Indigenous organizations, to get out of their comfort zone, experience what they are doing, witness it and feel it. Ask questions when you don't understand something and strive to find ways to work together recognizing the strengths of each way of doing things. Susan states:

> "Take the time to go out and learn about the native organizations, take yourself out of your comfort zone – don't just research it, but go there. Promotion of the work that we do. Take the effort and time to get to know the organization that interests you that is focused on culture you have to go and see to learn – always ask questions. See how you can work with them, what do you see that you can bring to the table, what can we bring to your table. Be honest with where you are coming from – non-native organization wants to be more culturally sensitive, be open and honest - this is what we are trying to do and this is what the goal is. Be open-minded."

This is key to partnerships and to moving reconciliation forward.

Recommendations from Observation

Based on my work with this Friendship Centre, and beyond, over the last decade I have some recommendations that I believe are important to moving urban Indigenous organizations and communities forward in a good way. I have divided these recommendations into sections for governments, Indigenous organizations, mainstream organizations and academics. These recommendations are mine, although I believe that many others working in this area would agree with at least some of them.

The federal government has a responsibility to recognize where the Indigenous population lives in Canada and fund appropriately. I am not advocating for First Nations, Métis or Inuit communities to have funding cuts, but it is important to understand that more resources are needed to adequately serve nearly sixty percent of the population. It is also important for governments to recognize wholistic models and approaches to program delivery, find the value in this approach, and provide funding opportunities. As new programs are being developed, they should be co-developed with Indigenous organizations, including terms and conditions and outcomes measurement, in ways that are meaningful to those Indigenous organizations.

Provincial governments vary broadly in their approaches to funding programs for urban Indigenous people, and work should be done to bring those less supportive provincial governments up to the standard of other provinces. As with provincial governments, municipal governments take varying approaches to supporting Indigenous organizations and communities within their cities. Municipal governments should ensure that they are acknowledging the traditional territories that they are on, in addition to

working with Indigenous peoples in the community to create safe and inclusive places for Indigenous people.

Indigenous organizations have a responsibility to document and share the ways that they use Indigenous models in their work. By sharing their approaches, others will have the courage and strength to follow. Wise practices in the integration of Indigenous knowledges into organizations should be shared broadly. Evaluating organizational cultural competency and developing models that others can use and adapt will be key to building evidence of the effectiveness of these approaches.

Indigenous organizations should continue to build relationships with non-Indigenous organizations and with other Indigenous organizations. It is important that other service providers in the community are aware of their existence and of the programs and services that are provided. Indigenous organizations should support non-Indigenous organizations in building an understanding of Indigenous cultures and their practices. This includes finding ways to work together to support Indigenous clients, building partnerships, relationships and strategies.

Indigenous organizations need to find ways to work with each other and support the work of other Indigenous organizations in their community and overcome any challenges that present themselves. They need to find ways to work with First Nations, Métis and Inuit communities as well. As long as organizations are fighting over resources, true decolonization will not occur. Rather than tearing each other down, organizations should build each other up, plan and strategize together, work collaboratively, and think about what combined resources can be brought to the community. Many urban centres have organizations or councils that include

representation from many of the organizations, but organizations need to push beyond these boundaries to find ways to work together on a day to day basis.

Academics and researchers need to build relationships with the urban Indigenous communities in which they work and live. Many of these relationships will not result in any research but, rather, opportunities to give back and provide support. Where research is on the table, researchers must approach their work using the models of Indigenous organizations and that research must be pragmatic and support communities in ways that they find useful. Researchers should use models of community-driven research that have measurable outcomes and use resources, such as OFIFC's USAI (2012) research framework, to plan and evaluate the responsiveness of the work.

Relationships grounded in the Code of Bimadiziwin are critical to reconciliation in the research process. For me, it has been the relationships that have enriched both my life and this research. When I entered the Friendship Centre about seven years ago, I did so firmly as an outsider. The experience is similar to the first time I participated in Anishinabe ceremony with Mark and Wendy Phillips, in that I was an outsider. Today, in that community I am an insider because of the time spent and the relationships developed. These relationships have extended far beyond this research and have grown into family in an Anishinabe sense.

Creating deep, insider relationships has shaped my understanding of Anishinabe knowledge and thought. This experience has impacted me from spiritual, mental, emotional and physical aspects. My greatest recommendation to other researchers is to spend the time necessary to build and nurture relationships before, during and after the

research. Beyond the knowledge and stories that we have the opportunity to share as a result of research, it is an important way to contribute to reconciliation.

Implications for Policy

At a federal level there are very limited policies that apply to urban Indigenous people and organizations. The federal government has been very slow to implement Indigenous rights in cities, which has a substantial impact because nearly sixty percent of the Indigenous population lives in urban areas. The Urban Aboriginal Strategy (UAS) is a starting point, and in 2016-17 provided about $50 million dollars for urban Indigenous organizations. However, $50 million dollars in the scope of the Indigenous and Northern Affairs (INAC) budget is incredibly small. The federal government must rethink its approach to the UAS to provide the resources for organizations, such as Friendship Centres, to make decisions beyond one year.

The Indigenous population is the youngest and fastest growing population in the country (INAC, 2010). This will have major impacts on social service provision, child and family services, education systems, the justice system and the labour force in the next decade. Governments need to work with Indigenous organizations to plan for the needs of this unique and diverse population. There is almost no policy area that will not be affected by this population and there needs to be more appropriate approaches to ensuring their success.

Policy and decision makers need to do the appropriate engagement and ensure they are developing policy positions and responses based on adequate consultation with the right people who have the knowledge and experience in delivering services to the

population. Developing long term plans with a diverse population will by no means be a simple task, however it is necessary. Governments need to be willing to work from Indigenous approaches and use tools that are culturally appropriate.

Planning Ahead for Seven Generations

Just as this dissertation has included sections that have examined a time prior to contact, this section must acknowledge how to look forward. It is my hope that the next generation understands their present in ways similar to the past. Of course, with twelve month funding cycles it is difficult to plan for seven generations ahead - but it is possible to do so.

The Ontario Federation of Indigenous Friendship Centres (OFIFC) has been incorporating cultural values into their work for decades. One example of how they have done this can be found in their first strategic plan from the 1980s. The plan was a twenty-year plan, with three overarching goals. While the twenty-year plan is very long by Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) standards, for an Indigenous organization it made sense because they needed to consider the generations to come. Sylvia Maracle, Executive Director of OFIFC, describes the process they undertook for the strategic plan, "We return to the cultural base. We offer tobacco, hold a feast and ceremony to begin to get a clear perspective: Who are we? Where did we come from and where do we want to go? What are our responsibilities in getting there?" (Graham and Kinmond, 2008: 27). Throughout the process, the OFIFC used the medicine wheel concept to work through complex issues, ensuring that there was balance in their approach. In the end, the strategic

plan was "professional, effective and culturally relevant" (Graham and Kinmond, 2008: 27).

As with many approaches that Indigenous organizations take, it is possible where there is flexibility and willingness. Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre's approach has been to ensure that the culture is incorporated into all aspects of the organization and to document it. By including culture in the programs and services offered by the Friendship Centre, they are awakening people to their Indigenous identities and many of them will continue on their spiritual journeys in other places and in other ways, but the Friendship Centre sees it as their role to remind people that these ways exist.

As Joe Keesickquayash discussed in his interview, he does the work that he does in part for his own children, so they know who they are as Indigenous people. However, he also does it for the others who come to the Centre, so that they can learn and pass on the knowledge within their families and circles. Having the knowledge out in the open ensures that it will not be forgotten. The more people engaged, the more generations it will continue.

In order to plan for the next generations, ceremony needs to be involved. The knowledge of the ancestors will help to guide those planning to address issues that may be coming. As with each part of Indigenous organizations, the culture cannot be removed from the forward thinking. There is great strength in this approach, as Indigenous communities have survived and thrived in the face of many obstacles, and they were able to do this because of their cultures and beliefs. Their cultures and beliefs will carry them forward, through the next seven generations and beyond.

Future Areas for Research

Urban Indigenous research continues to be very sparse. However, in my day to day work I hear from communities who have the desire to build evidence on a number of topics. It is the role of researchers to spend the time to build relationships with communities and to develop projects together that will have immediate benefit for those communities. Based on what I have learned through this process, this is how research must move forward. It needs to start with relationship building and will progress as it needs to.

Impact on Me

As mentioned, this research and the inclusion in this community has affected me profoundly. Being exposed and welcomed into ceremony has built an understanding of Indigenous people and communities that I would not have received any other way. This has also changed the ways that I work with Indigenous communities. This research, and associated work, has taught me about the importance of relationships, because with solid relationships many things are possible. Relationships and trust take time to build, significant time, and as a non-Indigenous person I have to prove my kindness, intent and I must be patient. This seems very simple, but is incredibly complex. I approach most things in my life with the Code of Bimadiziwin to guide me and it rarely lets me down.

Final Thoughts

Implementing an Indigenous research framework, this dissertation has explored the incorporation of cultural knowledge and teachings into research, program and

organizational design and structure, specifically at Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre from 2010- 2014. This research was guided by four research questions:

What is an Indigenous research process, as defined by Elders present at Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre?

What are the understandings of culture that are held by Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre's staff and board?

How does Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre interpret their cultural programming?

What are the implications for the future development of Friendship Centre governance and programs?

Each of these questions were addressed throughout the dissertation in a variety of ways, beginning with a structure to the document that was more in balance with the teachings and shared knowledge. I believe there are five major concepts discussed throughout this dissertation:

1. Anishinabe knowledge is experiential, layered and earned. In order to gain understanding, time and relationships are necessary.
2. Indigenous approaches to research are based in ceremony, time and relationships. It tests physical, mental, spiritual and moral understandings. As a result, it is deeply personal and biased.
3. Anishinabe approaches to organizational creation and development are possible, but have challenges in an Ontario and Canadian context.
4. Anishinabe organizational approaches can be subtle at first glance; layers need to be peeled back to understand the approach.

5. Mainstream governments and organizations have a responsibility in the context of reconciliation to make space for Indigenous approaches and to take the time to gain awareness and build an understanding of them.

First, the preamble chapter, laid out key findings, key concepts and introduced the structure of the dissertation using the teaching circle: vision/time/feeling/movement. The vision for this dissertation and this project were shared. Second, in the time chapter, Indigenous research processes were discussed, exploring the literature by a number of Indigenous scholars who are working to Indigenize the academy, followed by the outcomes of conversations with Harry Snowboy and Mark Phillips on what an Indigenous research process is and its components. Of course, these processes are complex, but they are based in experiential learning, relationships and time. They are measured or observed through the lens of Indigenous morals or ways of being. The Code of Bimadiziwin and other similar ideas are presented to discuss how each was applied in building of relationships, in the approach to research, and to understand what ethics means in this context. I believe that the detail is necessary, to acknowledge that the process of getting to the research is at least as important as the research outcomes themselves in an Indigenous context.

The preamble and first two chapters have led me to the first two key findings. Anishinabe knowledge is experiential, layered and earned. The only way to truly understand this knowledge is to experience it, and experience it many times. Each time you hear a teaching or sit in ceremony you uncover a new layer and deepen your understanding. In order to gain understanding, time and relationships are necessary. It is not possible to build an understanding of these concepts after hearing a teaching once, or

even five times. It takes significant time. This is why I chose a fundamental teaching to work through this process, it is one of the only teachings that I have heard between 25 and 50 times, because it is shared in all ceremony and is a core concept in many teachings.

The feeling chapter affirmed my belief that Indigenous approaches to research are based in ceremony, time and relationships. However, this concept is woven throughout the dissertation and throughout my learning process. It tests physical, mental, spiritual and moral understandings. As a result, it is deeply personal and biased. When I first formally interviewed Mark Phillips, his response to my question of how did/do you get answers to questions in a traditional sense, was that they (would) fast. Fasting is ceremony and it requires relationships – with human beings, but also minerals, plants and animals. It also requires time. Time in preparation, time to carry out the ceremony and then time to understand the teachings received in the ceremony. I did not fast specifically for my research questions, instead I spent significant time building relationships in ceremony, with Mark and Wendy and the community at NFC.

In the next chapter, focusing on feeling, an Anishinabe clan system teaching provided a basis for understanding the structure of Anishinabe communities and governance prior to colonization. By recognizing the roles and responsibilities of clans to do their part in ensuring the health and survival of individuals, families, communities and nations, there can be a growth of understanding of how Anishinabe communities structured themselves. Clans are deeply embedded in the identity of Anishinabe people and provide individuals with extended families, as well as an understanding of their place in their communities and nations. This section provided the lens that understanding culture is interpreted through, in the present and future chapters and provided the basis for

building an understanding of how Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre was structured and provided programming.

The second part of the feeling chapter began by discussing an overview of the impact of colonization on Indigenous people in Canada, the urbanization of the Indigenous population, the development of Friendship Centres across Canada and the interpretation of Indigenous cultures by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous systems and institutions, as presented in a broader literature. The effects of colonization must be taken into account as many Indigenous peoples have been separated from their teachings and their ways of life. As a result, Indigenous people have significant barriers to success. The challenges of maintaining Indigenous ways of being while struggling against non-Indigenous systems who do not comprehend them, are important to understanding the approach of the Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre but so is the success of using Indigenous models in contemporary time.

The first part of the Movement chapter examined Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre's approach to integrating their cultural values and beliefs into all aspects of the organization from 2010-2014. The governance structure, modeled after the Anishinabe clan system, was outlined as a way to understand how the organization was working to achieve the goals of the programs and services they delivered. Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre interpreted their cultural programming by using a number of Indigenous tools including: relationship teachings/cultural competencies circle, the annual service plan circle, NFC activity design circle and the Anishinabe clan system. Using these tools, among others, NFC provided programs and service to its clients and members in

culturally competent ways, which put Indigenous ways of knowing and values at the forefront.

Critical to understanding these approaches are the ways that individuals define and understand culture. In the case of staff and Board at NFC, culture as a way of life, challenges associated with pan Indigeneity/impacts of colonialism, and interconnectedness were all consistent themes in how they understand culture. Those that were interviewed talked passionately about what culture means to them, and to the programs that they offer to community members. They spoke about its transformative nature. They also spoke about the ways that culture was embedded in every aspect of the Friendship Centre, and that set them apart from other organizations.

This chapter, combined with the information on the clan system in the feeling chapter, led me to the findings that Anishinabe approaches to organizational creation and development are possible, but have challenges in an Ontario and Canadian context. Anishinabe organizational approaches can be subtle at first glance, but layers need to be peeled back to understand the approach. Again, the model used by NFC showed that Anishinabe approaches are possible. However, because of the funding cycles and requirements of both Ontario and Canada there are challenges with fully implementing these ideals in an ongoing way. This creates a lack of continuity in ensuring balance for the implementation of all roles and responsibilities of the clans within programming. Much like Anishinabe knowledge, Anishinabe organizational approaches take time and understanding to see. NFC looked much like other Indigenous organizations to those who visited from time to time, with the Seven Grandfather teachings on the wall and Indigenous people primarily working at the Centre. However, as discussed earlier in this

chapter, the approach to governance and service delivery of the organization was Anishinabe in every aspect. There was significant knowledge behind the approaches used, all grounded in Anishinabe thought.

Finally, this work has attempted to look forward to the future through the final part of the movement chapter. To the immediate future, there are opportunities for Indigenous and non-Indigenous organizations to work together to ensure that Indigenous people and communities are served in culturally competent ways – the negotiation of this work will happen through the implementation of the TRC's Calls to Action, and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). For urban Indigenous organizations, the work ahead should/could be focused on building organizational capacity to better meet the needs of the communities they serve, supporting Indigenous people who work in these organizations, and using the teachings as a guide to move forward.

This led me to my final finding that mainstream governments and organizations have a responsibility in the context of reconciliation to make space for Indigenous approaches and take the time to gain awareness and build an understanding of them. This dissertation has shown that Anishinabe knowledge and approaches are viable and possible. I expect that the same is true for other Indigenous nations across the country. It is time to recognize the contributions of this knowledge and how it can enrich the lives of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. If we are to truly reconcile the past, then Canada needs to understand Indigenous peoples and what Canada attempted to take away.

The role of allies and governments cannot be forgotten as we move forward. The under resourcing of urban Indigenous organizations is a detriment to all. I recommend

relationship building with all levels of governments, other Indigenous organizations, non-Indigenous organizations, neighbouring Indigenous communities, researchers and other allies. With the combined resources and knowledge, we can envision a better future. Ensuring that the cultures and beliefs of Indigenous peoples are embedded in organizations and processes is a beginning.

At times the complex nature of attempting to distil the teachings that have been shared with me throughout this process has been incredibly challenging. The key take away for me in understanding this is the interconnectedness of Indigenous knowledge, as it is not as compartmentalized into distinct disciplines. However, I have attempted to share some of the fundamental principles, including the teaching of vision, time, feeling and movement; the clan system; and the morals, which have provided the foundation to understand NFC's approach. The implementation of a cultural approach was possible as a result of individuals who had significant cultural knowledge and stood confident in their own identities, but functioned as a community, ensuring that the various needs of their broader community were met. The specific tools shared, are examples of how this organization implemented their broader vision, using cultural tools.

It is the hope of myself and those who shared their knowledge with me, that NFC's approach will be helpful to others as they think about how to effectively serve urban Indigenous peoples in ways that are culturally appropriate. As we look forward to the implementation of reconciliation, this serves as an example of cultural strength and resiliency. The principles and approaches discussed throughout can be adapted so that they may find space within communities to flourish and to be celebrated.

Chi-migwetch

Works Cited

Abele, Frances, and K. A. H. Graham. "Federal Urban Aboriginal Policy: The Challenge of Viewing the Stars in the Urban Night Sky." *Urban Aboriginal Policy Making in Canadian Municipalities* (2011): 33-52.

Adorno, Theodor W. "Culture and Administration." *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays in Mass Culture*. Ed. J.M. Bernstein. London: Routledge, 1991.

Alfred, Taiaiake. *Peace, Power and Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*. Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Alfred, Taiaiake. *Wasase.* Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2009.

Anishinabek Nation. "Ngo Dwe Waangizid Anishinaabe: One Anishinaabe Family." North Bay, ON: Anishinabek Nation, 2011.

Ashawasega, N. and King, R. M. "Mankind's Journey with Mother Earth." Unpublished Manuscript, 1991.

Ashkewe, Wilson (late), Mark and Wendy Phillips. N.D. "Relationship Teaching/Cultural Competencies" Personal Communication. 2010-2017.

Archibald, Jo-Ann. *Indigenous Storywork: Educating the Heart, Mind, Body and Spirit.* Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008.

Bastien, Betty, and Jürgen W. Kremer. *Blackfoot Ways of Knowing: The Worldview of the Siksikaitsitapi*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004.

Battiste, Marie Ann, and James Youngblood Henderson. *Protecting Indigenous Knowledge and Heritage: A Global Challenge*. Saskatoon: Purich Publishing, 2000.

Belanger, Yale. "Breaching Reserve Boundaries: Canada v. Misquadis and the legal evolution of the Urban Aboriginal Community." *Indigenizing Modernity: Indigenous Urbanization in International Perspective*. Eds. Evelyn Peters and Chris Andersen. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013.

Berg, Bruce. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences.* Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1995.

Berry, John W. "Aboriginal Cultural Identity." *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*. XIX, 1 (1999): 1-36.

Brant-Castellano, Marlene. "Updating Aboriginal Traditions of Knowledge." *Indigenous Knowledges in Global Contexts*. Ed. George J. Sefa Dei, Budd L. Hall, and Dorothy Goldin Rosenberg. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000. 21-36.

Brealey, Ken G. "Mapping them 'out': Euro-Canadian Cartography and the Appropriation of the Nuxalk and Ts'ilhqot 'in First Nations' Territories, 1793–1916." *The Canadian Geographer* 39, 2 (1995): 140-156.

Bruhn, Jodi. "In Search of Common Ground: Reconciling Western-based Governance Principles and First Nations Traditions." Ottawa: Institute on Governance, 2009.

Borrows, John. "Frozen Rights in Canada: Constitutional Interpretation and the Trickster." *American Indian Law Review* 22 (1997): 37-64.

Borrows, John. *Canada's indigenous constitution*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.

Carlson, Keith Thor. *The Power of Place, the Problem of Time: Aboriginal Identity and Historical Consciousness in the Cauldron of Colonialism.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.

Cairns, Alan. *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian State.* Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000.

Cajete, Gregory. *Native science: Natural laws of interdependence*. Clear Light Publication, 2000.

Centre for Community Based Research. "What is Community Based Research." Retrieved May 29, 2017 from http://communitybasedresearch.ca/Page/View/CBR_definition.

Chapman, Ian, Don McCaskill, and David Newhouse. "Management in contemporary Aboriginal organizations." *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 11, 2 (1991): 333-349.

Churchill, Ward. *Kill the Indian, save the man: The genocidal impact of American Indian residential schools*. San Francisco, CA: City lights books, 2004.

Cornell, Stephen and Marta Cecilia Gil-Swedberg. "Sociohistorical Factors in Institutional Efficacy: Economic Development in Three American Indian Cases." 43, 2 (1995): 239-268.

Davis, Lynne. *Alliances: Re/envisioning indigenous-non-indigenous relationships*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.

Department of Canadian Heritage. Traditions: National Gatherings on Indigenous Knowledge – Final Report. Canada: Department of Canadian Heritage, 2005.

Dempsey, James L. *Warriors of the King: Prairie Indians in World War I*. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1999.

DeGagné, Mike. "Administration in a national aboriginal organization: Impacts of cultural adaptations." *Canadian Public Administration* 51, 4 (2008): 659-672.

Department of Indigenous Studies, Trent University. "Ethics Guidelines for Ph.D. Program in Indigenous Studies." Approved June, 2004.

Dockstator, Jennifer S. *Widening the Sweetgrass Road: Re/Balancing Ways of Knowing for Sustainable Living with a Cree-Nishnaabe Medicine Circle.* PhD Dissertation. York University. 2014.

Dosman, Edgar J. *Indians: The Urban Dilemma.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1972.

Dowan, Susan. Personal interview. August 16, 2014.

FitzMaurice, Kevin. "Are white people obsolete? Indigenous knowledge and the colonizing ally in Canada." *Alliances: Re-envisioning Indigenous-non-Indigenous relationships*. Ed. Lynne Davis. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010. 351-367.

Frideres, James S. and Rene R. Gadacz. *Aboriginal Peoples in Canada: Contemporary Conflicts.* 6th Ed. Toronto: Prentice Hall, 2001.

Furi, Megan, and Jill Wherrett. *Indian status and band membership issues*. Library of Parliament, Research Branch, 2003.

Graham, John, and Mackenzie Kinmond. *Friendship Centre Movement Best Practices in Governance and Management*. Ottawa: National Association of Friendship Centres, 2008.

Hanselmann, Calvin. “Urban Aboriginal People in Western Canada: Realities and Policies.” Calgary: Canada West Foundation, 2001.

Howes, David. "Introduction: Culture in the domains of law." *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 20, 1(2006): 9-29.

Hart, M. A. *Cree ways of helping: An Indigenist research project*. PhD Diss., University of Manitoba. 2007.

Issacs, Lucas. Personal interview. June 17, 2014.

Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada. “Fact Sheet- Urban Aboriginal population in Canada.” September 25, 2010. http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014298/1100100014302.

Johnston, Basil. *Ojibway Heritage*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972.

Keesickquayash, Joe. Personal interview. June 17, 2014.

King- Stonefish, Robin Pitchi. “Remembering & Revisiting Traditional Anishnaabe Knowledge.” Unpublished Major Project for Master of Environmental Studies. York University. March 2013.

Kirmayer, Laurence, Cori Simpson, and Margaret Cargo. "Healing traditions: Culture, community and mental health promotion with Canadian Aboriginal peoples." *Australasian Psychiatry* 11.sup1(2003): S15-S23.

Kovach, Margaret Elizabeth. *Indigenous methodologies: Characteristics, conversations, and contexts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.

Krotz, Larry. *Urban Indians: The Strangers in Canada's Cities.* Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, Inc, 1980.

Kumar, Mohan B., and Teresa Janz. "An exploration of cultural activities of Métis in Canada." Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2010.

Ladner, K. L. "Colonialism isn't the only obstacle: indigenous peoples and multilevel governance in Canada." *Annual Conference of the Canadian Political Science Association*, 2009: 1-17.

LaGrand, James B. *Indian Metropolis: Native Americans in Chicago 1945-75.* Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002.

Lavallée, Lynn. "Physical activity and healing through the medicine wheel." *Pimatisiwin* 5.1(2007): 127-153.

Lavallée, Lynn F. "Practical application of an Indigenous research framework and two qualitative Indigenous research methods: Sharing circles and Anishnaabe symbol-based reflection." *International journal of qualitative methods* 8.1 (2009): 21-40.

Lawrence, Bonita. *" Real" Indians and others: mixed-blood urban Native peoples and Indigenous Nationhood*. U of Nebraska Press, 2004.

Guba, Egon G., and Yvonna S. Lincoln. "Epistemological and methodological bases of naturalistic inquiry." *Evaluation in Education and Human Services*. Springer Netherlands, 2000: 363-381.

Little Bear, L. “Jagged worldviews collide.” *Reclaiming Indigenous voice and vision*, edited by Marie Battiste. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000: 77-85.

McBride, Beverly A. "Aspects of community healing: Experiences of the Sault Sainte Marie tribe of Chippewa Indians." *American Indian and Alaska native mental health research* 11.1 (2003): 67.

Miller, James Rodger. *Shingwauk's vision: A history of Native residential schools*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
Milloy, John S. *A national crime: The Canadian government and the residential school system, 1879 to 1986*. Vol. 11. Winnipeg: Univ. of Manitoba Press, 1999.
Mitchell, Laura and Jodi Bruhn. *Best Practices for Governance and Administration of Aboriginal Service Delivery Organizations*. Ottawa: Institute on Governance, 2009.
Monture-Angus, Patricia. *Journeying forward: Dreaming First Nations' independence*. Halifax, NS: Fernwood, 2009.
Nagler, Mark. *Indians in the City*. Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, St. Paul University, 1970.
National Association of Friendship Centres. "Fact Sheet" Ottawa: National Association of Friendship Centres, 2014.
National Association of Friendship Centres. "Reconciliation Coordinator: Ottawa: National Association of Friendship Centres, 2015.
Native Child and Family Services. "Full Circle Project: A Cultural Learning Framework for Toronto Aboriginal Youth." Unpublished. 2009.
Newhouse, David R., and Ian D. Chapman. "Organizational transformation: A case study of two aboriginal organizations." *Human Relations* 49. 7 (1996) : 995-1011.
Newhouse & Peters, eds. *Not Strangers in These Parts. Urban Aboriginal Peoples*. Ottawa: Policy Research Initiative, 2003.
Newhouse, David. "The Invisible Infrastructure: Urban Aboriginal Institutions And Organizations." In *Not Strangers in These Parts. Urban Aboriginal Peoples*. Eds. Newhouse, David and Evelyn J. Peters. Ottawa: Policy Research Initiative, 2003: 243-254.
Newhouse, David. "From the Tribal to the Modern: The Development of Modern Aboriginal Societies." *Expressions in Canadian Native Studies*. Eds. Ron F. Laliberte, Priscilla Settee, James B. Waldram, Rob Innes, Brenda Macdougall, Lesley McBain, F. Laurie Barron. Saskatoon, SK: University of Saskatchewan Extension Press, 2000.
Niezen, Ronald. *The origins of Indigenism: Human rights and the politics of identity*. University of California Press, 2003.
Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre. "Annual Service Plan." Peterborough, Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre, 2014.
Norris, Mary Jane, and Stewart Clatworthy. "Aboriginal Mobility and Migration Within Urban Canada: Outcomes, Factors and Implications." *Not Strangers in These Parts: Urban Aboriginal Peoples*. Eds. David Newhouse and Evelyn Peters. Ottawa: Policy Research Initiative, 2003: 51-78.
Matsumoto, David, and Linda Juang. *Culture and psychology*. Cengage Learning, 2012.
Mcguire, Patricia D. *Restorative Dispute Resolution in Anishinaabe Communities: Restoring Conceptions of Relationships Based on Dodem*. National Centre for First Nations Governance, 2008.
Métis Nation of Ontario. "Community Wellness Worker Program"

http://www.metisnation.org/programs/health--wellness/community-wellness-worker-program

Mitchell, Laura, and Jodi Bruhn. *Best Practices for Governance and Administration of Aboriginal Service Delivery Organizations*. Institute on Governance, 2009.

Ontario. Ministry of Government Services “Letters Patent” Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre, February 29, 2008.

Ontario Aboriginal Youth Council. “Aboriginal YOUth LEADing the Way” http://ontarioaboriginalyouth.ca/forums/values-principles/ 2011

Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres. “Strangers in our Own Land: A Discussion Paper prepared for The Honourable Robert Welch QC Minister of Culture and Recreation.” Toronto, ON: OFIFC, 1978. http://www.ofifc.org/sites/default/files/docs/1978%20STRANGERS%20IN%20OUR%20OWN%20LAND_0.pdf

Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres, Ontario Métis Aboriginal Association, Ontario Native Women’s Association. *Urban Aboriginal Task Force Final Report*. Toronto: Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres, 2007.

Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres. “FASD Toolkit for Aboriginal Families.” Toronto: Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres, 2008.

Ontario Federation of Indigenous Friendship Centres. “USAI Research Framework.” Toronto: Ontario Federation of Indigenous Friendship Centres, 2012. www.ofifc.org

Ouart, Pamela. “The Saskatoon Indian and Métis Friendship Centre and the Community Liaison Committee: Laying the Groundwork for Self-Government, 1968-1982” Unpublished M.A. Thesis. Department of Geography and Planning, University of Saskatchewan. 2009.

Ouart, Pamela and Wendy Phillips. “Driving forward a Cultural Research Agenda: Nogojiwanong Friendship Centre’s Partnership with the Urban Aboriginal Knowledge Network.” Paper presented at the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association annual meeting, Saskatoon, SK, June 13-15, 2013.

Pitawanakwat, Brock. "Bimaadziwin oodenaang: A pathway to urban Nishnaabe resurgence." *Lighting the eighth fire: The liberation, resurgence, and protection of Indigenous nations* (2008): 161-173.

Peters, Evelyn. “‘Urban’ and ‘Aboriginal’: an impossible contradiction?’ in *City Lives & City Forms: Critical Research & Canadian Urbanism*. Eds. J. Caulfield and L. Peake. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, (1996): 47-62.

Peters, Evelyn. “Aboriginal People and Canadian geography: a review of the recent Literature.” *The Canadian Geographer* 44, 2 (2000): 44-55.

Peters, Evelyn. ““Our City Indians”: Negotiating the Meaning of First Nations Urbanization in Canada, 1945-1975.” *Historical Geography* 30 (2002): 75-92.

Peters, Evelyn J., ed. *Urban Aboriginal policy making in Canadian municipalities*. Vol. 2. McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 2012.

Peters, Evelyn and Chris Andersen, editors. *Indigenous in the city: contemporary identities and cultural innovation*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013.

Phillips, Mark. Various Teachings. Personal Correspondence. 2010-2017.
Phillips, Mark. Personal Interview. August 17, 2014.
Phillips, Wendy. 2010- 2017. Various Teachings. Personal Correspondence.
Phillips, Wendy. Personal Interview. August 16, 2014.
Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. “Appendix E: Ethical Guidelines for Research.” *Renewal: A Twenty Year Commitment,* vol. 5. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1996.
Satzewich, Vic and Terry Wotherspoon. *First Nations: Race, Class, and Gender Relations*. Scarborough, ON: Nelson Canada, 1993.
Silver, Jim, Parvin Ghorashi, Joan Hay and Darlene Klyne. *In a Voice of Their Own: Urban Aboriginal Community Development*. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2006.
Silver, Jim. “In Their Own Voices: Building Urban Aboriginal Communities.” Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2006.
Simpson, Audra. “On Ethnographic Refusal: Indigeneity, ‘Voice’ and Colonial Citizenship.” *Junctures* 9 (2007): 67 – 80.
Simpson, Leanne. "Anishinaabe ways of knowing." *Aboriginal health, identity, and resources* (2000): 165-185.
Simpson, Leanne. “Anticolonial Strategies for the Recovery and Maintenance of Indigenous Knowledge.” *American Indian Quarterly* 28, 3 & 4 (2004): 373-384.
Simpson, Leanne. "Oshkimaadiziig, the new people." *Lighting the eighth fire.* Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2008.
Smith, Diane. “Cultures of Governance and the Governance of Cultures: transforming and containing Indigenous institutions in West Arnhem Land.” *Contested Governance: Culture, power and institutions in Indigenous Australia*. Eds. Janet Hunt, Diane Smith, Stephanie Garling and Will Sanders. Research Monograph. No. 29. Canberra, Australia: the Australian National University E Press, 2008.
Smith, Linda. *Decolonizing Methodologies.* London, New York: Zed Books, 1999.
Smith, Kristina, Leanne Findlay, and Susan Crompton. "Participation in sports and cultural activities among aboriginal children and youth." *Canadian Social Trends* 90 (2010): 51-58.
Snowboy, Harry. Personal Interview. June 18, 2014.
Statistics Canada. *Peterborough, CTY, Ontario (Code 3515)* (table). *National Household Survey (NHS) Profile*. 2011 National Household Survey. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-004-XWE. Ottawa. Released September 11, 2013. http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E
Force, Aboriginal Languages Task. "Towards a new beginning: A foundational report for a strategy to revitalize First Nation, Inuit and Métis languages and cultures." *Catalogue No. CH4-96/2005,* Aboriginal Affairs Branch, Department of Canadian Heritage, Ottawa, 2005.
Thrasher, Michael. Various Teachings. Personal Communication. 2010-2014.
Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and*

Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015.
Tuck, Eve and K. Wayne Yang. “Unbecoming Claims: Pedagogies of Refusal in Qualitative Research.” *Qualitative Inquiry* 20, 6 (2014): 811-818.
Urban Aboriginal Knowledge Network. “Guiding Ethical Principles.” Ottawa: Urban Aboriginal Knowledge Network, 2015.
Watts, Vanessa. “Towards Anishnaabe Governance and Accountability: Reawakening our Relationships and Sacred Bimaadiziwin. Unpublished MA Thesis. Department of Human and Social Development: University of Victoria, 2006.
Weibel-Orlando, Joan. *Indian Country, L.A.: Maintaining Ethnic Community in Complex Society.* Revised Edition. Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999.
Wenger-Nabigon, Annie. "The Cree medicine wheel as an organizing paradigm of theories of human development." *Native Social Work Journal.* 7 (2010): 139-161.
Wesley-Esquimaux, Cynthia, and Brian Calliou. "Best practices in Aboriginal community development: A literature review and wise practices approach." Banff, Alta: The Banff Centre, 2010.
Wilson, Shawn. *Research is ceremony: Indigenous research methods."* Fernwood Publishing, 2008.
Wuttunee, Wanda A. *Economic Development in Selected Aboriginal Communities, Lessons in Strength, Resilience and Celebration.* PhD Dissertation. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 2007.