

KEEPING CIRCLE:
THE RISE, MAINTENANCE, DECLINE, AND RE-ENVISIONING OF
HOLLOW WATER FIRST NATION HEALING MOVEMENT PROCESS AND
RESTORATIVE JUSTICE

A Thesis Submitted to the Committee on Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfillment of the
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ABSTRACT

Keeping Circle: The Rise, Maintenance, Decline, and Re-Envisioning of Hollow Water First Nation Healing Movement Process and Restorative Justice

Kevin Gerard Spice

In the 1980's, Hollow Water First Nation citizens created a healing movement to address community issues from an Indigenous perspective resulting in the development of the Community Holistic Circle Healing (CHCH) in 1989. The CHCH organization developed a Community (Restorative) Justice process as an alternative to a Western-based Justice approach to address issues such as domestic violence and sexual abuse. The CHCH organization addresses justice from a healing perspective (rather than the Western approach's punitive/surveillance model) and includes the offender and offender's family, the victim and the victim's family, as well as the community to identify issues, develop plans, implement healing activities, and evaluate the outcome so that the root systemic issues affecting community can be addressed holistically. Hollow Water First Nation is much more engaged in addressing the roots of why the offence occurred and looks for Anishinaabek approaches to resolve community-defined issues. Western society tends to implement a symptomatic approach to violence deterrence through punishment rather than address issues through a healing process. My research looks at the complex history of the healing movement, the operation of the CHCH organization and the personal values that emerged from the healing movement, and Hollow Water's next iteration of organization from the children of the people that began the healing movement. These people are now aged around mid-40's and have seen their parents engage in a community justice

movement, saw their parents develop their own way to address community issues through the emergence and operation of the CHCH organization, and now, themselves, have developed highly critical and creative skills around the workings of community development.

I use Berger and Luckmann's seminal 1966 book *The Social Construction of Reality*, Hallowell's perspectives on the Anishinaabek culture in his anthropological research conducted in Beren's River, Manitoba during the 1930's, Max Weber's *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (1915), interviews with the original activists, and my experiences living in Hollow Water for 4+ years (from 1997 to 2001) to give an account of the history of the healing movement and its consequent personal transformation of the people engaged in examining their thoughts, values and behavioural processes. I use the Learning Organization Theory, developed by Peter Senge (a management professor from Massachusetts Institute of Technology) in his 1990 book *The Fifth Discipline*, interviews of CHCH staff and other community organization staff members, as well as, Indigenous authors, such as, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson's *Dancing on Our Turtle's Back* (2011) and Michael Hart's *Seeking Mino-Pimatisiwin* (2002) to provide an understanding of Indigenous concepts as they apply to the process of CHCH's healing/learning operations. From these sources and interviews, I provide an account of Hollow Water's Healing Movement which includes the decline of the CHCH organization from late 1990s to 2020. Given the current hyperpolitical environment in Canada, Hollow Water's next generation of community member activists are perhaps about to reclaim power and establish empowered relationships as the Indigenous Renaissance unfolds.

Keywords: Hollow Water First Nation, Community Healing Movement Process, Restorative Justice, Organization, Indigenous Axiology and Praxis, Learning Organization, Systems-Thinking.

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plural noun: **acknowledgements**

1. act of recognition authority or the truth or existence of something.
2. the action of expressing or displaying gratitude or appreciation for something.
3. an author's or publisher's statement of indebtedness to others, typically one printed at the beginning of a book.

At least three interpretations to the term “acknowledgements” exist in the English language. I recognize and honour Creation as the life-force of everything in the universe. I recognize the inherent authority, also known as sovereignty of Ojibway community justice as an example of Indigenous legal orders. Counter to Ojibway legal structures I recognize British and French legal structures to assert colonial authority (sovereignty) and deny (read Canadian colonial denial of) Indigenous legal authority of the people that were living on Turtle Island for approximately 100,000 years prior to today. I also acknowledge that a legal movement is active around the world successfully deconstructing colonial thought and action; replacing colonial denial with meaningful Indigenous-negotiated power shifts and value shifts within the colonial mindset. However, this legal movement must be continually expressed and supported through all aspects of reality – i.e., economy, entertainment, culture, education, health, politics, governance, religion, and societal institutions.

When I lived in Hollow Water First Nation, I had no idea how dramatically life-altering my experience would be. Gitchi Miigwetch to the people and place of Wanipigow – you have provided me with a reality that I will forever be indebted to you. This was not a New Age hippie-dippie experience it was a difficult learning experience and I felt simultaneous conflicting emotions characterized by community warmth, generosity, and

acceptance and the emotionally charged raw pain which would send me screaming from a community attempting to come to terms with the brutal history of Canada's insanity of oppression and violence turned inward. A truly intense experience of Anishinaabek life and values that burns the veils that keep colonial mentality blind to the consequences of mundane actions. Canadians need to mature philosophically and morally and engage in significant healing to understand their foundational values. In 1970, my advisor, Don McCaskill, published research drawing attention to the over-representation of Indigenous peoples in prison that had been a long-standing issue since the 1960s. It has changed, it has gotten worse. I recognize that only a few people will read this dissertation. I do not expect any significant change to come from this realization among Canadians. There will be the usual hand-wringing and average Canadians exclaiming, "outrage"! But then Canadians enter a docile period, like after 215 graves were located in Tk'emlúps te Secwepemc community on the grounds of Kamloops Indian Residential School, and resign to a defeatist mantra of, "give up because there is nothing anyone can do about such a tragedy". Such is the denial.

There are so many people I have to acknowledge my appreciation for guiding me along a path and recognizing in me something I had not even recognized in myself. Valdie Seymour my friend and mentor who took on a red-headed Wemptegozhi and went through some wonderful adventures together. Garry Raven my other friend and mentor who saw potential with developing an ecological and social education centre that began at Raven's Creek and almost manifested after his passing. Norbert Hardisty and Vivian Johnstone provided kindness and energizing conversation, resources, political assistance in getting

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Thank you and Merci to Dr. Mahshid Rad-Spice my partner and soul mate who daily provides me with adventure, conversation, meaningful reason, and support in this insane time. Thank you for your renegade spirit that recognizes life and relations to all. It is time to make our move, to break the rules, to have no fear and begin again. Thank you, Ryan for giving my life joy and Phoenix who is yet to be born welcome to this time so you can be part of our world.

Paraphrased from the song Renegades by X Ambassadors

Run away, away with me
Lost souls in revelry
Running wild and running free
Two kids, you and me

All hail the underdogs
All hail the new kids
All hail the outlaws
Spielbergs and Kubricks

Long live the pioneers
Rebels and mutineers
Go forth and have no fear
Come close and lend an ear

It's our time to make a move
It's our time to make amends
It's our time to break the rules
Let's begin

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CHAPTER ONE

APPRECIATING ANISHINAABEK COMMUNITY HEALING PROCESS

If the Native Peoples and their heritage are to be understood, it is their beliefs, insights, concepts, ideals, values, attitudes, and codes that must be studied ... But it is not enough to listen to or to read or to understand the truths contained in stories; according to the Elders the truths must be lived out and become part of the being of a person. The search for truth and wisdom ought to lead to fulfillment of man and woman (Basil Johnston 1976:7)

A number of systemic attempts in Canada have been successful in trying to assimilate Indigenous populations into mainstream mentality. Often these assimilation attempts affect Settler¹ peoples' perceptions and their relationships with Indigenous peoples in justifying dominance and control over Indigenous peoples lives. These philosophies, values and consequent actions have transformed the linguistic, social, political, economic, and spiritual spheres of Indigenous populations' social structure to the point that it has devastated many Indigenous cultures. The Indian residential school (Milloy 1999), forced relocations (Bussidor and Bilgen-Reinart 2000, Tester and Kulchyski 1994), and other effects of Indian Act policies, such as, the Sixties Scoop (Patrick Johnston 1983) have devastated so many Indigenous communities that, "much loss of Indian languages ... [and] alienation of parents from children [has] led to loss of parenting skills, cultural transmission, and self-esteem which has had an effect on subsequent generations"

¹ I use the terms "Indigenous" and "Settler" peoples to describe a relationship between the multiple nations that exist in Canada. Some would disagree with the terms that I use, for example, some Settlers disagree with being labelled as "Settlers" because they have a pride in being Canadian. I agree with them that "Settlers" is an inappropriate term and offer alternatives, such as, "oppressor" or "colonizer". To which they reply, "no 'Settler' is fine". I am thinking of using the Ojibway term Wiindigo to refer to the mindset of unfettered greed and cannibalistic behaviour (in the sense of ecologically unsustainable) held by oppressors who hold no sense of responsibility or consequences to their actions to their own family of human beings.

(Brizinski 1993:172). This has left many Indigenous communities with severe societal cohesion issues struggling to address high addiction rates, high violence, high suicide rate, high instances of poor physical and mental health, few housing opportunities, high poverty, and high incarceration among community citizens (RCAP 1996; AHF 2009; Kirmayer et al., 2009; Waldram et al., 2006).

Focussing on the disproportionately high incarceration rate of Indigenous people, a 2013 background report entitled *Aboriginal Offenders: A Critical Situation* by the Canadian Government's Office of the Correctional Investigator, "while Aboriginal people make up about 4% of the Canadian population, as of February 2013, 23.2% of the federal inmate population is Aboriginal (First Nation, Métis or Inuit)" (Canada 2013). Overrepresentation of Aboriginal people in prison in Canada has been a long-standing problem since the 1960s, particularly among Canada's prairie provinces (McCaskill 1970). Further, overrepresentation of Indigenous peoples incarcerated in prison has been a long-standing issue in all countries with a colonial past (Jones et al., 2002).

The Honourable Senator and Justice Murray Sinclair states that, "the relatively higher rates of crime among Aboriginal people are a result of the despair, dependency, anger, frustration and sense of injustice prevalent in Aboriginal communities, stemming from the cultural and community breakdown that has occurred over the past century" (Manitoba, Hamilton and Sinclair 1991). These issues, that impact Aboriginal peoples, require an effort toward social justice in order to reduce Aboriginal peoples' overrepresentation in prison. Re-conceptualizing justice from a retributive stance to a

restorative one often results in a significant reduction in offender recidivism. Restorative justice involves community citizens in all aspects of the justice/healing process. Community initiated attempts to reduce Aboriginal peoples' overrepresentation in prisons comes from community based and ally supported initiatives that take the perspective that the person who committed a crime is "out of balance" and is affecting the relationships and safety of the rest of the community. Through personal and community dialogue and reflection, community citizens increase awareness of the social environment that created a situation where a community member becomes "out of balance" and threatens the relationships and safety of the community.

Resistance attempts to this systematic assimilation toward colonial mentality have always occurred. The struggle against dominance and control has resulted in highly creative expressions of individual, family, and community empowerment. Since the 1970s, there has been an exceptional resurgence of Indigenous community-initiated strategies to gain community control, recognize the value of local community approaches to heal, and rebuild Indigenous peoples' social organization particularly in the area of community socio-economic health strategies. Grassroots social movements in Aboriginal communities were very successful. For example, Alkali Lake, a community in British Columbia had an alcoholism rate of nearly 100 percent in 1973 but six years later in 1979, ninety-eight percent of the population had abstained from alcohol use. The community had created their own healing path to sobriety. The predominance of community activism and resurgence in the 1970s may be linked with the 1969 Liberal government's White Paper to abolish the Indian Act and the 1970 publication of a paper entitled *Citizen's Plus* by the Indian Chiefs

of Alberta (often referred to as the “Red Paper”). The “Red Paper” contributed to the mobilization of the contemporary Aboriginal rights movement.

Since at least the mid-1960s there have been considerable attempts by Settler peoples and Indigenous peoples to form alliances and reconcile the community effects of systemic assimilation. These alliances have often resulted in creating positive, healthy and supportive relationships between Settler peoples and Indigenous peoples (Davis et al., 2007). In the case of Hollow Water First Nation, community citizens started their healing movement the late 1970s as a way to address the pronounced issue of alcoholism, addictions and a high percentage of community citizens who were charged for impaired driving. Valdie Seymour, a community member who worked for National Native Alcohol and Addictions Program (NNADAP) wanted to address these issues by working with community citizens to implement a monitored support and development group for those who were charged. Individual group members reported to the justice system as a way to show that they were examining their lives and actively changing their behaviours to become positive contributing citizens to the community. The efforts by the NNADAP worker and his clients established a pattern of community citizens examining their lives, taking responsibility for their actions, and actively contributing to community health and relationships through community programs. This was part of the initial effort at establishing a community initiated, ally supported healing movement in Hollow Water First Nation. Hollow Water’s healing movement began to emerge with the commitment of community citizens working with ally institutions. Eventually, Hollow Water’s healing

movement resulted in the creation, development, and continuation of the Community Holistic Circle Healing (CHCH) organization.

Hollow Water First Nation is world renowned for the emergence of its restorative justice organization, the Community Holistic Circle Healing (CHCH) organization. According to the authors of *Will the Circle be Unbroken*, the CHCH organization, “has been the subject of virtually all restorative justice discussions that involve Aboriginal people and communities and is regarded by government and other agencies and commentators as the epitome of a successful restorative justice program operating in an Aboriginal community” (Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie 2005:107). Hollow Water’s CHCH program claims “astonishing rates of success in healing sex offenders and their victims” (Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie 2005:90). The statistics on the CHCH organization’s effect at reducing offender recidivism rate is exceptionally good compared with offender’s recidivism in the general population. Couture indicates that the recidivism rate for sex offenders in the general population is approximately 13 percent (Couture 2001:v). The CHCH organization has had a very low recidivism rate, only 2 clients (approximately 2%) re-offended from 1989 to 2001 (Couture 2001:v). Hollow Water First Nation’s CHCH strategy is considered “the most mature healing process in Canada” (Couture 2001:i).

Hollow Water First Nation was able to make tremendous community transformations in a very short period of time. Ten years prior to the launch of the CHCH organization in 1989, the community was struggling with many social issues – rampant

alcoholism, violence, abuse, and sexual assaults (Canada 1997:161). In the ten years between 1979 and 1989, a process of working with community organizations created the communication, skill development, and coping behaviours that allowed for the emergence and establishment of the Community Holistic Circle Healing and its restorative justice program. The community process of engaging community citizens in the assessment, intervention, treatment, aftercare, and prevention of community social issues so that family relationships are reconciled and restored is part of Hollow Water's healing movement and the CHCH organization. However, since the late 1990s the CHCH organization has been losing its focus. The communication and work between agencies have broken down, the communication and legitimacy that it had within the community has been severely reduced. Questions commonly heard within the community are "how will the CHCH organization return to its mandate"? and "will it be in the current form of the CHCH organization"? The culmination of these sentiments appeared in a 2006 report by the Four Worlds Centre for Development Learning.

The original vision and goals of CHCH (related to community healing, decolonization, Anishnawbek cultural recovery, community development and Nation building) which CHCH was founded to promote, have not yet been achieved. In fact, if anything, the community of Hollow Water is now experiencing a social decline in which many individuals and families are again sliding downward into very troublesome patterns of dysfunction, fear, mistrust and hurtful behaviours. Right now, the community is becoming increasingly unhealthy (2006:2).

Despite Hollow Water's history of creating an exceptionally innovative healing movement and organization to identify and address community issues, Hollow Water has deteriorated at a time when there is an emergent Indigenous cultural renaissance throughout Canada. Currently, there is a need for the CHCH organization return to the foundations of Hollow Water's original healing movement. The CHCH organization needs to promote

community dialogue to develop an effective community assessment, planning and implementation of responses to social issues, ensure a stable funding base, develop community communication strategies, encourage inter-agency communication strategies, develop an effective evaluation process, and plan succession development. One option, suggested by a several community citizens, is that the CHCH organization may need to be restructured and/or replaced to meet organizational and community needs. Hollow Water's social environment at the time of this research interviews were conducted indicates a serious re-evaluation of Hollow Water's healing movement as it relates to the CHCH organization. Most of the CHCH organization staff is at the age of retirement and there is no succession plan for the continuation of the organization. Despite the CHCH organizations' current dire circumstances, the next generation remain extremely hopeful that the CHCH organization (or whatever will replace it) will emerge because they saw the changes that occurred in their community when they were children and have continually learned and practiced skills and culture to assess, identify, and address community issues with community citizens and are working to pass this knowledge on to their children and grandchildren. Of course, these efforts require a tremendous amount of work when the social environment does not perceive or understand the perspective presented.

Research Question

The research project will answer the question "how did the Community Holistic Circle Healing emerge as a successful attempt toward community healing/justice and self-determination through Hollow Water's healing movement and how are the principles transmitted to the next generation?" I will focus on an analysis of the Hollow Water's

healing movement from 1979 to the creation of CHCH in 1989 as an example of the emergence of a community initiated and ally supported healing movement. By looking at the history of Hollow Water's healing movement the CHCH organization and community agencies members can remember processes that influenced the spirit and energy required to create community social change. I will also analyze this community initiated and ally supported relationship as a process to facilitate restoring community relationships through the management and maintenance of the CHCH organization as it works to heal individuals, engage in family reconciliation, and support community self-determination. By providing a historical guide and discussion about community resource management, perhaps I can contribute to the community citizens understanding as they take on the responsibility of community healing succession. Although every community is unique in terms of its history, families, and resources, I hope that my research may be useful to other communities that look to develop a process of dialogue to raise issues of community empowerment in their response to community specific social issues.

My research will contribute to recognizing and clarifying the evolution of Hollow Water's healing movement, the CHCH organization's management, and provide a guide for stabilizing and supporting the continuing Hollow Water healing movement. My research question is: how does an Indigenous community healing/restorative justice organization (CHCH) emerge, operate, sustain itself overtime, and prepare for succeeding generations of leaders within the context of an Indigenous community's healing movement?

Research Design

Using a qualitative organizational analysis, I conduct individual and group interviews, conduct comparative document analysis of Indigenous healing organizations, and draw upon observant participation for the periods I lived in Hollow Water First Nation (1997 to 2001 as well as during the majority of engaging community citizens with formal semi-structured interviews Winter 2011 and Autumn 2012). I analyze Hollow Water's healing movement through primary data collected by 18 semi-structured interviews. I use appreciative inquiry method to conduct interviews with seventeen community citizens that represent the original activists, the CHCH organization staff members, and Hollow Water community staff members who work for other organizations and agencies that regularly communicate with the CHCH organization as a part of their daily work.

Interviews asked participants about their perceptions of Hollow Water's healing movement, the structure of the CHCH organization, the current perceptions of CHCH staff and staff in other community organizations (specifically Hollow Water's Health Centre and Child and Family Services), the current perceptions of what is needed for the future leaders to assume the CHCH organization responsibilities, and recommendations for a succession plan. The time frame under study is from the beginnings of Hollow Water's healing movement in the late 1970's to the present.

Source Review and Theoretical Perspective

Chapter two is a source review that will detail Indigenous healing movement literature, healing/restorative justice literature (in which the CHCH organizational model

is influenced by both Western and Anishinaabek culture), and management and succession planning literature. The CHCH organization's Sentencing Circle is well-documented in terms of the structure and operation of a community-based restorative justice program (Hamilton 2001; Brant Castellano 1999; Green 1998; Ross 1996; Canada 1997) including the production of a film entitled *Hollow Water* (National Film Board of Canada 2000).

I provide a literature review of Indigenous healing movements to compare Hollow Water's healing movement. Specifically, I focus on Awasis Agency of Northern Manitoba, (an agency that works toward decentralizing Child and Family Service delivery to the community in Thompson, Manitoba). As well, I rely on Michael Hart's book *Seeking Mino-Pimatisiwin* (2002) and Leanne Simpson's book *Dancing on Our Turtle's Back* (2011) to provide an Indigenous understanding of healing ontology, axiology, and identity.

A significant part of the CHCH organization is their restorative justice model, which uses a Sentencing Circle approach to restore community relations that have been damaged through sexual abuse. However, much of the information on the origin and development of Hollow Water's healing movement and an analysis of the CHCH organizational structure and sustainability that is consistent with Hollow Water's healing philosophy and actions over time is glossed over or missing in the literature. For example, details about how original facilitators organized themselves to address community issues, how original facilitators created allies within organizations that are outside the community, i.e., Manitoba Justice and Manitoba Child and Family Services, and how community citizens sustained the organization over time are missing in the literature. To get an

understanding of the CHCH organization's management and succession plan, I conduct a literature review of these topics. Specifically, I focus on Senge's work on learning organizations as well as other literature on succession planning.

I provide an illustration of the original ideal form for the operation of the CHCH organization as outlined by a composite of several community citizen's interview. This provides a visual understanding of the original intent of Hollow Water's healing movement to create an Indigenous organization that is based on traditional family concepts and is referred to as the "Turtle Model". This structure is very similar to what Senge calls a "learning organization" (Senge 1990). Senge defines a learning organization as: "organizations where people continually expand their capacity to create the results they truly desire, where new and expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured, where collective aspiration is set free, and where people are continually learning how to learn together" (Senge 1990:3). Later, I illustrate the changes of this organization from its ideal form to its current state and the consequent relationships in the community.

Max Weber's concept of charisma and bureaucratization outlined in *Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (1947) and the ideas of institutionalization and internalization from Berger and Luckmann's *The Social Construction of Reality* (1967) are used to discuss and analyze the emergence of Hollow Water's healing movement, the launch of the CHCH organization, and its 25-year maintenance. These authors are concerned with the general ways that "realities" become "known" in human societies. The analysis of this process is the analysis of the social construction of reality (Berger and

Luckmann 1966:3); in this case, Hollow Water's healing movement and Community Holistic Circle Healing organization.

I provide an overview of Paulo Freire's theories on decolonization through critical pedagogy to understand how institutions develop from the perspective of Hollow Water community member interviews. Knowledge is power and any knowledge that is generated creates the possibility of generating social change and action. Smith indicates that action-reflection (iterative) research, "strips away the veneer of life circumstances, revealing the foundations of why things are the way they are, and develops increased critical consciousness among group members" (Smith 1997). Freire's concept of "conscientization" explains how people become more aware and critical of their social reality. Freire offers theories of education and action (through conscientização or conscientization) that provide a possible way of overcoming oppression and dehumanization through reflection and dialogue. The goals of this project are to document Hollow Water's attempts to understand their own situational context (oppression), self-determination, the maintenance of the CHCH organization, and succession to the next generation through its healing movement. By reflecting on Hollow Water's healing movement and the CHCH organization when it was at its peak, in the interviews and analysis, I hope to encourage dialogue opportunities to transform the CHCH organization's current identity. This is participatory research in which individuals and groups seek to get new understandings of themselves and potentially transform organizational identity. I focus on Hollow Water's healing movement to highlight where the CHCH organization has diverged from its original intent, since its inception, as a process to simulate clan

governance, to a program that simulates Federal and Provincial probation systems.

I conclude chapter two with an Anishinaabek understanding of their own pattern of organization based on *dodem* (clan) system as explained to me through interviews with Valdie Seymour – one of the original facilitators of Hollow Water’s healing movement. I also use Freire’s concept of conscientization to explain my role in facilitating Hollow Water’s healing movement as a way provide an opportunity for community citizens and staff to dialogue about issues that hinder the community’s development. I provide an opportunity for reflection and dialogue by presenting an analysis of the interviews to the people I interviewed. Of course, I provide a pale understanding compared with the lived experience of Anishinaabek concepts and terms and hope that my meager analysis provides some discussion about what I got wrong.

Methodology

In Chapter three I describe my methodology. I use an appreciative inquiry approach in designing interview questions. Appreciative inquiry is a strengths-based model to generate a dialogue among staff within organizations that are experiencing negative and disruptive patterns of communication. Appreciative inquiry (AI),

involves the art and practice of asking unconditionally positive questions that strengthen a system’s capacity to apprehend, anticipate, and heighten positive potential... AI assumes that every organization and community has many untapped and rich accounts of the positive – what people talk about as past, present, and future capacities, or the positive core. AI links the knowledge and energy of this core directly to an organization or a community’s change agenda, and changes never thought possible are suddenly and democratically mobilized (Cooperrider and Whitney 2005:8).

I use an appreciative inquiry approach (Cooperrider, et al., 2008) in administering the semi-structured interviews of the original facilitators, the CHCH organization staff, other community organizations, and community citizens to elicit community information about Hollow Water's healing movement and the CHCH organization. Appreciative inquiry approach is an affirmative method to finding the strengths of organizations that are highly charged politically or emotionally. The results are an appreciation of what exists rather than accusation of what does not exist or what should exist. Cooperrider and Whitney see the theory behind appreciative inquiry method as a way to build empowerment among those interviewed. As he states, appreciative inquiry,

is a narrative-based process of positive change. It is a cycle of activity that starts by engaging all members of an organization or community in a broad set of interviews and deep dialogue about strengths, resources, and capabilities. It then moves people through a series of activities focused on envisioning bold possibilities and lifting up the most life centric dreams for the future. From there, it asks people to discuss and craft propositions that will guide their future together. And finally, it involves the formation of teams to carry out the work needed to realize the new dream and designs of the future (Cooperrider and Whitney 2005:15).

According to Cooperrider, he sees, "the role of theory as an enabling agent of social transformation" (Cooperrider and Srivastva 1999:403). The purpose of appreciative inquiry,

is to contribute to the generative-theoretical aims of social science and to use such knowledge to promote egalitarian dialogue leading to social-system effectiveness and integrity. Whatever else it may be, social-system effectiveness is defined ... quite specifically as a congruence between social-organizational values ... and the everyday social-organizational practices (cf. Torbert, 1983). Thus, appreciative inquiry refers to both a search for knowledge and a theory of intentional collective action which are designed to help evolve the normative vision and will of a group, organization, or society as a whole (Cooperrider and Srivastva 1999:423)

Prior to conducting the interviews for this research, I was concerned that the interviews would elicit only negative comments in which interviewees would blame other community citizens for the current condition of the CHCH organization and Hollow Water community. Specifically, I was concerned about solely negative connotations that would manifest in my interviews because I knew that there were resentments of the CHCH organization held by community citizens, tensions between various community organization staff members and the CHCH organization staff, and tensions within the CHCH organization between staff members. To complicate matter's professional identity and personal identity is not clearly demarcated; many people in the community are related to each other by blood, adoption, or through marriage. By using a appreciative inquiry, I could focus on a generative-constructive outcome of the research. Of course, negative aspects of the CHCH organization's current state, as well as the tensions between various community organizations did emerge and are reported as part of the interview process.

An appreciative inquiry approach works as a method to conduct research in an environment that is rife with community tensions because the research accentuates positive statements of the members of an organization or group. The nature of an appreciative inquiry approach identifies what is positive and connects to the positive in ways that heighten energy, vision, and action for change (Cooperrider, et al., 2008:xv). An appreciative inquiry approach can be used to develop strategic planning, management development, social and sustainable development issues (Cooperrider, et al., 2008:xv). It is a method that potentially works well within an Indigenous approach to research because

it is based on an emphasis of what is positive in an organization and employing methods that facilitate and support organizational plans and actions for growth.

Analysis

Analysis is composed of three sections that correspond to Chapters 4, 5, and 6. First, I provide an analysis of Hollow Water's healing movement using Berger and Luckmann's theory of the social construction of reality and Weber's conception of charisma. I also draw upon traditional cultural concepts described by authors Leanne Simpson and Michael Hart to assist in the analysis of Hollow Water's healing movement. Second, I provide an analysis of the sustainability of the CHCH organization using Weber's routinization of charisma and Senge's "learning organization". Again, I draw upon the writings of Leanne Simpson and Michael Hart throughout the analysis. Third, I use Freire's theory of dialogue and critical consciousness to illustrate the participatory aspect of this research. That is, I use community member and staff interviews to discuss community perceptions of Hollow Water's healing movement and the CHCH organization with the community citizens themselves. By providing a historical analysis of Hollow Water's healing movement and its maintenance of the CHCH organization, I assist Hollow Water in conducting reflection, clarification, and potentially action as they plan future community development. I analyze the history and original purpose of Hollow Water's healing movement, the history and sustainability of the Community Holistic Circle Healing organization, and through the chapters I discuss provide historical and procedural examples that can be used as recommendations for the development of a succession plan.

Nature of Indigenous Approach to Research

Anishinaabek traditional ethics draw upon the importance of mino-biimaadiziwin (the good life that an individual pursues for himself, his family, his community, the people who have passed into the spirit world, the people being born into this world, the manitoog – spirits, the other-than-human entities, and Gitchi-manitou – the Creator) to repair trust and build community relations, work effectively with each other, and with ally Western organizations. My research has become an inquiry into how Hollow Water works to incorporate mino-biimaadiziwin into individual and community decision-making as a commitment to day-to-day actions. Mino-biimaadiziwin provides Hollow Water with a world view and the ideal actions of the community citizens. It is important to examine Anishinaabek world view to get an understanding of the core of the Hollow Water Healing movement. As Burkhart states,

the world is not empty and meaningless, bearing only truth and cold facts. We participate in the meaning-making of the world. There is no world, no truth, without meaning and value, and meaning and value arise in the intersection between us and all that is around us. How we behave, then, in a certain sense shapes meaning, gives shape to the world. In this way, what we do, how we act, is as important as any truth and any fact (Burkhart 2004:16-17).

Newhouse discusses sensemaking “the collective coming to understand something. Sensemaking is rooted in identity. Making sense becomes a collective process” (2004:144). In other words, an appropriate approach may be a search for sensemaking, indicating the fluidity of multiple perspectives in order to understand a phenomenon. I will use this idea of sensemaking throughout my analysis in chapters four, five and six (History of Hollow Water Healing Movement, Development and Maintenance of CHCH, and Succession of Hollow Water’s Healing Movement) to account for various perspectives indicated in the interviews for the development and maintenance of the Community

Holistic Circle Healing organization. An appreciation of various perspectives leads to a broader and deeper understanding of a social phenomena. A “complex understanding occurs when we begin to see a phenomenon from various perspectives, as well as the relationship from various perspectives. Complex understanding does not seek to replace one view with another but to find a means of ensuring that all views are given due consideration” (Newhouse 2004:143). Hollow Water’s healing movement can be understood as a continual development and creation of identity for the ideal expression of Anishinaabek through dialogue, reconciling relationships, taking responsibility for one’s actions, and contributing to community development.

Daniel Heath Justice states that one goal of Indigenous scholarship may be “to make the academy both responsive and responsible to First Nations goals of self-determination and well-being” (Mihesuah and Wilson 2004:5). Indigenous scholarship challenges Western academia so that its subject, with reference to Indigenous peoples’ issues, is responsive and accurate to Indigenous peoples’ experience, perspectives, and context. However, some approaches to Indigenous scholarship also apply methods of investigation to serve community goals and interests through action; for example, by assisting community organizations as they develop a strategic succession plan. In other words, some Indigenous scholarship works to aid Indigenous communities in achieving decolonization by [re]creating, supporting, and asserting community goals with minimal interference and influence from imperial cultural identity.

Indigenous scholarship is a transformative, consciousness-raising, detailed,

comprehensive, resistance and creative force against imperialism. The colonial experience justifies usurpation of Indigenous peoples' claim to land, erases, and ignores Indigenous peoples' history and identities, eliminates connections and relationships that Indigenous peoples have with the world around them (including their connection to Indigenous language, ways of thinking and ways of being) and forces people into a specific fictional identity that Indigenous peoples themselves have not expressed (Warrior 2005; Turner 2006). Indigenous scholarship can attempt to empower communities to determine their own issues to pursue and to create community autonomy rather than responding to the interests of imperial cultural identity.

Newhouse identifies a common approach to Indigenous research as perceiving community as having the ability and capacity to decide for oneself what is a problem, the parameters of the problem, the nature of inquiry into the problem, the inquiry itself including the definition of method, the data to be gathered, the analyses to be done, the interpretation of data, the construction of options and solutions, the dissemination of results, the translation of these results into action, and the eventual re-examination and reappraisal of the scholarship and its ideas as central to governing (Newhouse 2004:143). Paulo Freire exemplified this approach through community-based participatory research in which the community's interests are considered as pertinent to a sustainable humanizing life rather than imperial interests which tend to be focused on dehumanizing life and conforming life to abstract goals of empire (Freire 2007). Hollow Water's CHCH organization transforms clients so that they determine their own issues, take responsibility for their actions, and reconcile community relationships.

Often seen as an intellectual weapon against the ubiquitous imperialism of Western cultural identity, Indigenous scholarly literature and practices can be used to [re]create and assert Indigenous cultural identity. As a creative tool “imagination defines our own boundary of ourselves, of who we were, are, and can be. Nonfiction is seen as a way toward creating a deeper ethical and political space” (Warrior 2005:179). The affirmation of Indigenous imagination includes efforts to construct the context of Indigenous concepts, language, and narrative within scholarship because “much of the traditional knowledge is structured into the languages themselves” (Kulchyski 2000:19). A significant part of my analysis of Hollow Water’s healing movement and the creation and maintenance of CHCH is how community citizens have drawn on Indigenous concepts and their own language to create a daily expression of community justice.

Hollow Water Healing Movement Process

Hollow Water refers to four communities that are in close geographic proximity with each other; approximately 200 kilometres from Winnipeg, Manitoba. Located on the East side of Lake Winnipeg, within the boreal forest and the Canadian shield, Hollow Water consists of three Métis communities – Manigotagan (pop. 213), Aghaming (pop. 15), Seymourville (pop. 118) – and Hollow Water First Nation (a.k.a. Wanipigow and Hole River), an Anishinaabe and English-speaking community (on-reserve pop. 627) (Couture et al., 2001:10). According to 2011 census, the total population of the four communities combined is 973 people. Many families from the three communities are related to each in multiple ways other through marriage or kinship bonds (Community Holistic Circle

Healing 1989). Hollow Water's economic base is fishing, road construction along the East Side of Lake Winnipeg, trapping, a school on the reserve, as well, community citizens are employed at a gold mining company in nearby Bissett, Manitoba.

Hollow Water's healing movement has contributed to restorative justice theory by showing that Hollow Water's community healing process (through community restorative justice and the implementation of community sentencing circles) would achieve results desired by community planning and action. For example, one of the first goals of Hollow Water's healing movement was to find ways to learn about traditional Anishinaabek world view. Another goal was to organize a group of people to go to Alkali Lake and participate in a workshop on how to build trust in the community. Still another goal was to organize several experts to come to Hollow Water and teach a variety of skills to community citizens, such as, communication, sexuality, grief counselling, and addictions counselling. Many of these programs are essential to prepare the community for the emergence of the CHCH organization, restorative justice, and the Sentencing Circle.

Hollow Water's healing movement has caught the attention of the world through its community-initiated approach to justice, mental, individual, family and community. By examining the details of the history, management, connection to other community institutions, successes, and setbacks everyone may learn through Hollow Water's continual attempts to heal community.

It is important to make a clear demarcation between the Hollow Water community healing movement and the CHCH organization because it indicates where the CHCH organization has deviated from the original intent of the healing movement principles. I describe the original official structure of the CHCH organization in chapter two. The Community Holistic Circle Healing (CHCH) organization was originally intended to be the coordinating body that draws people and resources together to discuss and act on an issue that is deemed important for the community to address. However, as the CHCH organization took on the issue of restorative justice, the world-wide attention accentuated the sexual abuse and restorative justice aspects. The world-wide attention to sexual abuse undermined the Community Holistic Circle Healing role of gathering community resources and working together with the community to find ways to address an issue. In some ways, the CHCH organization was a victim of their own success because of invitations to speak about the creative way they had organized to address community sexual abuse. Subsequently, community issues became secondary. Coincidentally, this same notoriety and subsequent reproach was experienced by Alkali Lake in telling their story (Four Worlds International). Eventually this led to the breakdown of the CHCH organization and resulted in a divergence from Hollow Water's healing movement's guiding principles. This issue will be described in detail in Chapter five.

Description of Community Holistic Circle Healing (CHCH) Organization

Hollow Water First Nation's Community Holistic Circle Healing (CHCH) was created, in 1989, to implement community restorative justice through the use of sentencing circles, family group conferencing, and working with community offenders, victims, and

their respective families to rebuild community trust, communication and balance to community. This approach reconciled community relationships by counselling both victims and offenders and their respective families under the supervision of various community professional institutions and community citizens. The model provides a responsive community justice system that works with Canada's federal and provincial system of justice.

The Community Holistic Circle Healing organization views justice as a process of healing community relationships rather than the Canadian mainstream view of justice as punishing an individual and inflicting further alienation on the individual from the community through incarceration. By altering the perspective how to address justice issues in the community Hollow Water sees an offender as 'out of balance' within the surrounding relationships of community life. According to the CHCH organization, the offender who is 'out of balance' is responsible to repair relationships with those the offender has offended in the community. In response to a community member who accepts responsibility for the offence, the whole community is responsible for providing an opportunity for the offender who is 'out of balance' to regain balance and restore community relationships. Hollow Water and the CHCH organization is thus seen as a leader of restorative justice because it works to heal relationships between individuals, families, and the community.

Hollow Water community citizens have come together, using the CHCH organization, to address issues that many people in mainstream society would find

anathema. The CHCH organization and community citizens address sexual abuse of children, a tragic abuse that a person inflicts on a vulnerable person, often leaving the vulnerable severely scarred, making it difficult to develop positive and trusting relationships within the family and community. The CHCH organization has developed ways to address this abuse in the community and has transcended the abuse by recognizing, addressing the social historical aspects of these issues, and ultimately healing through holding the person who committed the abuse on a victim, to accept responsibility for the victimizer's actions through a process of community engagement and restoring community relationships. The CHCH organization have created a unique process whereby the community citizens are encouraged to assume responsibility for their actions and hold other people to account for their actions as an essential part of their healing development.

The CHCH organization current main operation is to monitor all issues related to restorative justice in the community. This includes organizing a Sentencing Circle and the steps required to counsel the victim, the victim's family, the offender and the offender's family. However, the CHCH organization also organizes several cultural events throughout the year that are considered part of its mandate, such as a yearly community fast. The CHCH organization was intended to be the formal coordinating body that brings community resources together to address community issues. However, the CHCH organization became the organization that addresses community sexual abuse in a way that is effective and beneficial to the community.

Critical Report

In 2006, an internal report completed for the CHCH organization by Four Worlds Centre for Development and Learning indicated that there are serious challenges to Hollow Water's CHCH organization that have detrimentally affected community trust in the CHCH organization to provide institutional supervision and family reconciliation. The report indicates that the original philosophical intent of the CHCH organization and community healing movement has been partially lost among the CHCH organization staff, among various community resource organizations, and community citizens, creating social decline in Hollow Water (Four Worlds Center for Development Learning 2006). Without connection to the original intent, goals, objectives, plans, actions, and/or using resources which support healing activities, the CHCH organization and Hollow Water First Nation are not accomplishing their potential as a healthy organization or as a community which has developed a world renown community restorative justice organization. I, and others, are concerned that an organization and healing movement that has accomplished so much has not yet fulfilled its potential. There are many people in Hollow Water that still hold on to the positive aspects of the original principles of Hollow Water's healing movement, but it appears that fundamental aspects of the original vision of the principles are not consistently realized. Most community citizens feel that the healing movement is still pertinent, but the organizational structure as expressed in the form of the CHCH organization, needs to be clarified, refined, and consistently supported by community resources and community citizens. It is essential for Hollow Water's continual development of community healing/justice to organize as an effective community engagement process to identify and address pertinent community issues. The current operation of the CHCH organizational structure is not engaging community in a process to

identify issues, discuss issues from both an institutional and community perspective, plan out and implement community appropriate strategies to address community identified issues, and evaluate the effectiveness of community actions.

In later chapters, I argue that in the midst of losing Hollow Water's healing movement's vision, the direction of the CHCH organization has been strongly influenced by the goals of the Canadian justice system. The close connection with justice, specifically provincial and federal probation system has clouded the original intent of the CHCH organization and has turned it into a probation program instead of a community driven process to facilitate community communication including community resources, assist the community to identify, and address community-defined issues.

Interest in Research

In 1997, I learned about the Community Holistic Circle Healing (CHCH) organization while I was living in Hollow Water First Nation. Two years previously, I had finished my Master's of Applied Anthropology in September of 1995 and was strongly influenced by Dr. John S. Matthaisson, my advisor. Throughout my master's degree I was concerned with providing research in a collaborative approach so that the results would be meaningful to the people with whom I was working. As well as the concept of praxis as distinct from *theoria* – which is an iterative concept of applying the theory of what we know so that we can learn new things, and in turn apply a new theory, *ad infinitum*. This was a strong theme that had resonance with me as I pursued a degree in applied anthropology. My studies often covered assimilation and colonization as a necessary part

of understanding a culture's background. As a student training in applied anthropology, I was especially concerned with the question how a community that has been colonized, breaks away from the colonial relationship and reduces the community's dependency mentality on colonial thinking, defines their own issues, and implements their own ways to address these issues. Intrigued by the conversations I was having with Hollow Water community citizens as they talked about Anishinaabek culture, their perspectives, their pride in expressing their identity, and their difficulties living a dignified life while experiencing the strong pull of Western society's influence, I realized that Hollow Water was going through a process of community self-determination that started almost two decades earlier. I wanted to learn how Hollow Water First Nation had achieved this sense of community self-determination and how it was maintained so that these principles could be applied to other communities in similar situations. I perceived my discussions with community citizens as a way to learn about facilitating and expressing community empowerment. My conversations led to enduring relationships in which the people trusted me enough to talk about their personal concerns. These relationships have greatly affected the way that I think and act in my life. I was in the right place to engage in a new way of learning that I could not find anywhere else.

I lived in Hollow Water from 1997 to 2001. I was aware through conversations, with community citizens, that although there had been much active community healing and education to address community issues, such as sexual abuse, violence, alcoholism, suicide, and lack of effective parenting skills, there were comments that the CHCH organization was no longer practicing its guiding intent. Some prominent people in the

community were saying that CHCH had lost its vision and the organization was beginning to fall apart. Something was wrong within this seminal organization created by a progressive Anishinaabek community healing movement of the 1980s.

Prior to going back to school to complete my PhD in 2006, I was contemplating what I would write about for my dissertation. I talked with Berma Bushie (who was at one time the coordinator of the CHCH organization) and Margaret Bushie (the official treasurer for the CHCH organization and Hollow Water First Nation's primary accountant) about what I would do for my dissertation. They told me that over the next several years a few of the CHCH organization staff would retire and it would be useful for me to look into a succession plan as a way to re-invigorate the CHCH organization and prepare the next generation as they take over the organization's responsibilities. My experiences at Trent University, conversations with Valdie Seymour (one of the original facilitators of Hollow Water's healing movement), and interviewing community citizens led me to analyze the sustainability of the Hollow Water healing movement and the CHCH organization over time. As part of my research, I hope to contribute to Hollow Water's understanding of the CHCH organization's maintenance. Documenting Hollow Water's overarching healing movement's original philosophy through interviews and facilitating dialogue may contribute to overcoming the obstacles that hinder the CHCH organization's and, consequently, the community's development. Regardless, if there is a CHCH organization or not, the community needs a consistent way to safely communicate information among community citizens and resource organizations, to identify community issues, and to

dialogue about how the community plans activities to address these community-defined issues.

Throughout my dissertation I approach the issue of detailing the history, maintenance, and succession of the Hollow Water community healing movement and the CHCH program with sensitivity. I provide confidentiality to those who request it, I respect traditional Indigenous spirituality and community practices, and I am aware of the volatile political and personal issues raised in an environment of community sexual violence; specifically trust and communication issues. As well, recent qualitative research theory includes values as very much a part of the inquiry process, i.e., “choice of problem, choice of paradigm to guide the problem, choice of theoretical framework, choice of major data-gathering and data-analytic methods, choice of context, treatment of values already resident within the context, and choice of format(s) for presenting findings” (Lincoln and Guba 2000:169). I include the interview questions list and the characteristics of respondents that I interviewed, including ethical statements issued to all those who agreed to participate in the interviews in APPENDIX B.

Conceptual Baggage

Indigenous scholarship requires expression of an author’s personal bias or assumption throughout the work presented. Cordova explains, “we must first of all be aware of the assumptions which we bring to such a study ... cultures differ as their descriptions of the world differ” (Cordova 2004:28). For Indigenous scholarship, “knowledge is knowledge in experience ... this is the kind of knowledge that allows us to

function in the world, to carry on our daily tasks, to live our lives. This knowledge is embodied knowledge. We might do best to call this knowledge ‘lived knowledge’” (Burkhart 2004:20). This lived knowledge, “is shaped and guided by human actions, endeavors, desires, and goals. Knowledge is what we put to use. Knowledge can never be divorced from human action and experience” (Burkhart 2004:21). Burkhart indicates that, “we must be careful what we do, what we want, and what we think and speak, in general... the idea here is simply that the most important things to keep in mind are the simple things that are directly around us in our experience and the things to which we are most directly related” (Burkhart 2004:16).

Over the years I have deepened my relationships with decision-makers in the community and see the choices I made to come back to school and develop my knowledge is related partially to addressing the challenges and goals of Hollow Water First Nation’s community citizens. I want to continue developing how Canadian institutions and Settlers can learn about themselves from learning about an Indigenous perspective and Indigenous knowledge to address human issues. I want to study how experiential learning affects professional institutions that engage in cross-cultural environments, i.e. health professionals, social workers, spiritual counsellors, teachers, engineers, and justice workers. This research will help provide cross-cultural knowledge to people working in cross-cultural environments as a way to mitigate conflict and engage in constructive relationships.

The feeling of community connectedness that I experienced when I lived in Hollow

Water has greatly influenced my interest in conducting research for Hollow Water First Nation. My ancestry is British/Irish², I am not an Anishinaabek person, but I recognize and respect the efforts by Hollow Water First Nation as they explore their own identity, and their own concepts to challenge those who have tried to gain control over their own lives. The CHCH organization has created a process of communicating, working together with community resources, and as Valdie Seymour indicates, “teach people to become human” (I interpret this as, teach people to accept themselves as fallible yet creative and whole persons, not to take themselves too seriously, work through decolonization, and build healthy meaningful communities). My personal interest in this research comes from my motivation to contribute to positive development of Indigenous peoples and Settler relationships where Indigenous knowledge and values are recognized and respected within Settler knowledge and worldview.

Settlers can learn much from recognizing and respecting Indigenous peoples’ social organization rather than continually denying the importance of Indigenous knowledge. However, I believe that the dominant nation has no interest in assisting or supporting nation-building activities of other nations unless the dominant nation is required, forced, or morally convinced to make changes to its society. Examples of societal changes include the civil rights movement, the reaction to the White Paper, and Quebec nationalism in the 1960s and 1970s. I also believe that community power relations can be critically examined with respect to traditional values to ensure a balance of support and accountability of

² As an aside, in November 2012, I conducted research on my family name and have found the name William Spice who was part of the Orangemen who tried to overthrow the provisional government established by Louis Riel. William Spice was arrested with Thomas Scott during the Red River Resistance. However, I do not yet know how or if I am related to William Spice.

community initiatives.

My own emerging reflections on this work see the importance of Settlers gaining a much more sophisticated understanding of community and institutional organization, building a negotiated relationship with all entities (human and other than human) to create an economic, familial, spiritual, interpersonal, educational, political, and legal understanding of a self-sustainable planet. The current exploitative and consumerist perspectives and their underlying values empty all meaning from all human experiences. If the planet is going to be habitable for humans, it will require a radical adjustment to the orientation of most of the world's approximately eight billion people³ to adopt self-sufficiency and interdependency values, teachings, and relationships within local environments. The value of Indigenous axiology provides an antidote to Wiindigo axiology and it requires Western society to mature, progress, and implement actions that bring meaning into the world rather than maintaining a false ideology and deniability. Brutal force and unmitigated greed without concern for the consequences of one's actions is not a sustainable philosophy to live by; it is anti-human.

Conclusion

With regard to this research, my concerns and goals are to provide the documentation, resources, and an opportunity for Hollow Water community citizens to invigorate an organizational structure that it once achieved in the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s. It is through challenging and transforming consciousness through shifting

³ Estimated in a News article in Nature - <https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-021-02522-6>

paradigms that frees people from the colonization mentality so that people can understand their own identity (McLeod 2000; Newhouse et al. 2002:63). Decolonization is, “a belief that situations can be transformed, a belief and trust in our own peoples’ values and abilities, and a willingness to make change. It is about transforming negative reactionary energy into the more positive, rebuilding energy needed in our communities” (Wilson 2004:71). Decolonization is a deconstruction of a State’s imperial nation-building perspective of the world and a reconstruction of Indigenous peoples’ participation in their own nation-building.

By providing an opportunity for community citizens to learn through a re-examination of their identity and relationship with other community citizens (self-awareness) – a community member who is ‘out of balance’ (offender) has the choice of learning how ‘out of balance’ he/she is from the rest of the community. When an offender is aware of his/her actions against the community, family, other individual (s), he/she has the choice of whether or not to act in a way that restores balance to relationships. If he/she does not want to act in a way to restore community relationships, the offender has chosen to work through the Canadian justice system which will incarcerate the offending individual and impose conditions for the offender to meet before he/she is considered rehabilitated. If the offender chooses to act in a way that restores community relationships, then he/she must work with other community citizens to develop a plan and act in a way that manifests the healing of trust that has been previously lost among community citizens and to follow the path of self-actualization and family/community actualization.

Several community citizens indicated that the CHCH organization, as it currently exists, has accomplished what it can in its current form and as a result may have to completely rebuild itself. This is seen as a natural part of an organizational life; the life cycle of any organization – be it Indigenous or Settler. I hope that this research does not harm the people with whom I have worked with. I have experienced many paradigm shifts, learning opportunities, friendships, and spiritual developments that I simply never had the opportunity to experience as a child or as a young adult. I am always cognizant of the March 1997 Aboriginal Corrections Policy Unit warnings in *The Four Circles of Hollow Water* (Sivell-Ferri et al., 1997). The authors indicate that as a society, we hunger for heroes to mobilize public energy and to illustrate the best of human potential.

If the public's expectations are met, the hero is adored. If not, the fall from grace is rapid and resounding. The individual has disappointed the crowd. Public blame for a poor performance is placed on his or her shoulders, forgetting all past achievements or future potential ... Aboriginal people are looking for heroes – something, or someone to show that they have done them proud, so the world at large will see that they, too, have the best ... Over the past few years, the small community of Hollow Water has become one such icon for Aboriginal people ... But is Hollow Water as unique as some are making it out to be? Are they being placed on a pedestal by Aboriginal people, governments, and other Canadians? ... When the inevitable cracks in the public's perception become evident, will they fall from grace while the public searches for another hero, another icon, to replace it? (Sivell-Ferri et al., 1997: iii)

I hope that work that I have done for this thesis will be seen as useful for Board members, CHCH staff, resource institution workers, and community citizens to build a stronger organization that works in accordance with its own original mandate set by the original facilitators. I also hope that people will come to see that community development and community justice in Hollow Water First Nation did not happen overnight or through a three-day long workshop that promises to teach people to come together and figure out

something to deal with highly complex issues, like suicide prevention or sexual abuse in the community. Such three-day workshops with their superficial promises are so common today it would be laughable if it were not so tragic. I hope that the reader understands that the process that I am talking about in Hollow Water took ten years to get from inception to the point where the Community Holistic Circle Healing organization began. It was ten years in the making and required an immense amount of dialogue, action, support, training, and acceptance by the community to establish a process of community engagement and assessment. This process was a pragmatic way to involve community in addressing – at first – issues of alcoholism, then domestic violence, and then sexual abuse. Even after this awareness, there are few in the community who see this process as a tool for decolonization (biskaabiiyang) against the continual assimilative strategies of Western imperialism (zhaaganashiiyaadizi) but I argue that this is precisely a tool to use for decolonization. It is a very powerful form of social organization but must be understood as such and continually supported by community leaders and community citizens. I hope that other communities can also use some aspects of this thesis to see that they always have the power within their own community to harness the energy of the people in a similar way that Hollow Water has done but appropriate to its own history, its own community. Again, this will take community effort, communication, and support over time.

CHAPTER TWO

SOURCE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

This chapter is a description of the literature and other sources of information on community justice/healing efforts. A distinction of restorative justice from other forms of justice, some considerations of obstacles and benefits of the restorative justice program, and the weaknesses in identifying efficacy of restorative justice programs are discussed. Indigenous concepts and terms are introduced and defined that may be useful to understanding aspects of Hollow Water's healing movement formulation and development of community justice aligned with traditional Indigenous values⁴. This chapter outlines theoretical perspective that I use for analyzing the historical social construction of Hollow Water's healing movement, the historical social development, structure, and maintenance of the Community Holistic Circle Healing organization (CHCH), and the next generation's iteration of the CHCH organization. The "Turtle Model" is borrowed and modified from Valdie Seymour's illustration of the organizational structure that is based on a clan-like structure as a way to illustrate how Hollow Water describes their networked relationship with community resource organizations. I modify Valdie's illustration and described the "Turtle Model" – a model he uses in his two-year Community Centred Therapy Program to describe community networking and communication. The "Turtle Model" is compared and contrasted with what is known about the traditional Clan system as a governing model. A section on the significance of the research and new findings that this research may

⁴ Through the establishment of a healing movement, Hollow Water was able to subvert Western institutional organizations to develop a much more intimate relationship with other community resources and become highly attentive to community issues. Within this heightened interconnectedness Western institutional structures were highly enmeshed with Traditional Anishinaabek concepts and models.

contribute to Anishinaabek justice/healing organizations, their history, maintenance, and succession is discussed.

Restorative Justice

The CHCH organization has been predominantly addressing restorative justice⁵ since the late 1980's. According to Bonta, restorative justice approaches seek to repair community harm by, "bringing together the offender, victim, and community to seek solutions that, to the greatest extent possible, satisfy all parties. Through this process of mediation, reparations are negotiated and the process of forgiving and healing is initiated" (Bonta et al. 1998:1-2). Llewellyn and Howse (1999) define restorative justice as,

fundamentally concerned with restoring social relationships, with establishing or re-establishing social equality in relationships – that is, relationships in which each person's rights to equal dignity, concern and respect are satisfied. As it is concerned with social equality, restorative justice inherently demands one attend to the nature of relationships between individuals, groups and communities. Thus, in order to achieve restoration of relationships restorative justice must be concerned both with the discrete wrong and its relevant context and causes. What practices are required to restore the relationship at issue will, then, be context-dependent and judged against this standard of restoration (Llewellyn and Howse 1999:15).

Llewellyn and Howse indicate, movements toward restorative justice can be seen as returning to the philosophical roots, rather than, "as some new-age 'cure-all' for an ailing system" (1999:4-5). Restorative justice has been a dominant justice model throughout most of human history with roots found in both Western and non-Western traditions.

⁵ A community worker, who originally worked with CHCH and now works with Child and Family Services, indicated that the community had been practicing a type of community justice through the sentencing circle for a few years. Hollow Water's sentencing circle received detailed attention from populations outside the community. I was only when someone from outside the community mentioned that the community justice was called "restorative justice" that the name became attributed to what the community did.

Restorative justice forces us to address that something must be done in response to wrongdoing. As Llewellyn and Howse state, restorative justice, “means much more than ‘tinkering’ with current practices. Restorative justice is a different conception of justice and as such requires us to re-examine our very assumptions about justice” (1999:19). However, Green points out that Hollow Water’s community sentencing demonstrate a conjunctive relationship between the local community and the Canadian state justice system. Hollow Water is more closely aligned with a reformist approach rather than a communitarian approach because it relies on the threat of being charged under the Canadian state’s Criminal Code with breach of probation to induce offenders to continue treatment with CHCH. Whereas communitarian approaches seek to operate entirely outside the state and its institutions (Green 1998:147).

Llewellyn and Howse contrast restitution, corrective justice, and retributive justice with the concept of restorative justice in order to get a fuller understanding of what is being restored and in what sense is restoration meant from the concept of restorative justice. Braithewaite is quoted in Llewellyn and Howse as stating, “restorative justice is about restoring victims, restoring offenders and restoring communities ... [to] whatever dimensions of restoration matter to the victims, offenders and communities affected by the crime”. In this way, “restorative justice is sensitive to context and thus appropriate to a variety of situations” (Llewellyn and Howse 1999:19-20). According to Llewellyn and Howse, “restorative justice ... is often identified with restitution. In fact, most of the American literature uses these terms interchangeably” (Llewellyn and Howse 1999:22). Restitution is often an important part of restorative justice practices however there are

unmistakable differences between these conceptions of justice. As Llewellyn and Howse state, “restitution in and of itself is not enough to address the harm a victim experiences after a wrong has been committed” (1999:24). Restitution returns things to the way they were before the wrong but restorative justice aims at restoration to an ideal (1999:25). Restorative justice incorporates restitution but not as looking backward but rather an important and often necessary step toward, “establishing a better relationship between parties in the future” (1999:25).

According to Llewellyn and Howse, “retribution and restorative justice share a common conceptual ground in their commitment to establishing/re-establishing social equality between the wrongdoer and the sufferer of wrong” (1999:30). However, they diverge immediately when one considers the achievement of the social equality. Retributive justice uses the mechanism of isolation and punishment to achieve social equality but restorative justice practices, “requires social dialogue that includes wrongdoers, sufferers of wrong, the community to which they belong and demands concrete consideration of the needs of each for restoration” (1999:31). The context of the social relationships within community and improvement of future relationships are taken into account. According to Llewellyn and Howse, “retributive justice is thus backward looking, primarily focused on what happened, and not what must be done to address it” (1999:34). Restorative justice asks what is required from the offender to actively balance the offender’s life and create positive contributions to the person offended and the community. In this sense, there is an idea of the prevention of future wrongs within restorative justice (Llewellyn and Howse 1999:35).

Choice and sacrifice is an important concept in restorative justice. The problem with punishment is that it is not voluntary. In a restorative process the perpetrator must submit to a willing negotiation with those affected by the wrongdoing as part of the perpetrator's own effort to restore equality of the relationship (Llewellyn and Howse 1999:36). Critics often state that restorative justice is soft on offenders however the opposite is true. According to Llewellyn and Howse, punishment requires little of an offender, "in a retributive system the most a perpetrator has to do is passively endure her punishment. Restorative justice, on the other hand demands that the wrongdoer actively seek the restoration of relationship ... [and] requires that wrongdoers face both the victims and themselves with what they have done; it provides no escape from responsibility" (1999:36). The CHCH organization's sentencing circle, "is an innovative healing approach which is very different from treatment models within the mainstream justice system. The process holds offenders accountable to their communities, and fosters healing for all those victimized, their victimizers, and the community" (Canada 1997:116). The CHCH organization's restorative justice approach addresses criminal justice offences but the CHCH organization does maintain other social justice programs that address broader community issues.

Community Healing

Cultural healing as well as social justice practices are playing an increasingly important role in community healing/justice. Although, "Aboriginal communities and the Aboriginal healing movement have long argued that healing and community development

are inseparable” (Lane et al. 2002:22). There is a growing understanding that community healing needs to include structural changes such as social justice, as well as community development initiatives. McCaskill suggests that the principles of community development are, “the most effective method of aiding an individual or community in bringing about meaningful social change. This entails the provision of sufficient resources both materially and socially to allow the people to participate in the decision-making aspects of their community” (1970:64). And according to Lane et al. community healing as decolonization involves,

articulating the principles that promote health and balance for the community, supporting people to move back into balance, basing all community systems on healthy balanced principles and taking full responsibility as a community for the journey (Lane et al. 2002:36).

Brant Castellano indicates that, “Aboriginal people are engaged in a powerful process of renewal of culture and community life to which they often give the generic name of *healing*” (1999:95). However, healing programs cannot be “parachuted” into communities. Each community is unique and must be rebuilt through their own community processes. Any attempt to restore and rebuild individuals from within which fails to assess and address those larger, external community factors that encourage dysfunctional behaviours is doomed to failure (Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie 2005:169). Assessments of a community must be made and realistic support services must be in place before restorative justice programs are attempted. The success of restorative justice programs depends on the support from community services (both internal and external to the community) to victims, offenders, and community citizens. As Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie point out, emphasizing traditional cultural values without providing realistic community resources and social initiatives misleads community expectations and

encourages a defeatist attitude among community citizens. McCaskill further suggests three strategies to be put into place to address the social justice needs of Indigenous peoples to provide realistic socio-economic resources to communities:

- education and other methods to stimulate self-development and fulfillment.
- alter social conditions to modify amount, quality and accessibility [to a] range of goods, services, and facilities for people.
- to effect reform in major legal and functional systems of a society (McCaskill 1970:64)

Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie succinctly indicate that, “ignoring the socio-economic conditions in the majority of communities in favour of culture enables us to turn a blind eye to the costs of colonialism to First Nations, and assert instead that the problems are caused by our failure to address those aspects of Aboriginal cultures and tradition which have survived colonialism. In one fell swoop, we are able to diminish the impacts of the acts of our ancestors by focusing on those aspects of culture which endure, while at the same time assuaging our collective conscience by focusing on those aspects in policy and programs” (2005:231). Emphasizing the role of culture in community healing/justice initiatives is not a bad thing but it does not address the structural social inequalities that exist within the larger society. Social justice requires meaningful employment, construction of a positive environment, the support of families, social services, and education before developing community justice programs (Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie 2005:231).

Community Participation in Community Healing/Justice

Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie outline a cultural clash between Indigenous and Settler understanding of Western justice and Indigenous community justice concerning the

issue of the effectiveness of justice. The issue is not that that Western justice is unduly punitive and Indigenous community justice is too soft in its approach – rather, according to Elders and through translators, the Western justice is insufficiently punitive (Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie 2005:51). The authors explain that there are distinct cultural perceptions of what constitutes punitive sanctions in each culture.

For those communities that remain small and relatively intimate, wherein what anthropologists once referred to as ‘face-to-face’ social relations persist, and individual quality of life depends largely on reputation and standing, the shame and sanction implicit in facing one’s community to acknowledge and atone for wrong-doing may be significant. That this confession and compensation might be followed by reintegration and acceptance back into the community may signal either a profound qualitative difference in the practice of ‘justice’ in First Nations, or the possibility that they succeed in reintegration where similar non-Aboriginal mechanisms, such as parole or probation, fail. The essence of the position is not that one system is basically ‘good’ and the other ‘bad’, but rather that they seek the same ends in different ways (Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie 2005:52).

There is the danger of perceiving the healing process as another service that community citizens shift responsibility of community wellness to those who address community issues. Healing and well-being is not something that can be delivered to a people (service perspective), it is something that requires the active involvement of the whole community (community engagement perspective) (Lane et al., 2002:48). The danger is that the service perspective can, “reinforce the dependency thinking underlying other community problems” (Lane et al. 2002:48). Once a healing process secures funding, employees, reporting schedules, etc., the process is perceived as part of the service status quo. The challenge is, “learning how to constantly renew and revitalize the core of the healing process”, while building structures which support the healing work (Lane et al. 2002:49). This is difficult since many community systems may themselves be out of

balance. As Lane et al. state, “a key element of a healing program’s work is to build and maintain community understanding and involvement in the healing work ... programs that do not pay close attention to this often run into difficulties” (Lane et al., 2002:49).

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples indicates, “healing, in Aboriginal terms, refers to personal and societal recovery from the lasting effects of oppression and systematic racism experienced over generations” (Lane et al., 2002:5). Community citizens have recognized, “healing work needs to be intimately linked to relationships with Elders and other cultural leaders, as well as to ceremonies and protocols designed for personal development and for the restoration of healthy relationships within families and communities” (Lane et al. 2002:5). There is a holistic and historical aspect to healing. According to Lane et al., “healing work certainly involves overcoming the legacy of past oppression and abuse ... the transformation of inner lives ... family and community relationships and the social and environmental conditions within which people live” (Lane et al. 2002:6). When social initiatives are in place to support restorative justice programs then social capital will increase. Kurki and Pranis believe that restorative justice programs go beyond, “the direct and short-term goal of repairing the harm caused to the victim and the community, restorative justice encompasses an indirect and long-term goal of building communities”, by increasing social capital (2000:6). Social capital can be defined as the social good embodied in the structure of relations and shared values among people, and thus differs from human capital (individual skills, knowledge) and physical capital (material improvements) (Kurki and Pranis 2000:6).

Community participation through effective use of its community resource institutions are essential supports to maintain and build social capital. The more a community is able to maintain inter-agency unity in its vision, planning, program delivery and evaluation, the more consistently and effectively it is able to support healing/justice initiatives (Lane et al. 2002:49). It is often very difficult to maintain an integrated level of support from all programs devoted to social development within a community. The tendency for people is to retreat into their own institutions or departments and isolate themselves from the rest of community (retreating into a silo-mentality). Many front-line professionals do not have both the energy and the skill set required to maintain interagency collaboration focused on the healing and community justice work. Often the missing element is leadership (Lane et al. 2002:49).

Measuring Success

Many authors indicate the difficulty of measuring success in restorative justice programs. What is the appropriate unit of measure in community restorative justice? How are community relationships evaluated? A report on the CHCH organization sees Hollow Water as iconic for developing their own justice system. Where other First Nations are moving toward healing, Hollow Water is succeeding (Canada 1997:6). But how is success determined? Frideres and Gadacz indicate that, “the methodological issues such as measuring ‘success’ are problematic and need to be reconceptualized. For example, if recidivism is a measure of success (or lack thereof), it does not measure any other increases in the individual’s ‘well-being’ that might have been brought about through the program, e.g., community reintegration, family interaction” (2005:147). Issues in measuring success

of restorative justice programs include the impact of culture, victim dissatisfaction with community justice programs, the prevalence of victimizer-centred approach, and accountability to community citizens. Kurki and Pranis (2000) argue that the focus on recidivism is too narrow for evaluation of restorative justice. They believe that focus should be on the effects of restorative justice on victims and communities, first and offenders second. Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie (2005) believe that social justice, rather than criminal justice, may be the proper focus for institutional reform for over-representation of Indigenous peoples in prison.

In their publication, *Position on Incarceration* (1993), the Wanipigow Resource Group (Hollow Water First Nation's original healing movement organization) clearly identifies their own conceptualization of inappropriate behaviour and ill-health (which they define as "out-of-balance"). As well they conceptualize their own strategy for successfully bringing individuals, families, and the community back into balance. This approach was described to me as inherently successful by Ray Raven in 1997. He was talking about Western philosophy's preoccupation with finding indicators of success. It is assumed that identification of indicators of success could be replicated in other communities. Raven adamantly stated, "if you bring one person back into balance then the program is a success" (personal communication). There are many ways to bring a person back into balance; so much so that it is a temporally and contextually specific relationship of trust, safety of setting, dialogue, and meaning. As the Wanipigow Resource Group indicate, "what the [Western] legal system sometimes seems to not understand is the complexity of the issues involved in breaking the cycle of abuse that exists in our community" (1993:2). The

Wanipigow Resource Group expand further on the ineffectiveness of Western approaches to justice,

the legal system promotes the belief that using incarceration under the guise of specific and general deterrence also seems, to us, to be ineffective in breaking the cycle of violence. Victimization has become so much a part of who we are, as a people and a community, that the threat of jail simply does not deter offending behaviour. What the threat of incarceration does do is keep people from coming forward and taking responsibility for the hurt they are causing. It reinforces the silence and therefore promotes, rather than breaks, the cycle of violence that exists. In reality, rather than making the community a safer place, the threat of jail places the community more at risk (1993:2-3).

The Western approach seems to be unconcerned with an individual offender's personal healing and their accountability to community. If an offender is incarcerated, he or she does, "not seem to receive any help while away from the community. They return from jail not only further out of balance but are told by probation and parole workers – and therefore, to a certain degree, believe – that they have 'paid for their crime'. As a result, the community is more at risk than before the people were put in jail" (1993:3). This Indigenous philosophy holds that to create an intergenerational society that is healthy, whole and sustainable, a society must work together to ensure that each individual is nurtured. Rather than relying on deterrence and punishment met upon an individual for inappropriate behaviour, and individual needs more attention and nurturing from the community to bring the individual from a state of imbalance to a contributing member of society. The foundational value differences between Indigenous philosophy and Western philosophy and its effect on future concepts of society could hardly be starker. If the Canadian justice system were to apply a critical analysis of its own values and the effectiveness of its own indicators of success within its philosophy it may come the

realization that it is not achieving its own goals; unless its own goals are to achieve assimilation and compliance to its authority regardless of its effects on society. According to the Wanipigow Resource Group,

the legal system, based on principles of punishment and deterrence, as we see it, simply is not working. We can not understand how the legal system doesn't see this. Whatever change that occurs when people return to our community from jail seems to be for the worse. Incarceration may be effective in the larger society, but it is not working in our community. Adding to our frustration is the sense that the legal system has come to take over, from our community, the role it once played in handling 'justice' matters (1993:3-4).

The Wanipigow Resource Group conclude that, "our children and the community can no longer afford the price the legal system is extracting in its attempts to provide justice in our community. We can no longer talk about the punishment and deterrence. We have to talk about BREAKING THE CYCLE – NOW! We see this as clearly the responsibility of the community rather than of the [Western] legal system" (1993:5; emphasis in the original). The Western justice system is woefully inadequate from an Indigenous perspective to provide the necessary environment that facilitates social creativity and health of all peoples so that all relations are cared for and sustained. As the Wanipigow Resource Group indicate,

our tradition, our culture, speaks clearly about [t]he concepts of judgement and punishment. They belong to the Creator. They are not ours. They are, therefore, not to be used in the way that we relate to each other. People who offend against another (victimizers are to be viewed and related to as people who are out of balance – with themselves, and their family, their community, and their Creator. A return to balance can best be accomplished through a process of accountability that includes support from the community through teaching and healing. The use of judgement and punishment actually works against the healing process. An already unbalanced person is moved further out of balance (1993:2).

Why should the Western colonial authority that has an extremely unhealthy and toxic relationship with implementing justice in Indigenous communities determine the success of community justice when its own values are at odds with Indigenous conceptions of community building and trust? What right do they have to assert authority over Indigenous justice? Upon what authority does the Canadian government appeal to make ethical judgements on Indigenous ways of implementing justice when their own history and contemporary actions are fraught with racism and abuse?

Impact of Culture

Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie suggest a critical evaluation of the role of culture and tradition in restorative justice is necessary since, “most Aboriginals in Canada have little or no knowledge of their own traditions” (2005:135). Healing through, “traditional and cultural activities have become a central part of mainstream restorative justice and New Age ideology” (2005:169). The main features that distinguish those who come into conflict from those who do not are, “alcohol use, early departure from school, unemployment, and being taken away from one’s natural family. These findings are entirely consistent with what is known about the impact of family dissolution, poor school performance, unemployment and substance abuse among non-Aboriginal populations” (Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie 2005:36). The cause and cure of over-representation by Indigenous peoples in prison was thought to be ‘culture’ but the discussion provided by Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie suggest that in order to reduce incarceration and recidivism requires a shift in emphasis to include initiatives that address social justice issues. Social justice, “requires meaningful employment for Aboriginal people within their own territories, the

construction of a positive lived environment in communities, and the support of families, social services, and education. In other words, we must work with Aboriginal people to develop communities before developing community justice projects” (Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie 2005:231).

Victim/Victimizer-centred Approach

The prevalence on victimizers role challenges the CHCH organization’s healing process that it is too victimizer-centred in its approach (Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie 2005:171). The healing contract negotiated between victim and offender seems to emphasize the offender’s role. Moreover, Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie indicate that it is apparent from the evaluations of the CHCH organization’s program that victims were the group most dissatisfied with the program and they generally needed more ongoing help than was provided by the program. More disturbing is the finding that a significant minority did not feel that the offender was appropriately dealt with by the CHCH organization’s process (2005:196). In fact, “only 34 per cent of the victims felt the community was supportive of them after going through the program” (Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie 2005:197). The authors suggest that program evaluations lack clarity about the goals and objectives that ought to be achieved,

beyond vague statements of ‘healing’ and ‘restoration’, nor do we have a sense of how the main players in restorative processes perceive those processes and their outcomes. This is especially true in the case of victims, who play such a critical role in restorative justice. It is particularly important to understand victim perceptions, experiences, and levels of satisfaction with its processes and outcomes, and yet we remain largely in the dark on this very important aspect of restorative programming (Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie 2005:184).

The goal of community social justice needs to be articulated within the context of community experience. What goals does a community want to achieve in their restorative justice process? How will the levels of satisfaction with the process and outcomes of restorative justice be manifest and measured by a community? What level of satisfaction is adequate in the community?

Accountability

According to Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie little data exist on the degree to which restorative justice approaches have reduced reoffending or reintegrated offenders into family and community life (2005:192). Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie are particularly critical of Couture et al., cost-benefit analysis of Hollow Water's restorative justice program. However, Couture et al., indicate that,

the real value of CHCH work can only be identified by the community citizens impacted by the healing process; typically, however, the benefits of this process have not been acknowledged nor measured by the dominant society. Yet, the benefits of the CHCH activity have touched all aspects of life in Hollow Water, many of which, cannot be given a specific dollar value. It is very difficult, if not impossible, to adequately place a dollar value on the depth, quality, commitment and sustainability of the substantial healing work achieved in Hollow Water, and the impressive track record CHCH holds (2001:i).

In the course of administering justice toward community balance rather than depending on the legal system for incarceration, Hollow Water's CHCH organization has reduced recidivism in sexual offenders to a higher degree than conventional system of justice. In 1997 a document entitled the *Four Circles of Hollow Water* (Sivell-Ferri et al., 1997) compared the recidivism rate of sexual offenders who were engaged in CHCH healing process to the recidivism rate of the general Canadian sexual offender population.

That comparison found that, according to Corrections Research, sexual offenders recidivated 13.4% with a sexual offence while 4.2% recidivated from the CHCH process (Canada 1997:9). But as Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie indicate these studies do not provide reliable data on whether the program actually reduces reoffending since follow-up evaluations have not been conducted. Furthermore, in a report conducted by Aboriginal Healing Foundation on Aboriginal Sex Offending in Canada, only two of the eight community-based programs documented in the report were able to provide information on their indicators of program effectiveness (Aboriginal Healing Foundation 2002:170-208). Despite CHCH organization's participation in this report and despite the fact that the CHCH organization is the most mature form of restorative justice in Canada (Couture et al., 2001:i) they failed to provide any details on tools used or indicators of success determined by the community.

A very serious problem exists when trying to explain what a community-based restorative healing program offers to a community that is different from conventional systems. Most projects fail to impose a structure of accountability beyond the nebulous claim equating community ownership with community accountability (Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie 2005:223). The chain of accountability should be iterative – those to whom the project is accountable must, in turn, be accountable themselves. However, this often has many repercussions to the established order of power relations within and outside community (Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie 2005:225).

Evaluation of Canadian Sexual Offence Programs

The Aboriginal Healing Foundation (AHF) in their report *Aboriginal Sex Offending in Canada* identify eleven key issues that need to be addressed to ensure that Indigenous sex offenders in Canada receive effective treatment. Given the amount of Indigenous sex offenders, the capacity to adequately provide effective treatment within the federal system would need to quadruple current capacity (2002:140). Program stability, particularly in the community sector as well as the federal justice system is evident. Over the past couple of years, “programs have been discontinued due to lack of administrative support or lack of funding” (2002:140). Program development to address Indigenous sexual offending is lacking among both institutional and community areas. There is an “urgent need to undertake the more systematic development of more meaningful program options for Aboriginal sexual offenders” (2002:141). Very few programs operate under Indigenous people’s control. There is, “little experience in developing and delivering culturally specific programs that address the spiritual and cultural needs of Aboriginal sex offenders ... it is evident that new models for co-operation involving the justice systems and Aboriginal governments, communities and organizations are required” (2002:141).

According to the AHF, there is a need to link, “institutional treatment programs with community support and follow up...since most Aboriginal sex offenders are in the community, the provision of ongoing supportive care for life-long self-management has major implications for programs at the community level. However, we found virtually no evidence that such needs were being recognized, much less addressed, except in a few communities” (Aboriginal Healing Foundation 2002:141-142). Further, “services should include prevention and promotion programs as well as treatment, rehabilitation and healing

programs ... there are needs for crisis services, supportive resources, and training. There is no evidence that this kind of co-ordinated continuum of care and support is available for Aboriginal sexual offenders anywhere in Canada” (Aboriginal Healing Foundation 2002:142).

Another need identified is “that remarkably few resources have been devoted to assessing what works best for sex offenders generally, and for Aboriginal sex-offenders in particular ... we know virtually nothing about the effectiveness of treatment approaches for Aboriginal sexual offenders” (Aboriginal Healing Foundation 2002:142). Some of the questions that AHF raise are, “does Aboriginal-specific treatment programs improve outcomes relative to conventional sex offender treatment, if there are improved outcomes, what specific components of Aboriginal-specific treatment account for the results – the spiritual or traditional teachings, the ceremonies, the holistic approach to healing, the Aboriginal service provider or elder, etc., does treatment benefit for Aboriginal sexual offenders vary with their risk of re-offending, and do institutional, community or other treatment settings work best for some Aboriginal sexual offenders and, if so, for which ones” (Aboriginal Healing Foundation 2002:142).

Aboriginal Healing Foundation indicates that, “basic information about available Aboriginal sex offender treatment programs is not routinely collected or maintained” (Aboriginal Healing Foundation 2002:142). Furthermore, there are no, “specialized risk or assessment tools that have been developed for Aboriginal sexual offenders. While some existing instruments do appear to have some applicability, the few available studies also

suggest that many of the factors that predict the behaviour of non-Aboriginal offenders do not apply to Aboriginal offenders” (Aboriginal Healing Foundation 2002:142).

It appears that there are few, “opportunities for training, continuing education, professional development or networking. We looked for guides, course curricula, trainer’s manuals, sample protocols and other resource materials, but with few exceptions, none were found” (Aboriginal Healing Foundation 2002:143). Providing healing and caring services for services providers was recognized as an important part for recruitment, training, and retention of workers, particularly in the area of Indigenous sexual offending. Providing support to service providers is, “key to the provision of effective services” (Aboriginal Healing Foundation 2002:143).

The final issue raised by AHF is the transfer of knowledge from those who provide Indigenous sex offender treatment programs to others who work in the same field. According to AHF, “treatment programs work in relative isolation from each other, and there appear to be few opportunities to share knowledge and experiences” (Aboriginal Healing Foundation 2002:143). One issue that may exacerbate this transfer of knowledge may be Elder’s, “reluctance to commit program information to writing. Sometimes this reluctance is quite understandable and appropriate (e.g., sacred teachings provided by Elders), but often it reflects the fact that there is insufficient support to undertake this important work” (Aboriginal Healing Foundation 2002:143). In sum, AHF state that, “crime and other social problems in Aboriginal communities can only be addressed by dealing with the underlying causes of instability and distress in Aboriginal communities.

These causes have to do with the marginalization and disenfranchisement that Aboriginal communities and nations have experiences within the Canadian state” (Aboriginal Healing Foundation 2002:144). The Canadian state has historically provided inadequate funding for social services; Indigenous and Settler. If sufficient financial resources are to be found to provide adequate and stable services, it must be through a combination of financial sources that are not solely dependent on the Canadian State.

Moving Toward Indicators of Success

If there is no single institutional model for restorative justice, and no comprehensive ingredient list is possible, how then are we to evaluate a process to see if it is a successful restorative justice initiative? A restorative justice process must be measured by its ability to restore community relationships. The conventional system evaluates justice done by the amount of punishment handed out, a restorative system will measure the extent to which the interests of justice are served by the amount of harm repaired, and by whether relationships have been restored (Llewellyn and Howse 1999:70).

Scholars have tried to identify indicators that measure community success. Llewellyn and Howse have identified the constituent elements required of any practice if it is to serve the interests of restorative justice. Restorative justice practices must:

- Involve all parties with a stake in the resolution of the conflict. The victim, perpetrator and community must each be involved and enabled to participate fully in the process.
- Recognize and seek to address the harms to one another, remembering that harm is not restricted to the victim but can be experienced by the wrongdoer and the community.
- Be voluntary. Participation cannot be the result of coercion, fear, threats or manipulation brought to bear on either the victim or the wrongdoer.

- Be premised on and include truth telling. Truth-telling in the form of an admission of responsibility for what happened on the part of the perpetrator is a precondition for a restorative process; truth-telling in the form of honest relating of one's story and experience by all parties is a fundamental part of the process.
- Involve encounter (face to face meeting and sharing of stories and experiences) between victim/wrongdoer and community.
- Protect the rights of victims and wrongdoers.
- Involve a facilitator who can ensure the needed broader social perspective.
- Aim for reintegration of victim and wrongdoer into the community.
- Develop a plan for the future or agreement for resolution out of negotiation.
- Not involve punishment.
- Be evaluated by its results (whether it restores or not) (Lyewellyn and Howse 1999:71)

Kurki and Pranis emphasize evaluation on the basis of social capital. They state that there are several ways to measure restorative justice program effects on individual victims and offenders. Victims can be asked about restitution or other compensation received, reduced fear of crime, reduced anger, benefits of being able to express feelings and to participate directly, benefits of meeting the other parties personally, new relationships created, keeping in touch with other participants or asking their help in another matter, and being able to leave the incident behind or to think less often about it. Similar questions can be posed to offenders. In addition, we should want to know if restorative justice processes alter offenders' lives in other ways. For example, are offenders more likely to attend and finish school, hold jobs, participate in community activities, enjoy stable relationships, and avoid new crimes? (Kurki and Pranis 2000:10-11). Bonta et al. also supports stronger evaluations from the perspective of community citizens. According to Bonta et al., "the majority of the better evaluations focus on the success of the programs in achieving restorative justice goals. That is, their

success in bringing together the victim and offender, arranging restitution and community service agreements, alleviating victim emotional upset, etc. Assessing the value of the program vis-a-vis these goals is entirely consistent with a restorative justice perspective” (1998:3-4).

According to Clairmont and Linden, reporting community-based ethnographies or case studies that describe situations in which the community expresses its own indication of success or unsuccess is essential for determining program growth (1998:73). Clairmont and Linden suggest questions for evaluating restorative justice programs from the perspective of victims, offenders, and community. Tomporowski also suggests a method for evaluation called institutional ethnography that enables researchers to explore an aspect of daily life from the standpoint of the people who work and live within it (2008:188). Restorative justice evaluations tend to focus on quantitative measures because the goal is to assess the agency’s caseload and competence at delivering services, rather than whether its services are truly restorative to community relationships. Measuring progress in areas such as healing and community safety will require changes in the type of data collected (Tomporowski 2008:196).

Regular community wellness evaluation reports that are useful to community are an effective way of holding a mirror to the community on a regular basis. A regular report can provide an on-going evaluation of work in progress, as well as a strategy for raising community awareness for community support. The community citizens can determine their own indicators for evaluation of healing programs and raise issues that are not being

addressed by current programs. Evaluation is extremely important for determining what is working and what is not working in community healing efforts (Lane et al. 2002:75). However, funding is often jeopardized, community justice workers are often overworked, and the reality of consistent meetings is difficult to achieve and maintain. However, as Morriveau states, “all community citizens must know and be clear [about] the vision for their community. It is the responsibility of our leaders to ensure a vision, for without one, we flounder in a sea of apathy and confusion. Our vision must be one of healing for every member of our society” (1998:49). Suggesting an obligation on all community institutions to dialogue regularly with community citizens about community direction through community participation.

Funding challenges to healing programs are often acute. Many First Nation bands, especially smaller bands, have little control over financial resources. Money is tightly regulated by government who determine specific pre-packaged program accounting. Most healing program dollars are focused on narrow sets of issues that are short term. Funding that encourages and supports comprehensive long-term planning and action is needed. Sustained core funding rather than project funding is required to build community capacity to heal itself and promote its own development (Lane et al. 2002:52). Again, this seems unlikely to be achieved in the current funding relationship with government sponsors but there are promising instances where funds are being used to adopt a harm-reduction element to community healing rather than a punitive model in areas of health care at the Federal level.

Lane et al. states, “healing is inseparable from social and economic development and nation building” (Lane et al., 2002:55). Many communities separate healing activities and community economic development. Lane et al. (2002) indicate that today, “leaders of thought in community healing are saying that economic development and political reform *are* healing and need to be actively pursued as part of the healing agenda” (Lane et al., 2002:55). Economic aspects, particularly the addiction to the welfare system need to be included in the analysis of community healing (Lane et al., 2002:55). According to Lane et al., “there are direct and fundamental relationships between the lack of productive work opportunities, structurally enforced poverty and hopelessness on the one hand, and the capacity individuals and communities have (or don’t have) to move beyond patterns of hurt and dysfunction into constructive processes of development on the other hand. When people have enough income to meet their basic needs with dignity and can participate in society without shame, some of their pressing healing issues are being addressed” (Lane et al., 2002:55).

The conceptual understanding of healing needs to be developed beyond ending hurt and dysfunctional patterns to include building new patterns of life that is healthy and provides opportunity to pursue possibilities (Lane et al., 2002:56). As Lane et al. state, “healing as restoration must also mean creating the conditions within people and their society that will support and enhance the realization of human potential” (Lane et al., 2002:56). A national reconstruction plan should simultaneously address the dreams and aspirations of individuals, transform the current political system, develop a sustainable

economic foundation, recover language and culture, and prepare future generations to take on the challenge (Lane et al., 2002:56).

Clairmont and Linden authors of *Making It Work: Planning & Evaluating Community Corrections & Healing Projects in Aboriginal Communities* (1998) indicate that, “if a project is designed to restore community harmony or to apply traditional principles and teachings to justice issues it may be difficult to find precise indicators of success or failure” (1998:73). Furthermore, “evaluation cannot measure the changes in relationships and the personal growth that are outcomes of healing programs” (Clairmont and Linden 1998:77). The authors suggest that questions for evaluating restorative justice programs should be from the perspective of victims, offenders, and community. Staff of healing programs and community citizens should also be involved in the evaluation process because they, “should be prepared to critically examine their own ideas and practices in order to be able to make changes to the program, if the monitoring shows problems. The involvement of the community in the planning and evaluation will help to make them feel part of the program and should help the rest of the community understand the program and its effects” (Clairmont and Linden 1998:71). Monitoring the life of a program can help an organization, “make changes during implementation if some parts of the process are having problems. This is much preferable to simply doing a post-mortem after a program has failed” (Clairmont and Linden 1998:71).

As Clairmont and Linden indicate, it is important to determine community indicators of success because, “programs are unlikely to survive without evidence showing

they are effective” (1998:78). Clairmont and Linden state that some indicators of healing and well-being point to, “stronger communities, reduced interpersonal conflict, and enhanced personal growth” (1998:78). However, it is difficult to determine these indicators without conducting a long-term research project that incorporates a qualitative understanding of a community. Community collaborative ethnography can potentially identify indicators of success determined by community citizens.

Succession Planning

Succession planning is defined by Atwood as, “the ongoing process of identifying future leaders in an organization and developing them so they’re ready to move into leadership roles” (Atwood 2007:1). With regards to organizational learning, “succession planning and management (SP&M) should be regarded as a fundamental tool ... because SP&M should ensure that the lessons of organizational experience – what is sometimes called institutional memory – will be preserved and combined with reflection on that experience to achieve continuous improvement in work results (what is sometimes called double loop learning)” (Rothwell 2005:13). The building blocks for succession planning are detailed, “values statements and values clarification” (Rothwell 2005:89). One avenue to reach these values statements and values clarification is through the use of dialogue. Within Indigenous knowledge, knowledge transmission from one person to another, “is intimate and oral; it is not distant or literate. Indigenous peoples view their languages as forms of spiritual identity. In them are the lessons and knowledge that are the cognitive-spiritual power of a certain group of people in a specific place, passed on through the elders for their survival” (Battiste and Henderson 2000:49-50).

Historical analysis is important to understand the social structure of a particular society. History provides the background for all social interaction to exist. The patterns that individuals exhibit in society are based on the historicity of a society. Most people interact with each other without much thought or attention to specific reasons why they interact in such a way. Berger and Luckmann call this aspect of human behaviour, “the social stock of knowledge” (1966). This social stock of knowledge has its own logic that is manifested through social interaction. Within analysis of an institution, “it is impossible to understand an institution adequately without an understanding of the historical process in which it was produced. Institutions also, by the very fact of their existence, control human conduct by setting up predefined patterns of conduct, which channel it in one direction as against many other directions that would theoretically be possible” (Berger and Luckmann 1966:54-55).

Vision

An institution requires an organizational vision and plan to change from one state of being into another state of being. Bopp states, “if the people have no vision of human possibility other than the one in which they find themselves, they cannot heal themselves, they cannot develop, and ultimately, they cannot survive” (Bopp 1987:4). Bopp continues, “as a new vision of how to live life emerges, it must be articulated and connected to the minds and hearts of the people” (Bopp 1987:4). In other words, there must be a planned guide to make the vision realistic, inculcated in the people, and achievable within peoples’ daily actions. Furthermore, Bopp states, “organizations, institutions and communities must also learn to live in new ways” (Bopp 1987:5).

Coordination of Institutions and Education

Institutions and education must be coordinated to create an environment within which a particular vision and action emerge. By affecting the social environment in specific ways, the people in that social environment continually think and practice in alignment of a particular vision. This particular vision and action becomes the taken-for-granted perspective within an environment. Burns states that real planning consists in the coordination of institutions, education, valuations, and psychology. Seeing the important ramifications of each single step and acting in accordance with the responsibility of an organizations' vision is transformational leadership. Burns states, "it is the leader who pre-eminently must see in this way. But to see alone is insufficient; they must act too ... changing institutions is the most difficult. To elevate the goals of humankind, to achieve high moral purpose, to realize major intended change, leaders must thrust themselves into the most intractable processes and structures of history and ultimately master them" (Burns 1978:421).

Transformative Leaders

Brown and Treviño indicate that it is the, "charismatic leaders [that] infuse work with values and purpose, giving it meaning that instrumental or transactional leaders do not. Charismatic leaders emphasize a collective identity and make inspirational ideological appeals that tap into followers' values. The mission espoused by the leader activates the follower's desires to be a part of a bigger cause that is worthy and ultimately becomes an important aspect of the follower's identity. By appealing to these intrinsic values in

followers instead of focusing on the extrinsic values of rewards, charismatic leaders obtain followers' intense commitment to the organization. Through the leaders' self-sacrificial behaviours, it is believed that followers come to trust their leader and are thus more receptive to the leader's charismatic appeal" (Brown and Treviño 2003:159-160).

Facilitating Succession in Learning Organizations

Yukl and Lepsinger specifically examined 'learning organizations'; organizations that were identified by Senge in his book *The Fifth Discipline* (1990). I use Senge's 'learning model' because it is the closest understanding of what Hollow Water created for its CHCH organization. Senge's model is also used by Bellefeuille et al. (1997) in their analysis and transformation of social services governance in Northern Manitoba. Senge defines 'learning organization' as, "organizations where people continually expand their capacity to create the results they truly desire, where new and expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured, where collective aspiration is set free, and where people are continually learning how to learn together" (Senge 1990:3). According to Yukl and Lepsinger, learning organizations understand that, "primary responsibility for leadership is not limited to top management or the human resources department. It is a key responsibility of leaders at all levels and in all subunits to help create favourable conditions for leadership development. These leaders must support developmental programs and enhance leadership development with relevant direct behaviours such as coaching, mentoring, supporting, recognizing, and empowering" (Yukl and Lepsinger 2004:221). I provide further detailed aspects of Senge's 'learning organization' and its application to Hollow Water's healing

movement and the CHCH organization under the section Mixed Indigenous and Western Theory Approach later in this chapter and in chapter 4, 5 and 6 of this thesis.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Indigenous Approach to the Research Discussion

I consider it essential to draw upon the writings of Indigenous scholars to ground my results of community citizen interviews. I use both Western and Indigenous philosophies to analyze my understanding of Hollow Water's healing movement, the creation and maintenance of the CHCH organization, and to explore potential avenues for CHCH organization succession. It is important, in any research involving Indigenous peoples to ground the research within an Indigenous perspective. Cordova indicates that, "to pretend that one can interpret a particular idea from an alien context without understanding that context is to engage in misinterpretation" (Cordova 2004:28). An Indigenous approach to research provides ways to conduct research and perceive Indigenous peoples' experience that are meaningful, ethical, and richer accounts to those who embody these experiences daily. As part of a Ph.D. dissertation in Indigenous Studies at Trent University, research is expected to give Indigenous theories prominence over Western theories. Throughout this research I will continue honouring this practice but also juxtapose Western and Indigenous philosophies to create a space where a dialogue between philosophies, cultures, and learning may emerge.

Interviews with the community citizens of Hollow Water First Nation provide an Anishinaabek perspective to the research. Of course, these interviews are interpreted from

my own perspective as a white male but the interviews, the four years I lived in Hollow Water, and the continuing relationships I've developed since 1997, perhaps allow me some insight into community actions, such as the sentencing circle, as a communal examination of an individuals' behaviour that has meaning for the whole community. I learned many of the concepts expressed in this chapter through conversations I had with community citizens while I was in communication with various community citizens. I sincerely appreciate the time and energy that was necessary to help me to begin to perceive Anishinaabek concepts from community citizen conversations specifically my conversations and ceremonial experiences with Valdie Seymour, Garry Raven, Marcel Hardisty, and Norbert Hardisty. My experiences talking with the CHCH organization staff and other community resources staff provided an opportunity to perceive how staff members lived Anishinaabek concepts. The interviews with the children of the originators and the CHCH organization staff indicate that these people were deeply impacted by the change that they saw growing up and accepted some parts of the healing movement and the CHCH organization while questioning others. These people are focused on what worked and what did not work and how to improve and how to adjust. They are educated, actively practice traditional activities, and struggle through issues to find their own expression of Hollow Water's healing movement. Thank you to Lisa Raven, Robyn Hall, Michelle Bushie, and Fabian (Peanut) Seymour. Although, I do not speak Anishinaabemowin and have not grown up in Hollow Water First Nation, the community citizens were kind enough to help me generally perceive some Anishinaabek concepts. Any misunderstandings and misrepresentations of the foregoing concepts are completely my own misinterpretation of the concepts and I hope

my interpretations do not harm community efforts to build safe space for communication and community learning.

Anishinaabek Terms and Concepts

Although I have learned much from the people of Hollow Water and Anishinaabe perspectives of justice and healing, I do not want this research to be uncritically supportive of the CHCH organization and Hollow Water First Nation. Neither do I want to unreasonably critical of the immense work required to create and maintain a community healing movement. My criticism is meant to be constructive and push the boundaries of community effectiveness and sustainability. There are facts expressed in the interviews that often tell a story critical of the current functioning of Hollow Water's CHCH program. From what I have learned from the perspectives of Anishinaabek it is important to voice these critical aspects so that the people working in this environment can learn and grow from them.

Leanne Simpson, has discussed several Anishinaabek concepts in her work, *Dancing on Our Turtle's Back*, that are quite useful in guiding this research. The term "Biskaabiiyang is a verb that means to look back" (Simpson 2011:49). It is a term that refers to a process, "by which Anishinaabek researchers and scholars can evaluate how they have been impacted by colonialism in all realms of being. Conceptually, they are using Biskaabiiyang in the same way Indigenous scholars have been using the term 'decolonizing' – to pick up the things we were forced to leave behind, whether they are songs, dances, values, or philosophies, and bring them into existence in the future"

(Simpson 2011:49-50). Biskaabiiyang is something that must always be present in the mind due to the ubiquitousness of imperialism. Zhaaganashiiyaadizi is a term that, “encompasses the process and description of living as a colonized or assimilated person” (Simpson 2011:52). Biskaabiiyang works against Zhaaganashiiyaadizi by being confident in the practices and values of Anishinaabek culture and personal identity. Biskaabiiyang is also, “twinned with individual responsibilities of figuring out one’s place in the cosmos and how to contribute to the collective while respecting oneself and one’s inner being” (Simpson 2011:54). As part of this research, I will look back into the principles of Hollow Water’s CHCH organization’s ten-year development through interviews with the founders of the CHCH organization. The founder’s interviews discuss community culture prior to the influence of Zhaaganashiiyaadizi – that was formally brought into the community by institutionalizing the Police, the Church, and the School. The interviews expand on the processes and teachings required to bring people back into balanced state after years of violence and many community citizens relinquishing their own responsibility. It is through this concerted effort that the community slowly emerged to become responsible and accountable for its own behaviour.

Simpson also discusses a very important concept – *Aanjigone* which is, “the idea that one needs to be very, very careful with making judgments and with the act of criticism. Aanjigone is a concept that promotes the framing of Nishnaabeg values and ethics in the positive” (Simpson 2011:54). Simpson further explains that, “critique and revelation cannot in and of themselves create the kinds of magnificent change our people are looking for. We can only bring about that change by engaging in Biskaabiiyang” (Simpson

2011:55). A third concept that Simpson raises is *Naakgonige*, which, “means to carefully deliberate and decide when faced with any kind of change or decision. It warns against changing for the sake of change and reminds Nishnaabeg that our Elders and our Ancestors did things a certain way for a reason” (Simpson 2011:56). This concept suggests that decisions are made in a slow and careful way. It is related to another concept *Naanaagede’enomowin*, “the art of thinking to come to a decision” (Simpson 2011:57). I will explore the terms *Naakgonige* and *Naanaagede’enomowin* and its relation to systems thinking approach, later in the chapter. It is reflection and considering the issue at the heart of a matter and carefully determining what need to be done (Simpson 2011:57). The word *Nengaajdoodimowin* is, “the art of being gentle or of doing something gentle to someone” (Simpson 2011:58). Gentleness among the Anishinaabek is considered a strength. To express ideas gently and carefully is very important to ensure one is living *mino-biimaadiziwin* – a good life. Finally, *Debwewin* which is often translated into truth; however, the root of the word is (o)debwewin which is, “the sound of the heart”, and specifically each person speaks his own truth from his own heart, but it may differ from others experience (Simpson 2011:59). Simpson explains that this term means that there is no such thing as an absolute truth only that the speaker is conveying to the highest degree of accuracy what he or she knows.

Through this research, I worked with Anishinaabek community citizens to express what I have learned from them. Through my interpretation of interviews, I hope that the use of these concepts provide a positive contribution to understanding the history, maintenance, and succession of the CHCH organization. Some interviewees have indicated

to me that the CHCH organization, as it currently exists, has accomplished what it can in its current form and as a result may have to completely rebuild itself. This is seen as a natural part of an organizational life; the life cycle of any organization – be it Indigenous or Settler.

Patterns of Social Organization

Berger and Luckmann's *The Social Construction of Reality* (1967) is used as a theoretical framework to analyze the emergence of Hollow Water's healing movement, the launch of the CHCH organization, and its 25-year maintenance. I also use Weber's theory of social organization, particularly his ideas of charisma to analyze the emergence, development, and maintenance of Hollow Water's healing movement. Both the healing movement and the CHCH organization created significant transformation and social change among community citizens. Both community organizational movements operate simultaneously but, for the purpose of this research, I consider them distinct from each other. For the purpose of this research, Hollow Water's healing movement can be described as an expression of the community's ideal form of community social organization, whereas the CHCH organization can be described as the routinization of the community's ideal form affected by the bureaucratic process of working with ally community resource organizations.

The research conducted in Hollow Water First Nation is informed by constructivist theory that sees community organizations (i.e., justice and healing) as institutions that have been socially constructed through day-to-day social interactions between community

citizens. Two major shifts in Hollow Water First Nation's daily social interaction occurred in the latter half of the 20th century. The first shift occurred with the introduction of the Anglican and Catholic Churches, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and the school into Hollow Water First Nation in the mid-1950s. The continued presence of these colonial institutions systemically undermined community social organization on the basis that these institutions were superior to the existing traditional community social organization (personal communication with Valdie Seymour, Berma Bushie, and Edith Courchene). The second shift occurred with the development of Hollow Water's healing movement where community citizens began to mobilize and assert their power to identify and address community issues through an ideal form of community social organization (the Turtle Model). The ideas of institutionalization and internalization from Berger and Luckmann are used to analyze the rise and development of Hollow Water's healing movement and the subsequent creation and maintenance of the CHCH organization. The first shift represents an event to systemically acculturate the population. The second shift represents an event to re-create a cultural value system reminiscent of a more psychologically integrative period. This second period also resulted in integration and subversion of the colonial institutions into a renewed relationship with community that is more attentive to community needs and is more aligned with a recreation of traditional Anishinaabek values.

A report commissioned by Hollow Water to review the CHCH organization in 2006 indicates that the CHCH organization had been experiencing severe challenges to its restorative justice program. According to the report, the CHCH organization had departed from its original mandate and is minimally functional in accomplishing community

interests and goals. Hollow Water has been described as, “now experiencing a social decline in which many individuals and families are again sliding downward into very troublesome patterns of dysfunction, fear, mistrust and hurtful behaviours” (Four Worlds Centre for Development Learning 2006:2). Hollow Water a significant part of the community see the CHCH organization as failing to responding to community citizens needs consistent with the original mandate outlined by Hollow Water’s healing movement. The report’s authors point out that the issues of concern for the CHCH organization are dependent on several factors: community trust has broken down, partnerships between CHCH and other community organizations have broken down, community involvement in healing have become dormant, the CHCH organization is no longer utilizing the circle for their own recovery and self-care, there is a split between staff and Board members over whether or not individuals who provide program services in the name of the CHCH organization can still use alcohol and drugs, there is disagreement over the purpose of the CHCH organization (is it healing or community development and nation building), and while much has been done to analyze the problems of the CHCH organization, nothing has been done to move beyond the stage of talking about these issues and enacting agreed upon decisions (Four Worlds Centre for Development Learning 2006:2-3). Originally, the CHCH organization was mandated to be a community mobilizing organization that facilitated dialogue among community organizations to address community-defined issues. Subsequently, the CHCH organization has become a probation program with minimal links to the original intent outlined by the original facilitators of Hollow Water’s healing movement. That is, dialogue among community resource organizations (such as Child and Family Services and the RCMP) and the dialogue between the CHCH organization and the

community, in general, have broken down.

There are many aspects that contributed to the CHCH organization's current divergence from Hollow Water's healing movement original mandate and structure. In chapter three I discuss my methodology for gaining qualitative data through interviews with those involved in the original healing movement, the CHCH organization staff, other community resource organizations' staff, and potential successors of the CHCH organization. I will portray the aspects that contributed to the divergence and consistency between the CHCH organization and Hollow Water's healing movement in my analysis of the original facilitators (chapter four), the CHCH organization maintenance and sustainability (chapter five), and views of the next generation of potential successors of the CHCH organization (chapter six). This dissertation is intended to revisit the original principles of Hollow Water's healing movement structure with the hope to assist Hollow Water community citizens as community citizens develop a dialogue and succession plan on how the Community Holistic Circle Healing organization will develop or will form a new organization consistent with Hollow Water's healing movement past.

Rehumanizing

The CHCH organization was intended to promote five goals established by Hollow Water's healing movement. These goals are, "community healing, decolonization, Anishnawbek cultural recovery, community development and Nation building" (Four Worlds Centre for Development Learning 2006:2). Valdie Seymour, one of the original facilitators of the CHCH organization, jokes that one of the goals of Hollow Water's

healing movement is to, “teach people to become more human”. In many ways Valdie is not really joking but is illustrating that the goal is to encourage people to become more sensitive and more confident to their own emotional and spiritual expression. According to Wilson, Indigenous, “traditions provide a potential basis for restoring health and dignity to our future generations” (Wilson 2004:69). Wilson reflects positively on Freire’s commitment to the concept of praxis as a way to reflect and act upon the world in order to transform it (Wilson 2004:69). According to Wilson, decolonization:

- entails developing a critical consciousness about the causes of our oppression,
- the distortion of history
- our own collaboration
- the degrees to which we have internalized colonialist ideas and practices (Wilson 2004:71)

To Wilson, decolonization requires auto-criticism, self-reflection and rejection of victim mentality. Decolonization is, “a belief that situations can be transformed, a belief and trust in our own peoples’ values and abilities, and a willingness to make change. It is about transforming negative reactionary energy into the more positive, rebuilding energy needed in our communities” (Wilson 2004:71).

To understand Hollow Water’s healing movement goals, I draw upon Paulo Freire’s theories relating to the process of colonization as a way to understand how the process of colonization and its correlative institutions develops into a cycle of oppression and dehumanization. Freire begins by stating that humanity is called toward humanization but that this call, “is thwarted by injustice, exploitation, oppression, and violence of the oppressors” (Freire 2007:43-44). He continues by stating that dehumanization affects not only those who have their humanity stolen but also those who have stolen it (Freire

2007:44). The struggle for humanization is possible only because dehumanization is, “the result of an unjust order that engenders violence in the oppressors, which in turn dehumanizes the oppressed” (Freire 2007:44). The struggle for humanization, for it to have meaning, must not lead the oppressed to become, “oppressors of the oppressors, but rather restorers of the humanity of both” – an idea that appears to be close to the concept of reconciliation. Freire states that, “the central problem is this: How can the oppressed, as divided, unauthentic beings, participate in developing the pedagogy of their liberation? ... the pedagogy of the oppressed is an instrument for their critical discovery that both they and their oppressors are manifestations of dehumanization” (Freire 2007:48). In his book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2007), Freire offers theories of education, dialogue, and action (through his term “conscientização”, also known as, conscientization) that provide possible ways of overcoming oppression and dehumanization to restore humanity to both the oppressed and the oppressors.

Freire believes that liberation from oppression cannot be achieved by a revolution that imposes the same oppressive behaviour on those that have dominated the oppressed people in the past. The commitment to liberation is not a gift that is bestowed from revolutionary leaders, rather it is a result of the oppressed people’s own awareness of the effects of domination and continual facilitation of dialogue for liberation through their own conscientização (conscientization) (Freire 2007:67; emphasis mine). Awareness of the oppression process and a commitment to facilitating community dialogue, rather than imposing dogma upon community, is a path to overcoming oppression and restore humanity to a community. Commitment to an awareness of the oppression process and a

process of facilitating community dialogue is the goal expressed by Hollow Water's Healing movement.

The philosophies that I have heard from Anishinaabek traditional spiritual leaders are similar to Freire's philosophies. Throughout my discussions with Hollow Water community citizens, I have consistently heard from Elders and traditional knowledge holders who express the perspective that one cannot get beyond the effects of colonization by holding on to an anger toward those who colonize. Rather, one must express love to all living beings and continue to express one's own path of living. Expressing love does not mean blindly accepting one who abuses when faced with a multitude of abuses from this person. It is recognizing one's own identity strength and rejecting and opposing efforts to diminish one's inherent power to define oneself. For example, the Hollow Water community, in the mid-1980s, found out that two thirds of the community's children had experienced sexual abuse from people who were often family members. The subsequent response was to create a community safe enough for all community citizens – victim and offender – to move beyond the abuse and to restore relationships between individuals and families. The love that Freire discusses is one that takes immense courage to raise and address abuse in a way that humanizes everyone. Ultimately, holding courageous love to redefine one's own relationship with oneself and relationship to those that oppress. This requires an extreme amount of strength, courage, and coordinated community support to address the pain of family and community abuse. Creating one's own path requires an acceptance of responsibility of one's actions as it affects all other beings. One's own path of living is guided by a personal understanding of one's identity in relation to actions

toward the oppressed. One path is gaining a personal understanding of Anishinaabek sacred teachings and a continual awareness of practicing *mino-biimaadiziwin* in one's own life. Another path maybe to gain a personal understanding of whatever spiritual foundation draws out one's personal identity.

Political colonization, “tries to maintain a singular social order by means of force of law, suppressing the diversity of human worldviews” (Little Bear 2000:77). By suppressing multiple ways of thinking and promoting a singular way of knowing the world colonization tries to force the world into one way of being which can be regulated and controlled by dominant forces. Western political philosophy as expressed by Engels, perceived Western society's ideology as the attitudes and ideas concealing the real nature of social relations to justify and perpetuate social dominance (Ermine 1995:102). According to Willie Ermine, Western knowledge, “was being used for dominance and in effect produced a state of ‘false consciousness’ ... a dogmatic fixation on power and control at the expense of authentic insights into the nature and origin of knowledge as truth” (Ermine 1995:102).

Colonization characteristically dominates people by defining typical thoughts and behaviour and defining those who express differing thoughts and behaviour as “marginal”. Oppressed people are oppressed by a dominant culture to fit their lives into a single world view through which the dominant culture seeks to gain and maintain power and control over one's life. This leads to the false consciousness that only one worldview is legitimate: the dominant world view. The logic of colonization denies the effects of its own domination

and insists that the majority of people believe and express, exclusively, the false consciousness or the colonial world view. The colonial world view leads to a disregard of history and culture by most of the people that benefit from colonization and many of those who are harmed by it.

Freire's theories can be seen as a process of consciousness-raising beyond colonization and oppression. I use Freire's theories to develop my understanding of Hollow Water's healing movement, the development of the CHCH organization (an Indigenous-formed institution to address community-defined issues), and offer suggested recommendations that may be used by Hollow Water's succeeding generation as a way to aid in maintaining and adapting the principles of Hollow Water's healing movement. Freire's theory of critical consciousness and Cooperrider's appreciative inquiry method are used to understand the process of community consciousness-raising and engage community citizens in a dialogue for developing recommendations of the CHCH organization's succession plan. This research is an example of using Freire's theories to analyse community citizen and staff interviews to illustrating community consciousness-raising and dialogue between Hollow Water's healing movement members, the CHCH organization and other community resource agencies, and the community citizens themselves. This is accomplished through the presentation of results, a written report, and community citizen discussion of these recommendations to an audience of community citizens. My dissertation provides an analysis of Hollow Water's healing movement, the maintenance of the CHCH organization, and observant participation. I apply what I have learned from the community to assist Hollow Water community citizens to conduct a

reflection, clarification, and potential social action as they plan future community development. I see this as the community centred application of this research. The relationship between the CHCH organization and the colonial-initiated institutions within the community and outside the community that may employ Indigenous peoples is one of collaboration. There is a difference between people who hold a community-focused Indigenous perspective based on traditional principles and people who hold a colonial-focused perspective regardless of their phenotypical expression. Thus, there are people within the community that hold traditional perspectives, colonial perspectives, and obviously, a variation of mixtures of both perspectives. Ultimately, it is important to identify the trajectory of actions that are facilitated. Will the action or policy promote self-awareness, empowerment, and interdependence or will it promote dependency upon the state?

INTEGRATION OF RESEARCH

Foundation of the Anishinaabek Healing Movement

Indigenous communities have provided social cohesion, meaning and well-being for individuals in community by drawing upon traditional Indigenous social organization. Since the 1980s there have been numerous attempts at creating community-initiated strategies to gain control and recognize the value of local community approaches to social organization, known as the “Aboriginal Healing Movement”. In 1984, the social service providers of Hollow Water First Nation and the surrounding communities (Manigotogan, Aghaming and Seymourville) came together to address their own healing (Lajeunesse 1993, Ross 1996). The original vision and goals of Community Holistic Circle Healing

(CHCH) are to work toward mino-biimaadiziwin (CHCH 1993). In Anishinaabemowin (Ojibway language), “mino” means “good” and “biimaadiziwin” means “life”. So “mino-biimaadiziwin” means “good life”. However, the English translation does not convey the deeper sense of the meaning of the word. Biimaadiziwin (also referred to in the literature as p’madaziwin), is a traditional and central value of Anishinaabek culture. Biimaadiziwin is, “life in the fullest sense, life in the sense of health, longevity, and well-being, not only for oneself but for one’s family” (Hallowell 1955:360). Mino-biimaadiziwin required self-reliance and maintenance of, “intimate social relations with and dependence upon other than human persons as well as human being” (Hallowell 1992:96; emphasis mine). These values, obligations, and reciprocal relationships in *all* interpersonal conduct underlined the importance to Anishinaabe orientation to the universe and each other (Hallowell 1992:97). For example, regardless of self-reliance, a hunter was compelled to share the products of the hunt, “with others, just as other than human persons shared their power with him. This, in turn, demanded amicable relations with other human beings and the suppression of any display of hostile impulses” (Hallowell 1992:97). This Anishinaabek foundation of reality, or axiology, influenced relationships between people, as well as, between humans and other than human beings. Consequently, Hallowell found that, “the *least* acculturated Ojibwa to be better adjusted in terms of an optimum standard of mental health than the more highly acculturated groups where world view, values, and institutions were undergoing radical changes” (Hallowell 1992:97). According to Hallowell, “the Ojibway type of personality functions through inner controls rather than outward coercion” (Hallowell 1992:97).

In the course of achieving *mino-biimaadiziwin*, the objectives of the CHCH organization are to encourage community healing, decolonization, Anishnaabek cultural recovery, community development and nation building (Four Worlds Centre for Development Learning 2006:2). Hollow Water First Nation developed many programs since the late 1980s, but one program took precedence, a community-based justice program to restore relationships between sexual offenders and community citizens through the implementation of a community sentencing circle and ongoing healing program.

The underlying philosophies within the autonomous ways of addressing Indigenous peoples' own issues, such as the sentencing circle, are based on continuous learning and creating healthy relationships between oneself and all of creation. This process of striving for balance, is a never-ending cycle with the belief that we, as humans, are continually learning; continually healing. This philosophy was expressed to me from various sources in Hollow Water and is a predominant philosophy through discussion, ceremony, and practice. These ideas are foundational within other Indigenous traditions and they are also found within many other philosophies around the world. As humans, we all respond positively to these philosophies but for matters of practicality and context, some aspects of the philosophy may be inappropriate or may require adjustment to fit the local situational context. In other words, Hollow Water's model of restorative justice cannot be merely plugged into another community. Principles of Hollow Water's community justice philosophy and values can be shared among communities, but the specific practical implementation of these values may not be applicable or accomplish results needed to address a community issue. What is important is the use of dialogue in a way that is

consistent with creating a safe process for people to explore ideas to learn, heal, and revitalize community.

Hollow Water's Perception of Community-Based Healing and Justice

One of Hollow Water healing movement's first realizations about obstacles to community healing was a high incidence of sexual abuse to which the conventional justice system was inadequately addressing in the community. As Lajeunesse states, the Western legal process imposed in Hollow Water had shortcomings, for instance, "many sexual abuse cases were not able to be brought to court for lack of evidence; victims were often not able to testify as result of the fear of stigma and lack of support; incarceration was often inadequate for victimizers because no healing could occur; and victimizers often re-offended before their sentences were completed" (1993:1). Other communities recognized that the conventional justice system, also, did not meet their community needs. Couture and Couture (2003) describe a similar situation in Mnjikaning as they state, "in 1993, two women who had been sexually abused as teenagers disclosed their abuse to two Social Workers from the community. As court procedures ensued, counsellors realized that the courts did not address the young women's needs and the experience became one of painful re-victimization" (2003:34). Couture and Couture indicate that the court system is adversarial, encourages people to deny responsibility and creates an on-going conflict between families within the community. Community health and restoration of community relationships is continually denied by the court system resulting in a fragmentation (Couture et al., 2001:10).

According to Hollow Water community citizens, the conventional justice system did not effectively restore community relationships or address community healing from painful and traumatic experiences such as sexual abuse in Hollow Water (Lajeunesse 1993, Canada 1997). The CHCH organization was formed to work toward community *mino-biimaadiziwin* and accepted the responsibility of creating a way of healing the relationships between community citizens that were severely damaged by sexual abuse. The Sentencing Circle is effective in meeting the needs of the community; it attempts to restore the balance of community relationships and address the roots of historical atrocities, specifically the legacy of residential school experience, that continually perpetuates traumatic experiences upon Indigenous peoples (Ross 1996, Canada 1997). According to Morrisseau, “family violence became an issue passing from generation to generation ... instead of passing down the teachings of our people, we passed down the noxious effects of trying to become people we were not. The denial of our responsibility for our own feelings by blaming others became the first step in our own self-destruction. Losing touch with our feelings, we became unable to teach our children how to properly deal with them” (1998:13 and 14). Resulting in community intergenerational anomie and alienation from traditional values (Hodgson 2008:366).

In 1993, the CHCH organization staff composed a position paper on incarceration that explained why conventional justice did not address the issues of Hollow Water. Initially, the CHCH organization promoted the use of incarceration in cases which were defined as, “too serious”. After some time, the CHCH organization staff found that it was very difficult to determine what was “too serious” and that, “promoting incarceration was

based in, and motivated by, a mixture of feelings of anger, revenge, vulnerability, guilt, and shame on our part and around our own personal victimization issues, rather than in the healthy resolution of the victimization we were attempting to address” (1993a:1).

The CHCH organization staff understood the Western legal system’s use of incarceration as, “punishment and deterrence for the victimizers (offenders) and protection and safety for the victim(s) and community. What the legal system sometimes seems to not understand is the complexity of the issues involved in breaking the cycle of abuse that exists in our community” (1993a:1). To the people of Hollow Water, people who offend against other community citizens are viewed, “as people out of balance with themselves, their family, their community, and their Creator. A return to balance can best be accomplished through a process of accountability that includes support from the community through teaching and healing. The use of judgement and punishment actually works against the healing process. An already unbalanced person is moved further out of balance” (1993a:1). This philosophy is consistent with the mino-biimaadiziwin ideal of creating healthy relationships among community citizens who are considered to be living out of balance. The CHCH organization began by creating a safe place for community citizens through its restorative justice program and by caring for community citizens through positive activities, support, and counselling. Ideally well-being and trust emerge within an individual, family and community consistent with the traditional concept of mino-biimaadiziwin.

According to the CHCH organization, the threat of incarceration keeps people from accepting responsibility for the pain they are inflicting on others. Members who are charged with violent acts remain in the community often for months waiting for court hearings. The adversarial approach of the conventional court process places the victimizer against the community which, according to the CHCH organization, goes against the traditional healing practices by isolating community citizens from their families. The CHCH organization staff believe that healing is based on the victimizer taking full responsibility for his/her actions, the victim understanding the victimizer's action of assuming responsibility and integrating this into his or her day-to-day living, the community being able to support, assist, and/or hold accountable all the parties of the victimization (1993a:3). Taking individual and collective responsibility within community is recognized as an essential part of community healing by many in the literature (Bonta et al. 1998; Kurki and Pranis 2000; Morrisseau 1998; McCabe 2007; Ross 1996; Warry 1998).

When people are incarcerated, they return from prison further out of balance but are told by probation and parole workers that they have paid for their crime. The CHCH organization staff believe that the conventional justice system puts the community, "more at risk than before the people were put in jail" (1993a:2). Offenders are more at risk because they are isolated from family and community and do not have an opportunity to understand how their actions have harmed not only the victim but the rest of the community. As well the offender is not required to make active steps to restore relationships in the community. Incarceration tends to support the belief that the offender

has endured the required punishment of the crime committed. The CHCH organization staff view their responsibility to break the cycle of abuse within the community with assistance from the community rather than the legal system. As the CHCH organization staff understand that reclaiming their role in, “administering justice allows the community to move beyond incomplete and short-term solutions to the long-term restoration of balance. [As such], incarceration is only appropriate if a victimizer is unwilling or unable to take responsibility for his or her behaviour, and/or the community cannot hold accountable and offer support to all the parties of the victimization” (1993a:3). This understanding of short- and long-term approaches to administering justice is similar to Senge’s, “shifting the burden” perspective integral to systems thinking. I will outline Senge’s perspective under the section Systems Thinking later in this chapter.

An Anishinaabek understanding of Hollow Water’s own pattern of organization based on dodem (clan) system is used as it was explained to me through my interviews and conversations with several Hollow Water community citizens. This model provides an illustration and description of Hollow Water community citizens’ perspective of their own healing organizational structure as a healing and community justice organization. I draw upon Nehiyawak (Cree) scholar Michael Hart’s *Seeking Mino-Pimatisiwin: An Aboriginal Approach to Helping* (2002) and Anishinaabek Leanne Betasamosake Simpson’s *Dancing on Our Turtle’s Back* (2011) to provide a theoretical background as I illustrate Hollow Water community citizens’ perspective of their own organization. The ideal CHCH organization is seen by the original facilitators and by many people in the community as a clan-like community activist organization to mobilize community to identify and address

community issues. This activist organization is closer to being community healing, examining the social causes that led to dysfunctional behaviour of an unbalanced person, and restoring community relationships than it is to probation, punishment, and retributive justice.

By depicting the structure of the CHCH organization, I illustrate how the community citizens currently understand and represent Hollow Water's contemporary institutional relationships. I provide an illustration of the CHCH's organizational model later in the chapter. The CHCH organizational model, which is referred to as "the Turtle Model" by community citizens, is a description of a holistic and practical perspective of the Hollow Water healing movement. It is seen as a contemporary way of expressing community healing based on traditional principles. The Turtle Model is also an effective community model for perceiving and addressing community issues based on a clan-like system where various community institutions have replaced some traditional family relationships due to the influence of colonization; that is, the 1950s establishment of the Church, the RCMP, and the school in Hollow Water. While the model used is similar to the clan system it is not a clan system. Rather, it is a way to understand how the community perceives the community institutions that serve the community.

Mixed Indigenous and Western Theory Approach

I use the research by a Western trained scholar, Alfred Irving Hallowell, to explore the literature on the Ojibwa because he writes in a way that describes Indigenous philosophy and spirituality in its own logical empirical construction. For example, his

writings on the Anishinaabek; “Some Empirical Aspects of Northern Saulteaux Religion” (1934) and *The Ojibwa of Berens River, Manitoba* (1992) examine the meaning of Anishinaabek mythology and rituals as teachings consistent with Anishinaabek philosophy. The mythology and ritual are beyond the literal meaning expressed through the stories and ceremonies. I believe that Hallowell integrated Anishinaabek values personally and was able to communicate between the mix of values he held; the secular world of a working class Western scholar and the spiritual world of the Anishinaabek. Perhaps this is exemplified by the fact that he, “was able to obtain a collection of a dozen bark scrolls with their characteristic pictographs, and other objects”, possibly through Morning Star, “the last leader of the Midewiwin in the whole lake Winnipeg” (Hallowell 1992:12). Hallowell visited Morning Star in 1931 and died the following year at Hollow Water River (1992:12). The very possibility of a Western researcher being able to obtain highly sacred scrolls and hold them at the Smithsonian Institute indicates that the Midewiwin trusted Hallowell enough to bestow this gift and its subsequent obligations upon him.

I also describe the CHCH organization as a ‘learning organization’ as depicted by Senge in *The Fifth Discipline* (2006; originally published 1990). Of course, the CHCH organization existed before Senge conceptualized his understanding of the learning organization but we can use it to describe aspects of community organization despite the fact that the CHCH organization is much more than a model for business/management organization. For the people of Hollow Water, the healing movement and the CHCH organization are ways to explore a continuation of spirituality and life; essentially mino-

baamaadiziwin. Senge indicates that practitioners of organizational learning have creatively utilized five disciplines, “each has created an alternative system of management based on love rather than fear, curiosity rather than an insistence on ‘right’ answers and learning rather than controlling” (Senge 1990: xvii). Awasis Agency of Northern Manitoba published *Breaking the Rules: Transforming Governance in Social Sciences* (Bellefeuille et al., 1997) which uses Senge’s “learning organization” and his five disciplines as part of transforming the governance of one of eight First Nations Child and Family Service Agencies in Manitoba. Senge’s five disciplines are systems thinking (a conceptual framework, a body of knowledge and tools – the worldview is extremely intuitive), personal mastery (continually clarifying and deepening our personal vision, of focusing our energies, of developing patience and of seeing reality as spiritual), mental models (deeply ingrained assumptions, generalizations, or even pictures or images that influence how we understand the world and how we take action – often not consciously aware of them or the effects they have on our behaviour), building shared vision (when there is genuine vision people excel and learn, not because they are told to, but because they want to. Shared vision involves the skills of unearthing shared ‘pictures of the future’ that foster genuine commitment and enrolment rather than compliance), Team learning (learning that starts with dialogue – the capacity of team members to suspend assumptions and enter in to a genuine thinking together) (Senge 1990:6-10).

These five disciplines, “*personal mastery, mental models, shared vision, team learning, and systems thinking* are all inherent in traditional [Indigenous] teachings” (Bellefeuille et al., 1996:19; emphasis in the original). Senge’s theories and the practical

understanding of Senge's theories through Awasis Child and Family Agency, become exceptionally useful in understanding the CHCH organization's development as a learning organization but an analysis can suggest where the CHCH organization needs to grow. As Bellefeuille et al. (1997) state that models will not tell an organization what to do or give an organization the answers when developing a learning organization. Rather the model offers categories for organizing information that may be useful for "rethinking and recreating [an] organization" (Bellefeuille et al., 1997:20).

I use Senge's "learning organization" model because it offers a link between Berger and Luckmann's social construction of reality theory, Max Weber's theory of organization, Freire's model of dialogue to raise-consciousness, and traditional Anishinaabek organization. As Richard Shaull indicates in the Forward to Paulo Freire's, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, "there is no such thing as a neutral education process. Education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate the integration of generations into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, or it becomes the 'practice of freedom', the means by which men and women deal critically with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world" (2007:34). According to Freire,

the correct method for a revolutionary leadership to employ in the task of liberation is, therefore, *not* 'libertarian propaganda'. Nor can the leadership merely 'implant' in the oppressed a belief in freedom, thus thinking to win their trust. The correct method lies in dialogue. The conviction of the oppressed that they must fight for their liberation is not a gift bestowed by the revolutionary leadership, but the result of their own *conscientização* (2007:67).

In other words, revolutionary change to oppressive systems emerges through peoples' own awareness of the oppressive system, through dialogue with others to

reconceptualize the oppressive nature of oppressive systems, and to act in a humanizing way. Dialogue, according to Shaull, is not merely an opportunity for stating peoples' grievances, but "a means to develop a better comprehension about the object of knowledge" (Freire 2007:18). Freire advocates, "an epistemological curiosity that is often missing in dialogue as conversation" (Freire and Macedo 1995:382). In other words, dialogue is seen as the politics of culture and as critical democracy. Rather than see dialogue merely to air grievances, one can see dialogue as a creative act for expressing new ways to approach community issues. For Senge,

the discipline of dialogue also involves learning how to recognize the patterns of interaction in teams that undermine learning. Patterns of defensiveness are often deeply ingrained in how a team operates. If unrecognized, they undermine learning. If recognized and surfaced creatively, they can accelerate learning (Senge 1990:10).

These theories of dialogue are used to analyze the interviews with the original facilitators, the CHCH organization staff, other resource community organizations, and the next generation. The following five sections illustrate Senge's five disciplines to create a "learning organization" which I propose is what the healing movement became, what the CHCH organization was during its first decade, and what the next generation hope to recreate.

Personal Mastery

The core of the learning organization is often how a person see themselves as an active participant in their own lives rather than passively accepting the social realities defined by others. The process to developing personal mastery is seen as "transformational learning", as defined by Mezirow (1990), in which an individual's communication skills

to negotiate personal meanings and purposes is enhanced. Community citizens that compose a learning organization are empowered to take control over their own lives and health rather than believing self-limiting ideas. Bellefeuille, et al., describe personal mastery as a way to create, “an organizational environment which encourages all its members to become aware, and to create a reality in light of the goals and purposes they choose” (1996:21). Personal mastery is more than personal development and developing learning skills. Rather, people exhibiting, “a high degree of personal mastery are more committed, more innovative, have a deeper and broader sense of responsibility in their work, and learn faster. Personal mastery involves a process of self-reflection with the aim of clarifying what is important. It has the potential for profoundly changing the way individuals make sense of their experiences” (Bellefeuille et al., 1997:21-22). This was put into practice at the Awasis agency by creating an environment for Awasis staff to, “empower themselves by taking control of their own lives and health” (Bellefeuille et al., 1997:22). Indigenous people staff a high majority of Awasis agency. In order to create an organizational environment that encouraged personal awareness, Awasis had to work through self-limiting beliefs, health issues, and social issues that impact many First Nations such as poverty, addictions, and abuse (Bellefeuille et al., 1997:22).

Mental Models

Mental models, “are the images, assumptions, and stories which we carry in our minds of ourselves, other people, institutions, and every aspect of the world ... mental models determine what we see. Human beings cannot navigate through the complex environments of our world without cognitive ‘mental maps’; and all of these mental maps,

by definition, are flawed in some way” (Senge 1994:235). In order to work with mental models, it is important to understand, reflect upon, and continually clarify how beliefs, values, and perceptions shape the decisions and actions of any organization (Bellefeuille et al., 1997:23). Organizational change requires examining and challenging core assumptions and philosophical beliefs which provide the foundation for any organization. Rather than holding a negative orientation of focussing on problems and dysfunctions one can recognize and change one’s orientation to focus on prevention and empowerment through learning. As such, Awasis, “moved from a narrow focus on treatment, prevention, and punishment of child abuse and neglect, to a broader focus on health and well-being within families and communities and, as employees, within management and the leadership of the organization itself” (Bellefeuille et al., 1997:24).

Shared Vision

A shared vision involves the practice of unearthing the shared understanding and purpose of an organization that binds people together and propels them to fulfill their deepest aspirations (Senge 1994:298). Clarifying a vision in which the critical understanding of local social issues and struggles combined with actions that permeate everyday life creates the structure and form of liberation (Bellefeuille et al., 1997:25). In other words, a shared vision can be seen as a skeleton upon which the muscle of social context and daily actions are built. Senge points out, “catalyzing people’s aspirations doesn’t happen by accident; it requires time, care, and strategy. Thus, the discipline of building shared vision is centered around a never-ending process, whereby, people in an organization articulate their common stories-around vision, purpose, values, why their

work matters, and how it fits in the larger world” (Senge 1994:298). Understanding an organization’s purpose can be found in its founders’ aspirations as well as identifying the commitment of everyone involved in the organization. The content of a shared vision cannot be dictated; it can only emerge from a coherent process of reflection and conversation (Senge 1994:299).

Team Learning

Team learning, “involves transforming conversational and collective thinking skills so that groups can continuously learn and create synergistic outcomes” (Bellefeuille et al., 1997:26). Team learning builds upon the skills of building shared vision – the most effective practice emerges from two conversational forms: dialogue and skilful discussion. The word “dialogue” comes from two Greek roots, *dia* (meaning “through” or “with each other”) and *logos* is the logic or reason behind a statement. The connotation of “dialogue” is multi-dimensional, dynamic and context-dependent process of creating meaning. Thus knowledge, identities, and social relations are understood to be formed relationally in the “social in-between” of communication processes (Phillips 2011:27). Senge defines dialogue as, “meaning flowing through” (Senge 1994:253). According to Bellefeuille et al., “team learning has three critical dimensions: to think insightfully, to be innovative, and to inculcate the practices and skills of team learning through the organization ... Teams have to be pushed to think differently to reflect on themselves, to challenge their assumptions, to create, to work across differences, and to *fake it until they make it!* In the work that they do” (Bellefeuille et al., 1997:26 italics in the original). Creating team learning within a learning organization is a vulnerable state to bring a team but working

through this process of dialogue and skilled discussion, the team can become aware of their own learning. Bellefeuille et al. state, “it has not been uncommon to find ourselves thrust into situations in which we do not know what to do. In fact, most situations are approached with an attitude of *let’s figure this out and see what needs to be done*” (Bellefeuille et al., 1997:26; italics in the original).

Systems Thinking

Many organizations approach problems by focussing on obvious symptoms, “not underlying causes, which produced short term benefit but long-term malaise, and fostered the need for still more symptomatic interventions” (Senge 1990:15). Senge suggests that people, “beware the symptomatic solution. Solutions that address only the symptoms of a problem, not fundamental causes, tend to have short-term benefits at best. In the long term, the problem resurfaces and there is increased pressure for symptomatic response. Meanwhile, the capability for fundamental solutions can atrophy” (Senge 1990:104). Systems thinking is a shift of mind from the fragmented view that sees ourselves as, “separate from the world to connected to the world, from seeing problems as caused by someone or something ‘out there’ to seeing how our own actions create the problems we experience. A learning organization is a place where people are continually discovering how they create their reality. And how they can change it” (Senge 1990:12).

According to Senge, “the practice of systems thinking starts with understanding a simple concept called ‘feedback’ that shows how actions can reinforce or counteract (balance) each other. *It builds to learning to recognize types of ‘structures’ that recur*

again and again” (Senge 1990:73; emphasis in the original). For Senge, there are two distinct types of feedback: reinforcing and balancing. In a reinforcing system, one may be unaware of “how small actions can grow into large consequences – for better or worse” (Senge 1990:79). Balancing feedback processes are everywhere, “a biologist would say that all these processes are the mechanisms by which our body achieves homeostasis” (Senge 1990:84).

For example, the CHCH organization’s perception of the cycle of violence sees an offender as a person who is a person “out of balance” from community values. The solution to end the cycle of violence is not to take a symptomatic response to a particular offense through punishment (placing the person who offended another community citizen in jail). Rather, the solution is to provide an opportunity to work with the person who offended, their family, and the victim(s) and their families to bring family relationships to balance. Underlying family and community issues, that may have contributed to an offenders’ behaviour of “out of balance”, are recognized and highlighted, families are counselled, and behaviour must be shown to be restored through restorative actions to the offended family. Otherwise, the offender can choose to go the route of the Western justice system, but in this case the CHCH organization still counsels the families involved through the offense. Senge points out, “the feedback perspective suggests that everyone shares responsibility for problems generated by a system. That doesn’t necessarily imply that everyone involved can exert equal leverage in changing the system. But it does imply that the search for scapegoats”, is futile for solving community issues (Senge 1990:78-79).

Previously in this chapter I described a structure called the “shifting the burden” structure for addressing issues. Shifting the burden structure,

is composed of two balancing (stabilizing) processes. Both are trying to adjust or correct the same problem symptom. The top circle represents the symptomatic intervention; the quick fix. It solves the problem symptom quickly, but only temporarily. The bottom circle has a delay. It represents a more fundamental response to the problem, one whose effects take longer to become evident. However, the fundamental solution works far more effectively—it may be the only enduring way to deal with the problem” (Senge 1990:104-105).

Senge goes further by stating,

the shifting the burden structure explains a wide range of behaviours where well-intended “solutions” actually make matters worse over the long term. Opting for “symptomatic solutions” is enticing. Apparent improvement is achieved. Pressures, either external or internal, to do something about a vexing problem are relieved. But easing a problem symptom also reduces any perceived need to find more fundamental solutions. Meanwhile, the underlying problem remains unaddressed and may worsen, and the side effects of the symptomatic solution make it still harder to apply the fundamental solution. Over time, people rely more and more on the symptomatic solution, which seemingly becomes the only solution. Without anyone making a conscious decision, people have “shifted the burden” to increasing reliance on symptomatic solutions (Senge 1990:105-106).

It seems that, at least for Anishinaabek traditional Indigenous knowledge, that the culture has within its axiological understanding and language, a practice similar to systems thinking. Traditional in the sense that it draws upon traditional principles that were successful to maintain an interdependent sustainable society. “Indigenous” is used to refer to connection to the local ecology and the local social relations in maintaining an interdependent society. Simpson indicates a couple of terms that convey Anishinaabek way of thinking that is similar to systems thinking but rather from a subjective point of view where maintaining relationships with everything are through an appreciation as opposed to an objective point of view where relationships are mechanical. Simpson refers to

“Naakgonige” as, “a culturally embedded concept that means to carefully deliberate and decide when faced with any kind of change or decision. It warns against changing for the sake of change and reminds Nishnaabeg that our Elders and our Ancestors did things a certain way for a reason” (Simpson 2011:56).

Simpson continues, “Naakgonige encourages one to deliberate and consider the impacts of decisions on all aspects of life and our relationships – the land, the clans, children, and the future. In a sense, it protected our people from engaging in zhaaganashiiyaadizi because the process of naakgonige meant that change, even on a personal level, was a long and deliberate process” (Simpson 2011:57).

Simpson’s second term which is related to “Naakgonige” is the term “Naanaagede’emowin”, which she defines as,

the art of thinking to come to a decision. This is similar to naakgonige in that it asks a person to sit and reflect on the weighing or measurement of a problem in order to figure out what needs to be done. It is a sorting of one’s thoughts so that a decision can be made, a plan to help out the caring part of the individual to listen and care for the heart and do the right thing. The heart must help or guide the mind to come to a good decision (Simpson 2011:57).

Anishinaabek appreciative relationship with the world forms the axiology (or value logic or reason) of reality and is conveyed throughout Anishinaabek language and Traditional Indigenous practice. It is quite distinct from Western axiology of reality which tends to suppress emotional appreciation relationships with the world through language and practice. Two different values that underlie two different ways of knowing the world.

Social Construction of Reality

Research conducted in Hollow Water is informed by constructivist theory that sees community agencies (i.e., justice and healing) as institutions that have been socially constructed through day-to-day social interactions among community citizens. The ideas of institutionalization and internalization from Berger and Luckmann are used to analyze the development of Hollow Water's healing movement and the subsequent creation and maintenance of the CHCH organization. Berger and Luckmann are concerned with the general ways that "realities" become "known" in human societies. The analysis of this process is the analysis of the social construction of reality (Berger and Luckmann 1966:3); in this case, Hollow Water's healing movement and the development and maintenance of the Community Holistic Circle Healing organization.

Typification

According to Berger and Luckmann, reality within a society is created through a process of integrating appropriate knowledge of social interaction within one's consciousness. In other words, people integrate what is appropriate response behaviour for a particular action into one's consciousness. An individual goes through primary socialization during childhood and learns appropriate societal behaviours according to one's culture. The ontological (nature of being) experience of forming societal institutions comes from typical behaviours expressed within society. Berger and Luckmann refer to these typical behaviours as "typifications" (Berger and Luckmann 1966:31). Most of daily face-to-face interaction is composed of typifications; how people typically interact within society. Language "defines" or "expresses" the values and ethics (axiology), ways of being

(metaphysics), individual identity, and social situations typically experienced in society. Individuals and groups construct a shared reality through a continual socialization process and individual daily interactions. The typifications provide a foundation for rules or patterns of participation within society. Routinely acting in shared behaviours (habituation) creates individual roles and defines group behaviour through institutions that support a common understanding of reality. It is the shared nature of actions (habitualized between individuals) that becomes institutionalized (Berger and Luckman 1966). An example of typifications occurred during the 1980s Hollow Water's healing movement. People needed to take responsibility for their own lives and alter their previous destructive addictive behaviour of 1970s. Many interview participants have indicated the positive benefits of the underlying idea of providing community citizens with a personal responsibility for their own actions and a choice.

Robyn Hall: Treatment will never work unless the person wants to take responsibility and make the choice; but it was almost at a mass level. There was a whole generation within 5 to 7 years that quit their addictions in the community. That's a huge number of people. For [the community citizens] to go from everybody partying, most of it was alcoholism at that time, [to] today where of that age group I would say 80% are sober. So if I were to pinpoint [the change of behaviour] I think a lot of it had to do with what CHCH had done.

Hollow Water, during the 1980s, had experienced a shift in their mentality and behaviour in such a way as to create a significant change in the members alcoholism. This shift was typified and became habitual.

Objectivation

Beyond the face-to-face interactions are manifestations of human activity in the form of roles and institutions. Berger and Luckmann recognize these manifestations as

“objectivations” (Berger and Luckmann 1966:34). Objectivation lasts beyond the face-to-face interactions but provides insight into another person’s or groups of people’s subjectivity. The subjectivity of another person or group is the meaning/intention of the person/group as expressed by a product, relationship, or role. Berger and Luckmann point out that one is, “constantly surrounded by objects that ‘proclaim’ the subjective intentions of my fellowmen, although I may sometimes have difficulty being quite sure just what it is that a particular object is ‘proclaiming’, especially if it was produced by men whom I have not known well or at all in face-to-face situations” (Berger and Luckmann 1966:35).

A special case of objectivation is signification. That is, a sign may be used other for another action, other than its original intention. For example, “a weapon may have been originally produced for the purpose of hunting animals, but may then (say, in ceremonial usage) become a sign for aggressiveness and violence in general” (Berger and Luckmann 1966:35). In the case of Hollow Water, the relationship structure of the community organizations is the product of the community citizens. Thus, the relationship structure or community organization is modeled after an interpretation and modification of a traditional governing structure: namely the clan system. I will return to this concept of signification when I discuss the “Turtle Model” structure of the CHCH organization.

Habituation

Primary socialization processes provide childhood language learning and determines appropriate societal behaviour. Interaction with other people in society provides an individual with a basic understanding of the individual’s social environment

and the rules or patterns of participation within society. It is through a process of routinely acting according to a society's typical behaviours that generates habitual actions; Berger and Luckmann refer to this routine action as habituation. Two things emerge from habituation: a) individuals who create roles for themselves and others and b) institutions that support a common understanding of reality. As Berger and Luckmann state, "institutionalization occurs whenever there is a reciprocal typification of habitualized actions by types of actors. Put differently, ... the typifications of habitualized actions that constitute institutions are always shared ones." (Berger and Luckmann 1966:54). It is the shared nature of certain actions (habitualized between individuals) that become institutionalized. If no person in a society shares or perceives another persons' behaviour or actions, the habitualized actions are not legitimized as an acceptable pattern. However, if the habitualized actions are shared or perceived as a legitimate acceptable pattern within society then the interactions become so routine that the habitualized actions and the habitual roles form rules of conduct for an institution. For example, in trying to explain community engagement and negative attitudes or passive aggressive behaviours using the term "blah" for these negative attitudes or passive aggressive behaviours, Lisa Raven explains,

Lisa: In this office say there is only one person who is excited. And the other ones are, like, "blah"; that's not support. If it's not acknowledged, then, the one excited person quickly gets swallowed up by "blah". Then the mood of the office is "blah". So then the unspoken commitment of the office is "blah". There has to be a level of partnership and commitment to coach and truly support people out of the "blah" and if people chose "blah" and only want to speak "blah" then you must question, how they are affecting the whole. When people are aligned to what it is you want to create then that creates energy and momentum, but when they're not it's like digging your heels in the sand and being dragged along, and that becomes difficult. Sometimes people need to keep being reminded and called to a purpose. You can really only work with people who want to work with you.

And as much as that's a hard line, it's not, because it's not a personal thing. Listen we're up for a bigger game and that's what's important. And those that don't [want to work with you], well, you got to wonder maybe its time to let them go.

When I was learning about the past formation of the CHCH organization in 1997 I kept hearing that people were working on themselves and building a strong organization. There were people that were willing to work with the CHCH organization and others that were not. However, there was always a standing invitation to participate whenever the people who did not chose to involve themselves into the work. But if the work is dragged down by members of the community, what I hear Lisa stating, is that it may be time to let the people leave the organization who are no longer building the community and organization and, more so, dragging the organization down by focusing on a defeatist or victim attitude. This concept of being in state of energizing or depressing was raised several times during my interviews and throughout other experiences I had in the community. Upon reflection I began to see the importance of creating a positive environment for people to feel safe to express themselves, or be creative, or spiritually aware, or motivated to achieve a goal. When people are moved into a state of awareness, for example, during a community fast, traditional teachings flow easily from many people experiencing a collective ceremony. Teachings from Elders emerge, old songs are sung, in general there is both a lightness to one's awareness and a safety to express oneself. Taken out of that collective ceremony, a person can often revert to negativity because what influences normal daily life are severe constraints to Anishinaabek identity and stories that reinforce zhaaganashiiyaadizi way of being.

Institutionalization and Social Control

Once an institution is created the habitualized actions and habitual roles establish a relationship of social control of appropriate social behaviour. Berger and Luckmann indicate, “to say that a segment of human activity has been institutionalized is already to say that this segment of human activity has been subsumed under social control” (Berger and Luckmann 1966:55). Social control generally refers to societal and political mechanisms that regulate individual and group behavior to gain conformity and compliance to the rules of a given society, state, or social group. Social control can be divided into informal and formal mechanism. Informal mechanisms of social control include socialization, peer or community pressure, and collective responses to meet community interests. Formal mechanisms of social control include rules or laws enforced by government on the people of society to ensure a functioning community.

The CHCH used to have meetings of all the community organizations called the Assessment Team (also known as the A-Team). This was essential for the continual development and community connection of the CHCH organization. However, the assessment team have stopped meeting, sometime around 2000, and there is very little regular communication among community organizations. This often leads to little accountability among groups that should be working together and sharing information.

Social Action

In his seminal work on human organization, *Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (1947), Max Weber examines the development, structure and change of organizations and institutions from a cross-cultural perspective. Weber compared world

patterns of organization to the modern Western institution system. He was concerned with the study of social action through interpretation based on trying to understand the meanings that individuals subjectively attach to their own actions. Action is social because it considers the behaviour of others and is oriented by others (Weber 1947:112).

Authority

According to Weber, patterns of social organizations (institutions) are based on social control and authority. Institutions by their existence, control, and channel human action. Institutions gain their strength through the leader-follower relationship in which Weber further outlines three ideal types of social control based on traditional authority, legal-rational authority, and charismatic authority.

Traditional authority relates to organizations based on custom and expressed through the perspective that, “it has always been this way”. Legal-rational authority is organization based on a rational or legal perspective that is tied to a bureaucracy (rule based systematic organization of institutions). Both types of organization convey a relatively permanent structure. Weber discusses the distinction of charismatic authority from traditional and legal-rational authority as unbound by the permanence of patriarchal and bureaucratic form (Eisenstadt 1968:18). But tensions emerge regarding individual freedom, creativity, and personal responsibility around charismatic authority. According to Weber, charismatic authority cannot be controlled by an institution, it is a volatile form of authority that depends on the acceptance of unique qualities of a person by this person’s followers. Weber states that, “charisma knows only inner determination and inner restraint.

The holder of charisma seizes the task that is adequate for him and demands obedience and a following by virtue of his mission” (Eisenstadt 1968:20). The charismatic personality of an individual is defined as, “a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities” (Weber 1947:358).

Weber further distinguishes charismatic authority from rational/legal and traditional authority by indicating that,

both rational and traditional authority are specifically forms of everyday routine control of action; while the charismatic type is the direct antithesis of this. Bureaucratic authority is specifically rational in the sense of being bound to intellectually analysable rules; while charismatic authority is specifically irrational in the sense of being foreign to all rules. Traditional authority is bound to the precedents handed down from the past and to this extent is also oriented to rules (Weber 1947:361).

From this perspective Hollow Water’s healing movement may be seen as an emergent organization of charismatic authority against the rational/legal authority organization of the Church, school and RCMP. Which were, themselves, against the traditional authority organization of the Anishinaabek.

Conditions for Creating a New Social Order

How do conditions for the manifestation of a charismatic leader into an organization come into being? The social milieu may become sensitized for such a leader and,

may involve a subjective or internal reorientation born out of suffering, conflicts, or enthusiasm. It may then result in a radical alteration of the central system of attitudes and directions of action with a completely new

orientation of all attitudes and directions of action with a completely new orientation of all attitudes toward the different problems and structures of the 'world' (Weber 1947:363).

The charismatic or in Weber's terms "natural" leaders emerge during, "times of psychic, physical, economic, ethical, religious, political distress ... the natural leaders in distress have been holders of specific gifts of the body and spirit; these gifts have been believed to be supernatural, not accessible to everybody" (Gerth and Mills 1948:245).

In the case of Hollow Water's healing movement, the charismatic experience was a shift in worldview that affected many community citizens. The shift was a reaction to the various institutions that had been introduced in the late 1940s (Church, school, and RCMP). As Hollow Water's healing movement gained strength, it began to influence more community citizens. However, the shift was not completely against Western institutions, rather those responsible for leading the healing movement saw these institutions as potential allies who could aid the healing movement in achieving the community goals. Weber's theory is consistent with the emergence of Hollow Water's healing movement which I discuss in greater detail in chapter four.

Weber's Description of a Charismatic Group

Weber goes on to describe the charismatic group which "is based on an emotional form of communal relationship. The administrative staff of the charismatic leader does not consist of 'officials'; at least its members are not technically trained. It is not chosen on the basis of social privilege nor from the point of view of domestic or personal dependency. It

is rather chosen in terms of the charismatic qualities of its members” (Weber 1947:360). In other words, the charismatic group consists of an anti-bureaucratic aspect.

As well, Weber indicates, “pure charisma is specifically foreign to economic considerations. Whenever it appears, it constitutes a ‘call’ in the most emphatic sense of the word, a ‘mission’ or a ‘spiritual duty’” (Weber 1947:362). Within the charismatic group,

there are no established administrative organs. In their place are agents who have been provided with charismatic authority by their chief or [those] who possess charisma of their own. There is no system of formal rules, of abstract legal principles, and hence no process of judicial decision oriented to them. But equally there is no legal wisdom oriented to judicial precedent. Formally concrete judgments are newly created from case to case and are originally regarded as divine judgements and revelations” (Weber 1947:361).

However, according to Eisenstadt, “charismatic authority may be said to exist only in the process of originating. It cannot remain stable but becomes either traditionalized or rationalized, or a combination of both” (Eisenstadt 1968:54). I will argue that, in the case of Hollow Water the healing movement created a mix between traditional authority, legal/rational authority and charismatic authority. Due to the pressure for an overarching community organization to be inclusive, as well be open to creating and maintaining ally networks, and be consistent with traditional Indigenous values, it is not surprising that the CHCH organization reflects this mix. I will discuss more about the CHCH organizational development in Chapter five. In a document written by the CHCH organization, the unnamed author outlines the organization’s history in which the author describes that the representatives of community organizations created the CHCH organization. This was referred to as the Resource Team (CHCH 1994). The people who populated the Resource

Team were individuals who were in positions of institutionalized power who represented various institutions in Hollow Water. As well, the influence of traditional structure of the organization came from Valdie Seymour and other community citizens who had learned their teachings from the an Elder often referred to as Mashkiki-inini and colloquially as “the old man”⁶. The structure of the CHCH organization has not appeared in the literature but many community citizens refer to the CHCH organization’s structure as the Turtle Model. I will return to an illustration of this model later in the chapter.

Breakdown of Traditional Institutions

Since charismatic authority has anti-bureaucratic aspects, the charismatic group often rejects formal procedures and often does not provide for successors. According to Kalberg, “given the absolutistic moral fervour, the revolutionary disdain of formal procedures, and the inherent instability of the lack of provision for succession, the charismatic activities, and orientations, because of their close relation to the very sources of social and cultural creativity, contain strong tendencies toward the destruction and decomposition of institutions” (Kalberg 2009: xix). Again, “this charismatic fervour is rooted in the attempt to come into contact with the very essence of being, to go to the very roots of existence, of cosmic, social, and cultural order, to what is seen as sacred and fundamental” (Kalberg 2009: xix). This charismatic attention to the very essence of being of the social order is critical of the nature of Western organization while building a foundation for a new social order.

⁶ He was a highly respected Elder from Rocky Boy, Alberta who was said to be over 110 years old when he passed on in 2006. He practiced and organized annual Midewiwin ceremonies and teachings from Ontario to Alberta.

It is the twin tendencies of creative and destructive power of charisma that on the one hand,

may lead to excesses of derangement and deviance, on the other hand charismatic personalities or collectivities may be the bearers of great cultural social innovations and creativity, religious, political, or economic. It is in the charismatic act that the potential creativity of the human spirit – a creativity which may perhaps in some cases be deranged or evil – is manifest; and it is not only the potential derangement, but such creativity by its very nature and orientation tends to undermine and destroy existing institutions and to burst the limits set by them... charisma is the source of the fullest creative power and internal responsibility of the human personality (Kalberg 2009: xx).

Charismatic behaviour, due to its creative/destructive nature is unable to create a long-term sustainable social organization that often associated with bureaucracies. The orientation of Western life seems to cycle through points in time that are based on all types of authority; traditional, rational-legal, and charismatic. Perhaps, Indigenous social organization traditionally built cultures, power relations, and various governing structures to account for and incorporate this cycling of authority within the functioning of cultures. There is a need to expand on the incorporation of various balancing and systems-thinking approaches to the ebb and flow cycles of societal institutions.

Routinization of Charisma

With the emergence of a new social order during Hollow Water's healing movement of the 1980s and the development of the CHCH organization, the organization had to develop a routine to manage the mix of rational/legal, traditional, and charismatic authority in order to maintain its existence. Weber indicates,

in its pure form charismatic authority has a character specifically foreign to everyday routine structures. The social relationships directly involved are strictly personal, based on the validity and practice of charismatic personal qualities. If this is not to remain a purely transitory phenomenon, but to take on the character of a permanent relationship ... it is necessary for the character of charismatic authority to become radically changed. Indeed, in its pure form charismatic authority may be said to exist only in the process of originating. It cannot remain stable, but becomes either traditionalized or rationalized, or a combination of both (Weber 1947:363-364).

In order to transform the charismatic personality or charismatic group into a stable and permanent organization, "it is necessary that its anti-economic character should be altered. It must be adapted to some form of fiscal organization to provide for the needs of the group and hence to the economic conditions necessary for raising taxes and contributions" (Weber 1947:369).

The long-term sustainability of an organization is dependent on the routinization of charisma. The charismatic group must transform its anti-bureaucratic nature to one that strives for security. The charismatic group seeks legitimization, positions of authority and social prestige, and economic advantages enjoyed by the followers and sympathizers of the leader. The patterns of order and the organization of the administrative staff to the normal, everyday needs and conditions of carrying on administration. There are points at which traditions of administrative practice and of judicial decision-making are essential. These are needed both by the normal administrative staff and by those subject to its authority. It is further necessary that there should be some definite order introduced into the organization of the administrative staff itself. Finally, it is necessary for the administrative staff and all its administrative practices to be adapted to everyday economic conditions (Weber 1947:370-371). In addition, solving the problem of succession is crucial

because through it the routinization of charisma is addressed and structure is established (Weber 1947:371). Structure emerges to transform charismatic authority into a sustainable organization. If succession fails then the organizing structure is no longer sustainable, hence the structure dies.

The Development of Institutions

Smith indicates that action-reflection (iterative) research, “strips away the veneer of life circumstances, revealing the foundations of why things are the way they are, and develops increased critical consciousness among group members” (Smith 1997). Freire’s concept of, “conscientization” attempts to explain how people become more aware and critical of their social reality. Freire offers theories of education and action (through conscientização) that provide a possible way of overcoming oppression and dehumanization through reflection and dialogue. The goals of this project are to document Hollow Water’s attempts to understand their own context of oppression and self-determination, the maintenance of the CHCH organization, and its succession through a critical awareness of its healing movement. By reflecting on Hollow Water’s initial healing movement, the nature of the CHCH organization, and its present circumstances, I hope to create dialogue opportunities to transform the CHCH organization. Originally, I had sought to engage in participatory action research activities in which individuals and groups seek a new understanding of the CHCH organization potentially transforming its structure. Although I provide background on Hollow Water’s healing movement to highlight where the CHCH organization has diverged from its original intent since its inception, provide analysis for understanding the CHCH organization’s maintenance, and provide an analysis

of future generations understanding of the CHCH organization's succession for this research I did not engage in direct participatory active research. Potentially the research that I have done can be used to engage in participatory active research in the future.

Anishinaabek Organizational Values

Community citizens, who composed Hollow Water's healing movement, formed the organizational structure of what was to become the CHCH organization. They created a structure to include the perspectives of all participating families, participating institutions, and participating groups in Hollow Water to address issues that affected community citizens. The original facilitators of Hollow Water's healing movement recognized the strength of organizing people to work together could achieve community goals. However, organizing people to work together required continual education, planning, communication, and trust. There were many obstacles that prevented community citizens from working together. One such obstacle was a history of abuse that destroyed trust within families. Communication was emotionally charged so community citizens had to learn to recognize their own emotional pain before they could move into a dialogue about establishing goals and objectives to address issues that benefitted the community. People had to recognize that plans to reach objectives and goals had to be constructed strategically using the resources available in the community. They had to perceive community resources as resources that could be used in creative ways and learn how to communicate this to other people in the community to gain support. Community people realized the power of community organizations to strategically coordinate plans to accomplish community goals. They began to see community organizations as resources for the community to coordinate

and direct rather than seeing community organizations as institutions that have their own specific goals directed by agencies outside the community. Rather than perceiving Hollow Water's institutions as Imperial organizations working toward outside interests that were inconsistent with community values and goals, the people began to perceive community organizations (including those with Imperialistic agendas) as organizations that served community citizens and redefined institutions according to community interests. Although many Settlers understand that these institutions are ideally public servants the reality in many Indigenous communities is that these institutions reproduce colonial thought and action. By working with institutions Hollow Water was able to subvert organizational actions to become more responsive to community issues.

Anishinaabek Governing System

Many Western authors on the Anishinaabek clan system did not recognize the clan organization as a governing structure. Anishinaabek concepts of worldview, leadership, government, and general decision-making did not conform to European worldview, leadership, government, and decision-making. As Michael Angel states, "leadership among the Anishinaabeg was consensual, based largely on respect and reputation, so it appeared to be almost non-existent to the hierarchically inclined Euro-Americans" (2002:44). The following section explores some of the rules and obligations of the clan system, explores the essential meanings of the Anishinaabek worldview, and suggests that the effects of Hollow Water's "Turtle Model" may have been partially responsible for shifting Hollow Water's worldview from one that had been greatly influenced by a colonial mentality in the 1950s to the mid-1980s toward a renewed identity paradigm.

The “Turtle Model” used to illustrate Hollow Water’s understanding of relationships between community resource institutions has not been published. I will describe the clan-like aspects of these relationships as explained to me by Valdie Seymour. However, I will first describe a traditional understanding of Anishinaabek *dodem*. Aspects of the Anishinaabek clan system were used to create identity, social health and address deviant behaviour within and between Anishinaabek families. Clan determines the relationships that people have with one another and is wholly integrated in the kinship structure of a community. Each clan knew their role and duties. By observing and committing to each person’s own obligations, the individual is making himself/herself strong, and the community strong. Hallowell states, “*all Ojibwa are kin of some sort*” (1992:52). In essence, the Anishinaabek believe that all people are a part of the human family. According to Hallowell (1955), traditional Anishinaabek culture was relatively modest and most people had a lifestyle that was fairly consistent with each other. They were food gatherers, hunters, and fishermen; they had no agriculture or settled villages prior to the 17th Century. A significant feature was the absence of any institutionalized development that brought organized social sanctions to bear upon the individual (1955:349). Hallowell indicates the Ojibway were chief-less, court-less and jail-less. Their society has been called “atomistic”. In other words, their social organization is considered simple and basic. Ojibway personality structure is described by Hallowell as, “highly introverted”. The social organization and maintenance of moral order of Ojibway culture as functioning,

in terms of internalized controls; the individual felt the full brunt of responsibility for his own acts. The act of confessing wrongs to members

within community was seen as the first thing to do in order to heal a sickness. Sickness and misfortune were thought to be the occasion for deep feelings of guilt. Individual support, especially in the men, was closely linked with a belief in the necessity for supernaturally derived assistance (1955:349 – 350).

Hallowell indicates that internal controls provided the motivation for Anishinaabek to live the good life. Sickness was a violation of some of the key values in Anishinaabek culture. Sharing was an important value. There was once an intimate connection between the content of Anishinaabek beliefs, the source of the psychological security, and the optimum functioning of inner controls in their psychic economy (Hallowell 1955:357). Feelings of guilt and the readiness to accept blame for one's own behaviour maintains the social order. Maintenance of the social order is within oneself; responsibility does not come from the threat of authoritative figures of any kind. Hallowell states that social cohesion is maintained through, "full moral responsibility for one's own conduct through meeting obligations to others" (1992:96). Herring speaks of the transition from self-actualization outward to family and community. Herring states, "native cultures emphasize cooperation, harmony, interdependence, the achievement of socially oriented and group goals, and collective responsibility. Thus the goal [of self-actualization] is more akin to family and tribal self-actualization" (1996:74) rather than of individualized actualization.

Valdie Seymour, one of the original community facilitators of the Hollow Water healing movement, has a very clear understanding of how the CHCH organizational structure of communication and relationships were to work. The structure of Hollow Water's community organization is based on his understanding of the Anishinaabek clan system as a traditional governing model. The traditional social organization reflected how

people learned to live with each other and was organized through kinship terms. The Anishinaabek clan system's foundation is an emphasis on personal responsibility and obligations to create healthy and good lives for themselves, their family, and their community. The structure of this relationship is the "Turtle Model".

Dodem: Clan System

The first level of the clan system is the family to which a person is born. Hallowell indicates that the clan system was traced through the male line as he states, "even though the clans were not as functionally important as was kinship in daily life, they did give emphasis to lineages, both real and fictitious, through the patrilineal affiliation of the individuals belonging to them" (1992:51). However, one anthropologist indicated that clans were matrilineal. Skinner states, "in former times, the matriarchal exogamic clan system was known, but now all traces of this are practically lost. In former times, inheritance was through the mother, with the exception of the allotted hunting grounds of a family" (1911:149-150). If a child takes on the clan of the child's father, in the case of the Marten clan, the family members that compose it are Marten except the mother. The mother, to whom the father is married, is explicitly from another clan.

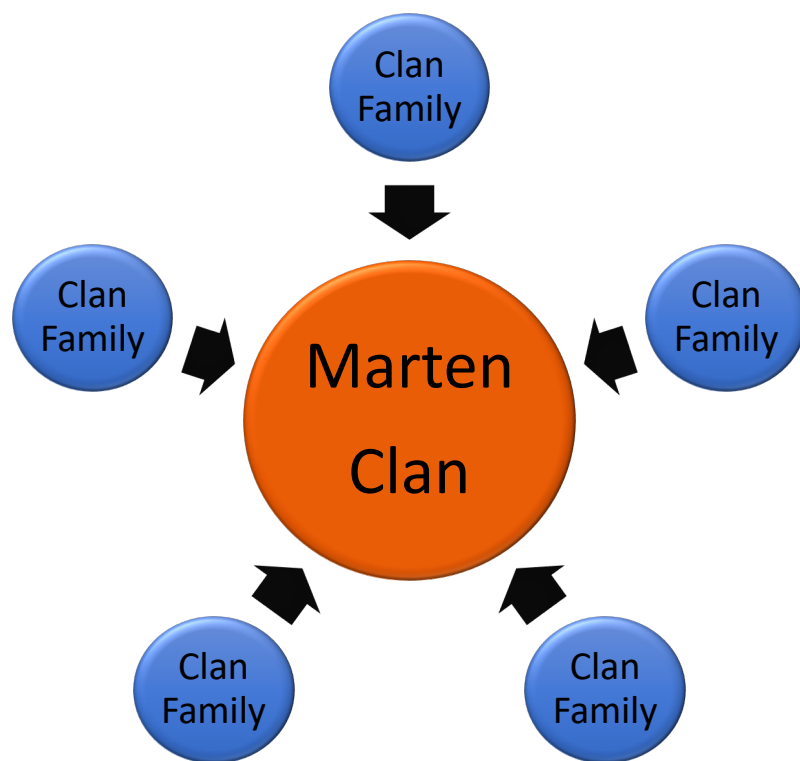


Figure 2.1 Marten Clan

Each community clan member is responsible for maintaining a healthy and cooperative community responsible for serving the people according to his or her clan (Benton-Benai 1988). Furthermore, “as in other aspects of Anishinaabe life, religious concepts and ceremonies played an integral role in socio-political organization and leadership” (Angel 2002:45). The spiritual order was intimately intertwined with the socio-political order. According to Benton-Benai in his book *The Mishomis Book* (1988), “there were seven original Odoidaymiwug (Clans): Ahjijawk’ (Crane), Mahng (Loon), Gigoon’ (Fish), Mukwa’ (Bear), Wabizhasi’ (Marten), Wawashesh’she (Hoof), Benays’ (Bird)” (1988:74). Each of the clans represented a public duty or function for the community citizens. In Hollow Water the turtle is referred to the leader of the Fish clan.

It was explained to me that the clan system had representatives from each clan who were chosen by the grandmothers of each clan to represent the interests of the clan. These representatives would meet, in a grand council, to discuss issues that were important to the community. Each representative had distinct interests that matched the interests and perspective of their clan. Each clan representative would speak for their clan and would listen to other clan representatives and would go back to their own clan to discuss what was decided upon in the grand council.

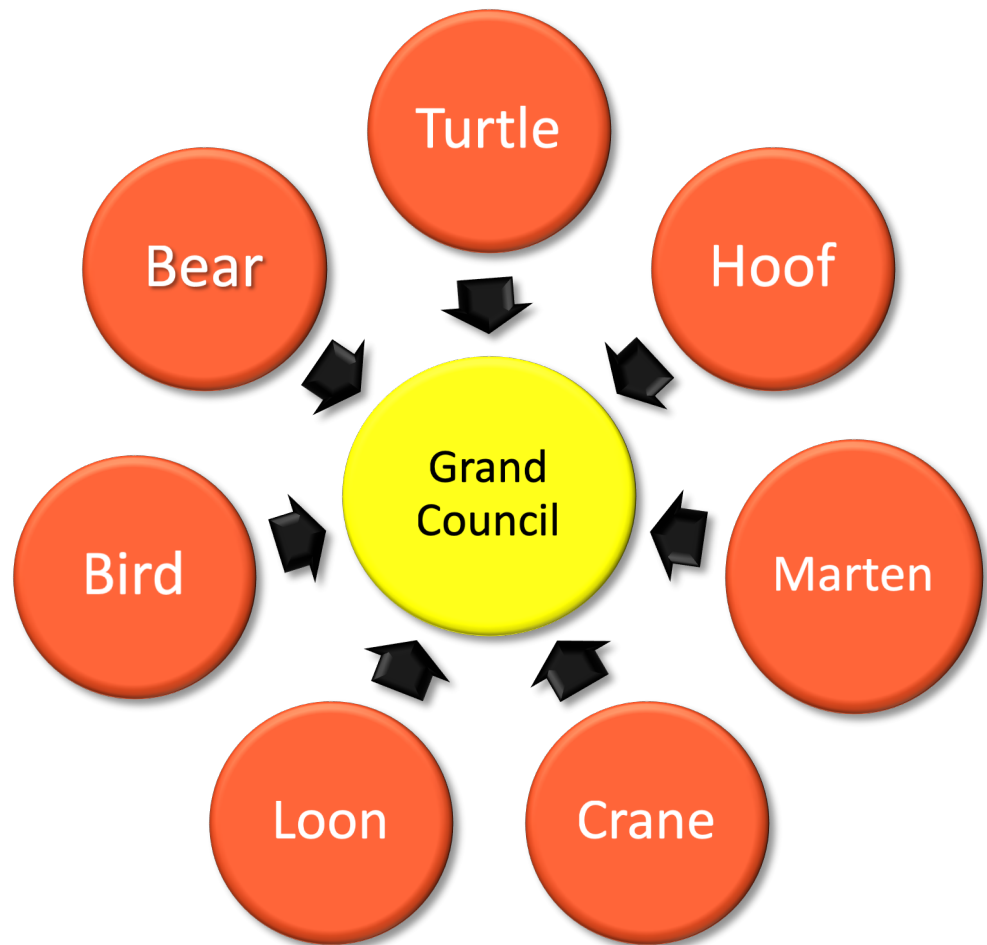


Figure 2.2 Clan System Structure

Several authors (Angel 2002; Benton-Benai 1988; Johnston 1998; Warren 1957) indicate that clans provided a strong social organization within Anishinaabek communities.

The clans represented aspects that were needed for the functioning of society; representing leadership, defense, sustenance, learning and medicine (Johnston 1998:60). According to Benton-Benai, “the Crane and Loon clans were given the power of chieftainship...by working together, the Crane clan and the Loon clan gave the people a balanced government with each serving as a check on the other” (1988:74). The Fish clan or Water clan members, “would settle disputes between the two Chief clans if a deciding vote needed to be cast” (Benton-Benai 1988:74). Johnston states that the Marten and Hoof clans provided community with labour for gathering food, hunting, fishing and provide materials for clothing and shelter (1998:66). Hunting demanded knowledge of tracking animals, patience, endurance, strength, and resourcefulness to provide food to the community. These were the skills of the provider clans. Fighting was a dangerous diversion of the providers; it was suspended whenever the need for food arose. As Johnston states, “it was not the warrior but the hunter to whom the community looked for a better life” (1998:67). According to Benton-Benai the strong-heart clan indicated by the Marten provided the force to protect the village at all costs from outside invaders (1988:76). They were known for their superior strategy qualities and abilities. The Bear clan served as the police force of the community and they spent most of their time patrolling the outskirts of the village to ward off any unwanted visitors (1988:76). The Bear clan spent so much time close to nature that they became knowledgeable of plants that could be used to heal the people (1988:76). Benton-Benai suggests the Bear was responsible for community healing as well as protection.

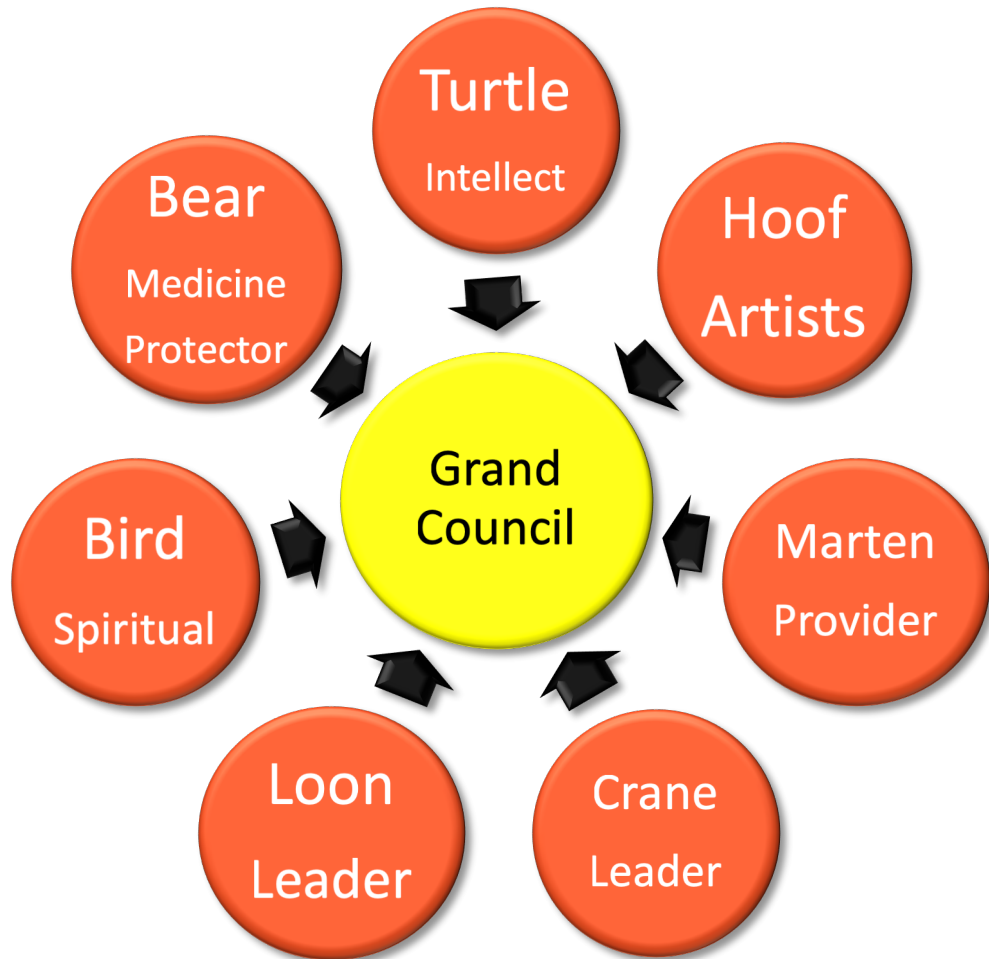


Figure 2.3 Clan System Responsibilities

The Turtle clan represented intellectuals and teachers. A community's well-being and continuity require that knowledge be passed from generation to generation. There is a duty on the part of the wise to impart their wisdom and an obligation on the part of the unlearned to learn (Johnston 1998:69). Two aspects of learning took place; first, each man and woman had to be trained to meet their physical needs. Second, learning enriched the inner being or soul-spirit of each person. Adults imparted their skills and knowledge to the young; the Elders passed on their wisdom to everyone (Johnston 1998:69).

The “Turtle Model”

Due the extensive turmoil to community governance through various assimilative pressures, the clan system as a governance system was displaced by various socio-political colonial institutions. When Hollow Water’s healing movement began, a clan-like system approach to understanding and navigating community political relationships emerged. Each institution was thought of as clan-like, so that a school was considered to have the responsibility to teach knowledge from one generation to the next, the health clinic would address physical health, RCMP would be responsible for community protection, etc. From this new understanding of a clan-like structure the school institution would be composed of those that worked in the school, that is, the principal, vice-principal, counsellor, teachers, and teaching assistants.

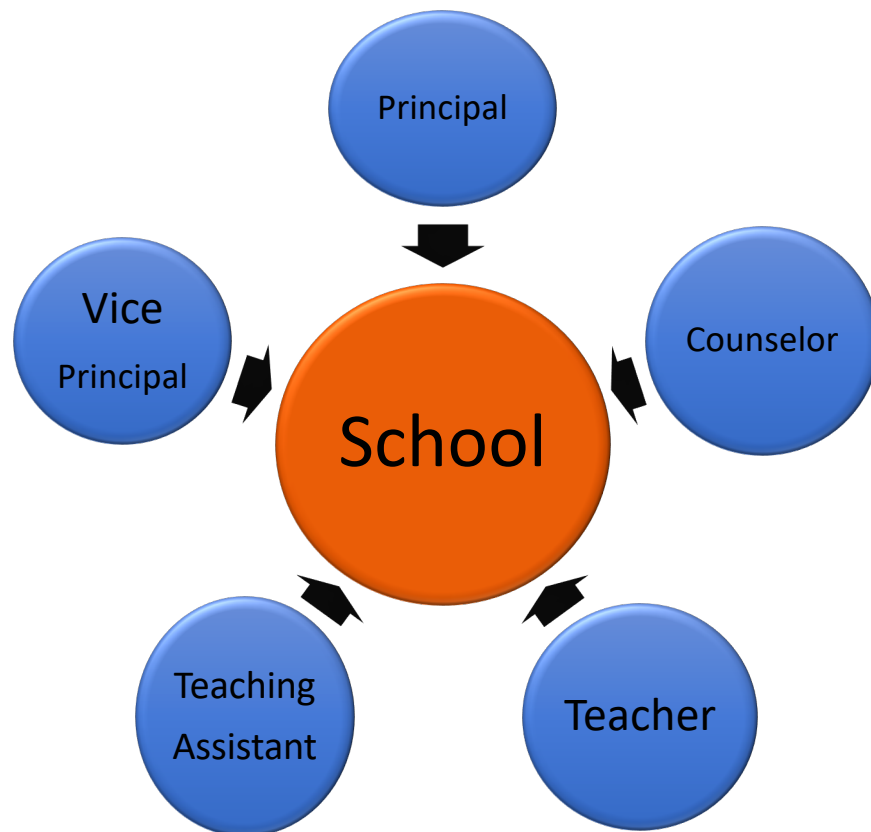


Figure 2.4 Turtle Model School Institution Structure

Each institution would be seen as a family with its responsibilities and obligations. The school was considered one institution of the many institutions that served the community. The relationship between each institution established the community institutional network. As the community became more aware of the necessity to establish stronger links to each other, during the emergence of Hollow Water's healing movement, there was an effort to improve communication between institutions so that community could work together to identify, plan, and address community issues that were affecting the community.

The formation of the Community Holistic Circle Healing organization was originally conceptualized to help facilitate a communication network between institutions in a manner that corresponded to a clan-like model. The CHCH organization originally was meant to establish a centralized flow of communication between community resource institutions. The intent was to work with community institution information on various clients through a sharing of information that would be held confidential within the group of institutions. At certain times the information would flow back into the community publicly. The "Turtle Model" is illustrated in the following diagram:

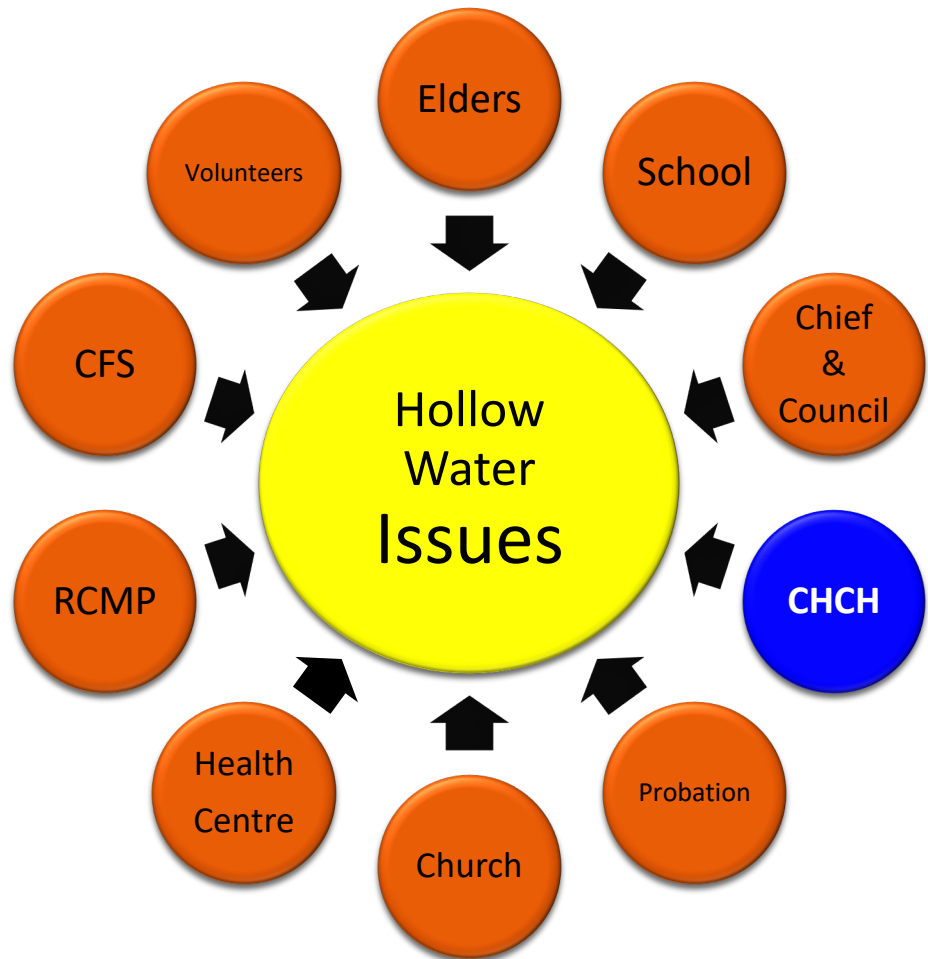


Figure 2.5 Turtle Model Community Resources Relationship

In the “Turtle Model”, the CHCH organization is a vital part of the communication process between institutions. The role of the CHCH organization is to facilitate communication and confidentiality between the community resource institutions so that the community citizens that make up the community resources can identify, assess, plan, and address their own community issues.

The role of modern Western institutions are often vital to this process because often these institutions have displaced traditional systems of governance. According to Hollow Water there is a need for these institutions to be included within a governance system in

order to make them more accountable to a functioning community and family system that also exists within a federal reserve system. Currently, the reserve governance system, under the Indian Act, displaces aspects of community and family governance system to the point that many communities have been unable to manifest healthy socio-economic relations both within community and outside community. However, Hollow Water developed, during the 1980s, a broader view of Western institutions; that these institutions have a certain amount of power which can be used and modified to address aspects of community in a way that goes against their colonial nature. The institutions can be subverted and modified to address and support the community in ways to assist individuals, families and community in efforts to bring about *mino-biimaadiziwin* (community justice/well-being). Later, in this research I will expand on how this community institution interrelationship had maintained itself and how it transformed again into a less effective organizational structure.

SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH AND NEW KNOWLEDGE

Hollow Water's 10-year Healing Movement Development

This research will provide a previously unpublished account of the ten-year effort to create a community healing movement. Many media convey the emergence of the CHCH organization shortly after the discovery that children had been sexually abused within the community. There is no context of the work that was done to create a safe community so that issues, such as these, could be raised by community citizens. Although social change was initially very slow, all of those interviewed indicate that the mid-1980s brought about significant decrease in alcoholism, substantial increase in healthy individual

and community expression, trust, and communication. The social environment provided significant opportunity to develop community assessment, planning skills, agency, and evaluation. Between 1979 and 1989, Hollow Water members put tremendous effort into developing the necessary skills (both personal and professional) for the community to work together, assess their own community, plan their own actions to address their community needs, act on their own plans (personal agency), and evaluate the effectiveness of their actions.

Within this ten-year history Hollow Water community citizens created a healing movement that reframed their understanding of Colonial institutions and created ways to address their own community issues. In the process of reframing, the Colonial institutions began to be included within the activities to address community issues. The genius of Hollow Water's healing movement is that the surviving aspects of traditional institutions were used in conjunction with Colonial institutions to create an effective way of identifying, planning and actively addressing community issues. The Colonial institutions had to be incorporated into the process of traditional community governance and relationship building. Many community citizens described this choice to work with Colonial institutions as a viable way to work with what institutions were available at the time. However, these institutions had to be transformed enough in their operation and philosophy enough to be useful to community needs that were being addressed.

This research on the ten-year healing movement period also details the values and activities by the originators to build a healing movement and a subsequent Community

Holistic Circle Healing organization. Key points of conflict and differences between originators are highlighted and discussed to indicate the healing movement's direction and the CHCH organizational structure that led to both the emergence and eventual dissolution of the CHCH organization.

The CHCH Organizational Structure, Management, and Transformation

This research provides a visual representation of how Hollow Water community citizens envisioned the original relationships among community institutions through the 'Turtle Model'. This has never been done nor has there been an analysis of the relationships that have managed the CHCH organization and its transformation into what the CHCH organization is today. This research details how the CHCH organization and management of relationships have changed throughout the period from 1989 to 2006. This research will also provide a background for the future iteration of the CHCH organization where community citizens can learn from issues raised in Chapter five to discuss and address organizational structure, management issues, and training the next generation of community organization to identify, assess, planning and implement their own community solutions to community-defined issues.

Succession

Originally, I wanted to provide information on the next generation's ideas about the structure, management, and relationships for the next iteration of the CHCH organization. However, I believe that I have provided information not for the next iteration of the CHCH organization but for the next iteration of Hollow Water's healing movement. I provide a

generational understanding of Hollow Water's healing movement (from their perspective as children at the time of the mid-1980s), the CHCH organization (over the 30 years since the establishment of the CHCH organization in 1989), and their own education and experiences over this time. By providing this background information I provide an opportunity for community dialogue to discuss and learn from community issues. The research suggests that roles be developed for the workers of the CHCH organization, the originators of Hollow Water's healing movement, and the current successors of the original 1980s healing movement to guide the next iteration of the Hollow Water's healing movement. In order to revitalize its healing movement, Hollow Water community citizens need to reorganize community power through a community grassroots socio-economic, linguistic, political, legal, and spiritual healing process. Respectfully, the work I have done will partially contribute toward a community manifestation of a revitalization process; at least provide an understanding of how the Hollow Water's healing movement developed.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the methodology used for my research project. My research provides a discussion and analysis of Hollow Water's healing movement history, the maintenance of the CHCH organization created through the healing movement, and avenues for succession of Hollow Water's healing movement. In Hollow Water, since at least 2004 an Anishinaabek healing organization has been undergoing challenges to their organizational structure. The CHCH Board of Directors and the CHCH operational staff are pursuing succession plans for rejuvenating the CHCH organization. Potentially, my research is useful to the Hollow Water healing movement, the CHCH organization members and other community citizens by addressing organizational and community citizen-defined issues. My research identifies the CHCH organization and other community organizational knowledge, ontological reality of experience, and the underlying axiological assumptions that guide organizational and community values. For example, if incorporating a traditional sharing circle structure into the community justice/healing process is considered an important value, my research can provide insight into Anishinaabek ontology and axiology through interviewing the original facilitators that facilitated Hollow Water's healing movement, interviewing the CHCH organization's employees about maintaining an Anishinaabek healing organization, and interviewing employees of other community institutions and organizations concerned about Hollow Water's socioeconomic issues. The data collected and its analysis provides information on why it is important to include traditional sharing circle into the community justice process from the view of those affected by it. For example, the sentencing circle does not attempt

to determine the guilt or innocence of a person accused through a careful examination of evidence. The sentencing circle begins where one admits to a wrong-doing offense to the community, wants to make amends to those offended, restore community relationships harmed by the offence, and the community is ready to reconcile the offender back into the community if the offender shows commitment to healing by restoring healthy community relationships damaged by the offence. Community justice in the sentencing circle is in striking contrast to how justice is understood in a Settler judicial trial situation.

Observing Hollow Water's sentencing circle during a case in 1999 illuminated another issue related to community justice. The case was about addressing the specific details of the offending behaviour. The case was addressing family and community aspects of the offence and addressing how to heal family and community relationships. However, the case was also about the community becoming aware of the conditions that were in the social environment of the individual, the family, and the community that allowed the behaviour to exist. By being aware of the overall social environment the community itself could examine and potentially change its behaviour to change the social environment so that the behaviour is no longer facilitated within the community. All aspects of the community could be examined – including institutional relationships, services to clients, leadership interactions, family dynamics, individual interpersonal relationships, etc. This insight into the sacredness of the sentencing circle led me to focus on the community values for research and thus determine that Hollow Water's healing movement was the primary driving aspect of the expression of community values. The sentencing circle was one aspect that was a manifestation of a broader community ontological change. So too was the CHCH

organization. This is why I emphasize Hollow Water's healing movement as the focus for my research. I believe the CHCH organization can assume many different forms to manifest Hollow Water's values, but it is Hollow Water's community healing movement that determines community values.

Anishinaabek Inclusion in the Research Discussion

As part of a Ph.D. dissertation in Indigenous Studies it is expected to ground research within Indigenous theories. For this research I use both Western and Indigenous philosophies [from an English language perspective] to establish points of communication between perspectives. It is important, in any research involving Indigenous peoples to ground the research within an Indigenous perspective. The methods employed through an Indigenous approach to research provide ways to conduct research and perceive Indigenous peoples' experience that are meaningful, ethical, and rich accounts from those who embody these experiences daily.

The underlying philosophies I have seen within these autonomous ways of addressing Indigenous peoples' own issues, such as the sentencing circle, are based on a process of creating safe and healing relationships between all of creation and a continual learning about oneself and all of creation. This process is a never-ending cycle of growth with the belief that we, as humans, are continually learning, continually healing, and must provide an environment to allow for learning and healing to be expressed. Hollow Water community citizens continually express this philosophy to me; they are found within other Indigenous traditions and are found in many other reciprocal ecology relationship

philosophies⁷ around the world. As humans, we tend to respond positively to reciprocal ecology relationship philosophies but for matters of practicality and context, some specific aspects of the philosophy may be inappropriate to a local situation. Let me provide an example to illustrate what I mean. In courses that I teach, I often assign a video to my students that illustrates how three different communities in three distinct ecological zones adapt to their ecological systems; one from a South American jungle, one from an African desert, and one from the North American prairie zones. Each culture has similar value in which they observe their ecology and pay attention to various aspects of the plants and animal interactions as an indication of life. Because life is dynamic and seldom stays the same the ecology changes slightly from year to year. There are common ways that each Indigenous group observes, participates, and interacts with ecological systems. However, the rules for living with and interacting with the world is quite different in the jungle than it is in the desert. Returning to Hollow Water, the values that are expressed here may be common with another culture but when it comes to actively expressing specific actions in another community the actions may be completely different than those practiced in Hollow Water. In other words, Hollow Water's model of restorative justice cannot be plugged into another community and expected to work the same way it did in Hollow Water. Principles of the philosophy and values can be shared among communities but the specific practical

⁷ Reciprocal ecology relationship philosophies tend to value an interrelationship with the world as a reciprocal relationship in contrast to those non-reciprocal relationship philosophies that value an independent relationship with the world as an exploitive relationship. In other words, reciprocal ecological relationship philosophies view humanity as a part of all aspects of the world in relationship with all aspects of the world. The phrase "all our relations", a phrase used in ceremony humbly recognizes that we are all connected to everything. When I ask to take something from the world, according to the philosophy, I must give something of value to me to this world. Suggesting that the proper course of action requires that humans negotiate with all other entities that exist in the world for anything that humans want. This philosophy is consistent in ceremony as it is in day-to-day life, in fact, by taking this view every action is a ceremonial sacred action.

implementation of the values simply may not work for a community. Furthermore, every community has its own history, values, issues, and local resources and must do the meticulous work of developing their own community process of building safety, trust, and discuss its own approach to addressing its own community issues within its own community.

Traditional Indigenous knowledge is knowledge that informs the community, works to protect the community, and brings a community citizen that is out of balance back into balance with the rest of the community values. The rules that govern Hollow Water's CHCH organization are determined through dialogue, relationship, and agreement between community resource organizations, although not necessarily through consensus. The Indigenous knowledge that informs community justice and outlines the process to address the individual, family, and community issues, sees community justice as beyond the Western approach to justice. Western justice often perceives justice as a single cause and effect of a crime. Western justice responds to crime through the application of corrective punishment strategies oriented only to the offender of the crime. Hollow Water's approach to justice is much broader. I have previously outlined Hollow Water's approach in the Wanipigow Resource Group's document *Position on Incarceration* (1993),

a return to balance can best be accomplished through a process of accountability that includes support from the community through teaching and healing. The use of judgment and punishment actually works against the healing process. An already unbalanced person is moved further out of balance. The legal system's use of incarceration under the guise of specific and general deterrence also seems, to us, to be ineffective in breaking the cycle of violence. Victimization has become so much a part of who we are, as a people and a community, that the threat of jail simply does not deter offending behaviour. What the threat of incarceration does do is keep people

from coming forward and taking responsibility for the hurt they are causing. It reinforces the silence and therefore promotes, rather than breaks, the cycle of violence that exists. In reality, rather than making the community a safer place, the threat of jail places the community more at risk (CHCH 1993:2-3).

The legal system, based on principles of punishment and deterrence, as we see it, simply is not working. We cannot understand how the legal system doesn't see this. Whatever change that occurs when people return to our community from jail seems to be for the worse. Incarceration may be effective in the larger society, but it is not working in our community. Adding to our frustration is the sense that the legal system has come to take over, from our community, the role it once played in handling "justice" matters (CHCH 1993:3-4).

Rather, within Anishinaabek worldview, a social environment can exist that causes community citizens to become out of balance with community values. To bring the community back into balance, an Anishinaabek community must assess the social environment and identify aspects of the social environment that can be addressed by community citizens. It is through multiple aspects of assessment, dialogue, and healing with the offender but also with the offender's family, the victim, the victims family, and the community as a whole with the aid of many community organizations, that an issue can be identified, assessed, and corrective actions planned to bring the social environment back into balance. But more than correcting human relationships, according to traditional Anishinaabek spirituality, the offender must repair relations with manidoog (spirits) and other-than-human entities. This is what is meant by mino-bimaadiziwin; living the good life (walking the Red road) where one is cognizant of the effects of ones behaviour on one's ancestors, one's future generations, one's relations, and the other-than-humans that interact with one's life.

Being in a State of Mino-Bimaadiziwin

Mino-bimaadiziwin is a state of being in which one is actively committed to being in a positive state of balance with one's social, spiritual, intellectual, emotional, historical, and ecological balance. Due to the nature of life, people can strive for mino-bimaadiziwin but rarely can an individual achieve more than a temporary attainment of this state of being. Often, in ceremonies, meditation, or within purposeful activity, people are in positive states of being that is striving toward mino-bimaadiziwin. During my research interviews, I experienced times when I felt that people were engaged in a positive state of being that brought out a perspective that was holistic, expressive, and energizing. These were enlightening for my understanding of Anishinaabe culture but also for my own personal awareness and development. I also experienced times when I felt that people were not in this state during the interviews. There were times that I interviewed individuals and groups of people who have been very influential in my own learning about myself yet who had difficulty expressing basic concepts about human behaviour that I had learned from these same people years before. This confused me until I realized that certain knowledge is contingent on states of being. Consistent with this idea is the practice of establishing a safe, calm, connected environment and protocol in order for Creator to work through an individual. An example of this is using traditional smudge to ground people and put them in a state of calm and balance, using a feather, stone, bone or other object as a trigger for memories and teachings. Consistent with mino-bimaadiziwin is the idea that keeping good and strong relationships with the world are important to making good decisions. It is the appreciative subjective relationship with the world that is important to nurture among

humans. It is this relationship to the world that is in contrast to the Western concept of relationship with the world that is often mechanical and objective.

The underlying philosophies within the autonomous ways of addressing Indigenous peoples' own issues, such as the sentencing circle, are based on a process of creating healing relationships in which individuals, families, and community citizens are "brought into balance". This process of "being in balance" requires a continual process of awareness, learning about oneself and ones responsibility to oneself, to ones family, ones community, and to all of creation. This process is a never-ending commitment to strive toward balance but with the belief that we, as humans, are continually learning; continually healing. This philosophy was expressed to me from various Elders and traditional knowledge holders when I lived in Hollow Water First Nation (from 1997-2001) and during my interactions with community citizens since 1997. As part of my dissertation I will connect the ideal as represented by Hollow Water's healing movement to the realities of practicing the daily experience of healing with the view of creating a succession plan for the CHCH organization.

Appropriateness of Research design

For my research I use an interview procedure that focuses on the positive aspects of Hollow Water's history of their healing movement, the creation and maintenance of the CHCH organization, and the perspectives of the next generation to take on the next iteration of the healing movement. My research raised sensitive issues about the healing movement,

the current situation with the CHCH organization⁸, and the complex relationship that the succeeding generation has with the CHCH organization and the healing movement. The communication between the originators, the board members, the CHCH organization staff, other community resource organizations, and the community citizens has stalled and is, at times, quite acrimonious. I needed to find an interview protocol and perspective that did not dwell on the negative aspects experienced by the community citizens but rather encourage people to consider the aspects of the CHCH organization that staff felt were the most productive and energized when acting through the mandate of the CHCH organization. I use Cooperrider's method of Appreciative Inquiry (AI) as a viable option to pose questions in a positive perspective – especially in cases where the issue is highly sensitive to negative portrayals.

Cooperrider (2008) outlines the principles that establish the foundation of AI.

These principles consist of the following:

d. Research into the social (innovation) potential of organizational life should begin with appreciation. This basic principle assumes that every social system 'works' to some degree – that it is not in a complete state of entropy – and that a primary task of research is to discover, describe, and explain those social innovations, however small, which serve to give 'life' to the system and activate members' competencies and energies as more fully functioning participants in the formation and transformation of organizational realities. That is, the appreciative approach takes its inspiration from the current state of 'what is' and seeks a comprehensive understanding of the factors and forces of organizing (ideological, techno-structural, cultural) that serve to heighten the total potential of an organization in ideal-type human and social terms (Cooperrider 2008:377).

2. Research into the social potential of organizational life should be applicable – to be significant in a human sense, an applied science of

⁸ The CHCH organization is currently at a low point for providing an effective mechanism for addressing client, family, and community needs.

administration should lead to the generation of theoretical knowledge that can be used, applied, and thereby validated in action. Thus, an applicable inquiry process is neither utopian in the sense of generating knowledge about 'no place' nor should it be confined to academic circles and presented in ways that have little relevance to the everyday language and symbolism of those for whom the findings might be applicable (Cooperrider 2008:377).

d. Research into the social potential of organizational life should be provocative – An organization is an open-ended indeterminate system capable of (1) becoming more than it is at any given moment, and (2) learning how to actively take part in guiding its own evolution. Knowledge of current organizational state (what is) suggests its organizational potential (what might be) – this knowledge can be used to generate images of realistic developmental opportunities that can be experimented with on a wider scale. It becomes provocative to the extent that the abstracted findings of a study take on normative value for members of an organization, and this can happen only through their own critical deliberation and choice. It is in this way then, that appreciative inquiry allows us to put intuitive, visionary logic on a firm empirical footing and to use systemic research to help the organization's members shape the social world according to their own imaginative and moral purposes (Cooperrider 2008:378).

d. Research into the social potential of organizational life should be collaborative. This overarching principle points to the assumed existence of an inseparable relationship between the process of inquiry and its content. A collaborative relationship between the researcher and members of an organization is, therefore, deemed essential on the basis of both epistemological and practical/ethical grounds (Cooperrider 2008:378).

Instrumentation

Research with Hollow Water's community-based healing organizations is organized in four stages. All stages used the semi-structured interview technique; an interview technique that does not strictly follow a formalized process and list of questions. For example, I provided a list of questions to each person I wanted to interview at least one week prior to the interview date. When we met for the interview, I encouraged those I interviewed to talk about whatever they wanted to talk about. I probed for clarification around issues from the questions and issues that were raised from the interview but did not

strictly follow the list of questions. All stages included an interview question about what the interviewee would recommend for the next iteration of the Hollow Water's healing movement. The first stage documents the formation and original vision of Hollow Water's healing movement through semi-structured individual and group interviews of the original activists. The second stage documents the current employees of the CHCH organization through semi-structured interviews. The interviews elicited reflections, from CHCH employees, of when the community organization was most effective, what factors the CHCH employees attributed to the effectiveness of the community organization, and what challenges currently confront the CHCH organization. The third stage documents other community organization (non-CHCH) employees through semi-structured interviews to get a richer understanding of the strengths and challenges facing the organization. The fourth stage documents the ideas from community citizens who are the succeeding generation (the children) of the originators, the CHCH organization staff, and other community resources staff through semi-structured interviews.

Research Participants

Participants are composed of the original activists that worked to build Hollow Water's healing movement and subsequently the CHCH organization, the current and previous CHCH organization's employees, the employees of community organizations with which the CHCH organization interact on a daily basis, and the succeeding generation of community citizens to form the next iteration of Hollow Water's healing movement. While conducting interviews, I realized that some people crossed multiple identity categories. For example, some employees of community organizations that work with the

CHCH organization on a daily basis were previous CHCH organization employees. As well, some employees of the CHCH organization and some employees of community organizations, which work with the CHCH organization, were also clients of the CHCH organization. As well, there are multiple family connections between the people who work in each organization. For example, the succeeding generation members are the children of the original activists, children of the CHCH organization, or are related to the original activists or CHCH workers through marriage relationships.

I have conducted semi-structured group and individual interviews with five original activists involved in Hollow Water's healing movement in the 1970s/1980s. At the time of the interviews (2012), the participants consisted of three women over 65 years old and two men over 65 years old. One participant is Anishinaabek and has lived in the Hollow Water area all her life. One participant is Anishinaabek and has spent several years outside Hollow Water in her adult working life but lives in Hollow Water now. One participant is non-Indigenous and has never lived in Hollow Water but has become active in participating in Anishinaabek ceremonies since his experience with Hollow Water's healing movement. One participant is Anishinaabek and has lived in Hollow Water for most of his life and still maintains close ties with Hollow Water but since 1990 has traveled outside Hollow Water and lives in another community in Western Manitoba. One participant had parents that lived in Hollow Water and had come to Hollow Water for 10 years during the development of the Hollow Water healing movement but since 1990 has lived in several places in Manitoba.

I have conducted semi-structured individual interviews with three current CHCH

organization employees all near retirement and three community citizens who are employees of other Hollow Water community organizations. Two are 50+ years old and one who is 60+ years old. I have also interviewed five community citizens who are employees of other Hollow Water community resource organization. All five are 40+ years old at the time of conducting the interviews.

All participants are actively involved in spiritual ceremonies and each participant identifies spirituality as part of their identity. I have been active in ceremonies with every person I interviewed except for two people that lived outside of Hollow Water First Nation.

The succeeding community activists were children during the emergence of Hollow Water's healing movement in the mid 1980s and experienced the immense changes that occurred in their family and the community as a result of the healing movement. Presently they are highly skilled health/justice/social activist professionals. They saw the creation, development, and decay of the CHCH organization. They have seen changes within their own family and community; specifically those that have occurred in community health during Hollow Water's healing movement and are acutely aware of the severe challenges that confront the CHCH organization. They are employed in a variety of roles and organizations and are attempting to re-invent the CHCH organization toward a sustainable version of the original intent of Hollow Water's healing movement structure.

Interview Protocol

Prior to the commencement of research initiatives, I gathered informed consent of

all participants. Each participant was asked, “who else can I talk with” to get an idea of who I should interview. I indicated to all interview participants that at any time during or after the research gathering and prior to the final reporting, participants were able to interrupt and suspend the research process if the participant feels that personal or culturally sensitive material is or has been disclosed.

In preparing each interview, I sent each participant a copy of all the interview questions⁹ at least one week prior to the interview. When the interview was started, the interviewee and I found a quiet space in an office building or restaurant, although two interviews were completed in my car, and one interview was conducted piecemeal over two years. I offered tobacco to the participant to indicate that I respected what the interviewee was about to tell me. Offering tobacco to the participant also showed that I acknowledge and respect the traditional practice of giving tobacco in exchange for sharing knowledge. By giving tobacco to the participant, I acknowledge that I was accepting responsibility for the information that I gained and had to treat that information with respect and utmost care. This exchange practice is an important part of symbolically and spiritually connecting to tradition, to respecting the relationship between myself and the participant, to respect the solemnity of the interview experience, and to respect that the experience of our dialogue is between me, the interview participant, and the Creator.

⁹ A page was printed and presented to all interview participants that listed the questions I asked in all interviews including the originators of the healing movement, the CHCH organization staff, the staff of other community organizations, and the succeeding generation. This provided each interview participant with a larger understanding of what my research projects was intended to accomplish.

Although I wanted to participate in sweatlodge ceremonies during my time interviewing people in the community, I was unable to do so due to medical reasons; I was experiencing regular migraines. However, I have participated in sweatlodge ceremonies prior to this time, as well as, after my interview stage. I did participate in social activities with community citizens to get an informal understanding of the healing organization and its role in the community.

The interview questions were chosen to elicit a strengths-based understanding of the healing movement and the CHCH organization. According to Cooperrider,

the purpose of appreciative inquiry is to contribute to the generative-theoretical aims of social science and to use such knowledge to promote egalitarian dialogue leading to social-system effectiveness and integrity. Whatever else it may be, social-system effectiveness is defined quite specifically as a congruence between social-organizational values and the everyday social-organizational practices. Thus appreciative inquiry refers to both a search for knowledge and a theory of intentional collective action which are designed to help evolve the normative vision and will of a group, organization, or society as a whole (Cooperrider 2008:376)

The data elicited and the dialogue that resulted from these questions often created a positive interactive dialogue on the strengths of the organization and, consequently, these responses provide an opportunity for interviewees to reflect on their contribution to the creation of a positive environment.

Phase 1 – Original Activists Interviews

The first phase of the research gained information to understand the development of the Hollow Water healing movement and the original intent and guiding principles of the CHCH organization from the original activists' point of view. The first research phase

provides a foundation for understanding the values of Hollow Water's healing movement and the CHCH organization. Semi-structured individual interviews were used to get the original activists' perceptions of the principles and goals of the creation and development of the healing organization. Semi-structured group interviews were used to gain information that became more animated when interviewees are in dialogue with each other. Memories are often triggered and stories flow easily in a group dialogue setting. An interview participant had the option of choosing the method of recording (audio recording or note-taking). However, all participants chose to be recorded through an audio recorder. These interviews were then transcribed and analyzed.

Phase 2 – The CHCH Organization Employee Interviews

This phase included individual semi-structured interviews of the CHCH organization's employees. Rothwell suggests that behavioural event interviewing can clarify values. Rothwell suggests that individuals be, "asked to describe the most difficult ethical situation they have ever faced in their jobs and describe what they were thinking, feeling, and doing at each step as they faced that situation" (Rothwell 2005:90). Although this may get at some in-depth issues facing the CHCH organization, an approach to uncover difficult ethical issues is inappropriate and will often lead to a very negative spiral conversation. In contrast, I modified Rothwell's suggested interview questions using an appreciative inquiry approach and highlight the strengths of successful applications of the CHCH organization practices. I asked a series of questions such as what were the interview participant's mental, emotional, spiritual state at the organization's peak. Interview participants had the option of choosing the method of recording (audio recording or note-

taking). However, all participants chose to be recorded through an audio recorder. These interviews were then transcribed and analyzed.

Phase 3 – The non-CHCH Community Organization Employee Interviews

This phase included individual semi-structured interviews of community organization employees (non-CHCH) that interact daily with the CHCH organization employees. Examples of these organizations are Child and Family Services, the local school, and Health Centre employees. By including the perspective of non-CHCH organization employees I developed a deeper and richer understanding of the CHCH organization. An interview participant had the option of choosing the method of recording (audio recording or note-taking). However, all participants chose to be recorded through an audio recorder. These interviews were then transcribed and analyzed.

Phase 4 – The Succeeding Generation Interviews

This phase includes individual semi-structured interviews of the succeeding generation that worked with the CHCH organization or the CHCH Board through other community resource organizations. I included interviews with people who were young children at the time that Hollow Water was going through its healing movement, experienced the dramatic changes to individuals, families, and communities, and had experienced the creation, development, and decay of the CHCH organization. These interviews provide a critical understanding of the healing movement, the CHCH organization, and the community citizens. An interview participant had the option of choosing the method of recording (audio recording or note-taking). However, all

participants chose to be recorded through an audio recorder. These interviews were then transcribed and analyzed.

Phase 5 – Succession Planning

As I stated in chapter two the research provides information on the previous generation and next generation's ideas about the structure, management, and relationships for the next iteration of the CHCH organization. Originally, I focused on the succession of the CHCH organization but the realities of the CHCH organizational decline lead me to understand the next iteration of Hollow Water First Nation's healing movement was not going to be the CHCH organization. Instead, the next iteration of Hollow Water First Nation's healing movement is emerging through the Adam Hardisty Health Clinic – in which aspects of the CHCH organization seem to be building around physical, emotional, and community health.

My research provides a generational understanding of Hollow Water's healing movement (from the originators, the CHCH workers, and the next generation's perspective), the CHCH organization (over the 30 years since the establishment of the CHCH organization in 1989), and the succeeding generation's own education and experiences over this time. By providing this background information, I provide an opportunity for community dialogue to develop and learn from community experience. Construction of specific succession plans and actions, developed by community citizens, may use organizational information and analysis from this research to guide the next iteration of Hollow Water's healing movement. A succession plan may want to focus on

successor training, mentoring, and organizational development in which Hollow Water healing movement originators and the CHCH organization staff may be used in the role of Elder guides. I outline recommendations from all the interviews. A succession plan should include the following:

- Communicate opportunities (what competencies are needed for positions)
- Identify potential successors (a plan to encourage people to express interest in organizational employment openings)
- Determine the specific roles that successors and Elder guides will employ in creating a sustainable organization
- Assess potential successor readiness to take on these roles (using assessment tools)
- Prepare individual development plans (determine training approaches for potential successors)
- Provide development opportunities (determine methods for developing skills, maintain a variety of transfer methods to address diverse needs in the organization)
- Provide opportunities to continually evaluate, review, and revise organizational plans.

The intent is to design a model for preparing potential successors, clarification of core organization values and organizational positions, development of a mentoring plan, and an aspect of planning for experiential learning. Some aspects of this phase are about the development of organizational values, goals, objectives, plans, actions, and a process of evaluation.

Procedure

I made appointments to meet with interview participants at their workplace, at least a week in advance. At this time, I emailed, faxed or personally gave them a copy of the questions I would be asking them as well as the questions I would be asking other participants (original activists, the CHCH organization employees, and other community organization employees) so that they could understand the intent of my interviews. I highlighted the section of questions that I would ask them during the interview. I would

then find a quiet space in an office building so that an interview could be recorded with minimal background noise, however there were times where I interviewed people while driving or at a café depending on their schedule. One interview was problematic because I was not able to have a single complete formal interview with the interviewee responding to my written questions. I could not schedule a time to formally interview this person, however, I met with this person quite frequently and occasionally asked to record our conversations about the history of Hollow Water's healing movement, issues surrounding the CHCH organization, and issues confronting Hollow Water community. These conversations were pieced together to form a rich understanding of Hollow Water's healing movement and the CHCH organization's development and decay. The other interviews began with a short summary of what my project entailed, I asked if I could record the interview electronically, and that a copy of the recorded interview would be returned to them after the completion of the project. I told each participant that I would transcribe their interviews and send a copy back to them so that they could provide me with any corrections, edit from the record, or add to the record, or to better explain what the participant meant. I explained that a final copy of the edited interview would also have a consent form that would explicitly state that the final copy of the edited interview was agreed upon by the interviewee. The participants were asked to read, ask any questions about the project, and sign the consent forms. A copy of standard consent forms used in the research is listed in APPENDIX B.

Ethics

Prior to entering into a research project in Hollow Water First Nation, standard protocol required me to apply for a Band Council Resolution from the Chief and Council

of Hollow Water First Nation to conduct research (see APPENDIX A). Interview participants understood and met informed consent standards. Interviewees were provided with a letter that explained the research intent. Interviewees were made aware that they had a choice to participate or not in the research process, could end the interview process at any time, and could choose how data is recorded (through audio recording, notes, or interviewer reflection). Interviewees were provided with my email and my phone number so that they could talk or meet with me, confidentially, to further discuss issues arising from the interviews; see APPENDIX B.

Ethics were compliant with the interests of Hollow Water First Nation. The research design was politically and ethically committed to the interests of the First Nations healing organizations. The research was compliant with:

- Tri-council's policy on Research with Aboriginal Peoples (Section 6)
- IPHRC Ethics Review
- Trent University Ethics
- Department of Indigenous Studies Ph.D. program's ethics

Respect for individual confidentiality was ensured with regards to research data collected through interviews. I provided a gift of a tobacco tie to everyone I interviewed. I am committed to community transparency with regard to informing the community about results from the research while still maintaining commitment to confidentiality.

Information that was collected may be stolen, lost or confidentiality may be breached. See section on Data Storage for a discussion of how information will be maintained.

Community citizens may challenge my research saying my research was conducted from an outside organization (Trent University) and that the research only benefits the researcher and outside organizations. I will be sincere and genuine in my research methods by providing statements on how the research is collaborated with community participation. A question may emerge from community that I am getting recognition from Trent University to complete this research project and community citizens may ask how the community will benefit from the project. As much as possible, I will present the project as owned and controlled by the community for the community.

Risk

Individuals and the community are at minimal risk from my research. Prior to the commencement of research initiatives, I gathered informed consent of all participants. I indicated to all interview participants that at any time during or after the research gathering and prior to the final reporting, participants had the right to interrupt and suspend the research process if the participant feels that personal or culturally sensitive material was or had been disclosed.

Data-Gathering

Data has been gathered through semi-structured interviews, stored on audio files, and transcribed. The transcriptions were sent back to the interview participants for editing and a final version of the interview was agreed upon through a final consent form. The interviews were coded for analysis using Nvivo. The use of Nvivo was instrumental in developing specific and structured categories for large amounts of data gained from the

interviews over the four phases of analysis. I also used documents created by the CHCH organization to get insight from the organization about how the community understood and explained their own organization. Documents such as, *Position on Incarceration* and *Ni-pi-tai-osh (Sharing) the Special Gathering: The graduation of Twelve Community citizens of Sexual Abuse & Family Violence Training* offer personal perspectives from community citizens on community justice and imbalanced and balanced thoughts, emotions, spirit, and behaviour.

Data Storage

Information that was collected may be stolen, lost, or confidentiality may be breached. To safeguard information, I developed codes for each person interviewed. The master list was kept away from the raw interview notes. Several computer passwords were created to ensure no unauthorized persons have access to the data being collected. Transcribed raw data was kept in two places: hard disk storage and peripheral disk storage (external hard drive and flash drive). At the completion of the project all raw data will be returned to each corresponding interview participant.

Reporting and Dissemination

Several groups were targeted for reporting on the results of the field research phase of the project. The originators, the CHCH organization's Board of Directors, the CHCH organization's staff, the community resource organizations (organizations that work with the CHCH organization), the successors, and the general public will be presented with a written final summary report on Hollow Water's healing movement history, the current

state of the CHCH organization, and recommendations for a succession plan based upon this final dissertation. The community will determine if there are any other organizations where this research will be disseminated.

Methodology of Analysis

The interviews provide an in-depth understanding of Hollow Water's community citizens' axiology and philosophical foundation for their decisions and actions. The CHCH organization's *Position on Incarceration* and *Ni-pi-tai-osh (Sharing) the Special Gathering: The graduation of Twelve Community citizens of Sexual Abuse & Family Violence Training* provide personal perspectives from community citizens on community justice and imbalanced and balanced thoughts, emotions, spirit, and behaviour. For this research I am using a methodology that reflects the negotiation of organizational communication, activities and goals as they are experienced by organization members. Although I have conducted the research, I have not implemented or assisted in the implementation of the succession plan as part of this dissertation. I have conducted research to identify community healing organizational analysis for the healing organization to implement themselves. The qualitative research methods I have used provide information about the healing organizations from the founders, employees, clients and external agencies perspectives. In short I describe a segment of the community citizens perspective of Hollow Water's Community Holistic Circle Healing organization. Lincoln and Guba state that a community's reality and validity are not absolutist, "but rather are derived from community consensus regarding what is 'real,' what is useful, and what has meaning (especially meaning for action and further steps). We believe that a goodly

portion of social phenomena consists of the meaning-making activities of groups and individuals around those phenomena” (Lincoln and Guba 2000:167).

Collaborative research or participatory action research is viewed as a way to engage the researcher into political and ethical commitments that are determined by the community as significant issues to a community (Lincoln and Guba 2000:174). The position is that communities know what issues need to be explored and potentially know local opportunities or obstacles that can encourage or hinder aspects of research. This concept of research is contrasted with, “positivist and post-positivist adherents, who view action as a form of contamination of research results and processes ... [they] believe action to be either a form of advocacy or a form of subjectivity, either or both of which undermine the aim of objectivity” (Lincoln and Guba 2000:174).

I also draw upon Leanne Simpson’s descriptions of Anishinaabek concepts in *Dancing on Our Turtle’s Back* that provides a framework for understanding community justice, healing, and active efforts to reclaim Anishinaabek identity against a milieu of imperial control. Berger and Luckmann’s descriptions in *The Social Construction of Reality* and Weber’s, *Theory of Social and Economic Organization* are used as analytical tools to understand the process of how Hollow Water created and maintained through the individual level to the taken-for-granted institutional level. Friere’s understanding of the colonial power dynamic described in *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* is used as an analysis of subverting oppressor/oppressed power relationship that I believe was the outcome of Hollow Water’s healing movement and the CHCH organization. Senge’s approach to

organizational structure explained in *Fifth Discipline* provides an analysis of Hollow Water's healing movement structure and the CHCH organization as a "learning organization". *Breaking the Rules* by Bellefeuille et al. (1997) provides an applied example of using Senge's theories to transform an Indigenous organization (Awasis) into a learning organization. I used these applications from *Breaking the Rules* as an analytical comparison to Hollow Water's healing movement, the CHCH organizational structure, and the succession of the next iteration of Hollow Water's healing movement.

My research project examines the history, philosophy and expression of Hollow Water's healing movement, the development and maintenance of the CHCH organization, and the dialogue and processes to facilitate the next iteration of Hollow Water's healing movement. For this next iteration, "the key to succession, which too many overlook, is the concept of sustainability. The successful strategy must not only allow for assessment and recruitment, but also development, progression, discussion, evaluation and often-times the adoption of an entirely new corporate culture. Rather than planning in a straight line, the talented leader must create a repeating cycle that will ensure success now and in the future" (Sobol et al., 2007:3). My research provides rich information for continuing dialogue as Hollow Water community citizens re-envision their healing movement, the CHCH organization, and how community resource organizations work together. Through this process of re-envisioning community organizations Hollow Water society is transformed. By community citizen commitment to dialogue and learning processes, a vision of social change will occur, "that leads to harmony with, rather [than] control over the environment" (Ermine 1995:102).

Limitations of Research Approach

Warry states in his book *Unfinished Dreams: Community Healing and the Reality of Aboriginal Self-Government* there are, “inevitable conflicts between academic and local agendas or expectations, and clashes over objectives and methodology as an applied research method, certain aspects of PAR must occasionally be sacrificed, adapted, or amended according to the aims and objectives of specific projects” (1998:247). Political realities and shortage of resources may affect attainment of the ideal goals of Participatory Action Research (PAR). When confronted with tight timelines or small budgets Warry points out researchers tend to sacrifice widespread community participation for control over the research by a small and committed group of community representatives (1998:248). For my research project I recognize the challenges to implementing PAR and have provided a progress report to a small group of community health representatives who are interested in my research. Although I intended to have a community advisory committee to whom I was to report, due to various time commitments among community citizens, there were no people who were likely to engage in regular committee meetings.

Warry also raises the concern from Indigenous people that PAR is simply a rhetoric that is being used to gain entrance into communities, but community control is being ignored as researchers continue to engage in their own research agendas (1998:248). Warry offers that, “social scientists must continue to explain their methods, and the problems associated with those methods, so that no confusion or misrepresentation occurs”

(1998:248). Worry indicates that, awareness of colonial processes and the misrepresentation of the 'other' has been painfully garnered and, as a result, researchers are sensitive to many of the ethical issues associated with cross-cultural research. However, researchers cannot conduct work while walking on eggshells (1998:249). Although there may be many difficulties working collaboratively with Indigenous peoples, researchers must be willing to make themselves vulnerable to develop trust and still work toward participatory research goals with community citizens.

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The theories presented in my research offer ways to understand community, group relationships, and consciousness-raising for community movement and development. These theories are constructionist indicating that reality is consciously constructed. Oppression is constructed and made real through the communal process of tacit or active agreement by community citizens. The process moves from typification of ideas to institutionalization of ideas where individuals feel that the reality that exists here and now has a mystical aura of reality that is taken for granted by people. An action or policy is taken because the action is "the way things are done"; the actions become unquestioned by the actors. The lens through which an individual chooses to see the world affects his/her perception of him/herself. This lens may further oppress/empower another person or oppress/empower oneself. Reality is often presented as an ideal around which organizations and ideology are formed. Institutions can be organized through a range of options; from oppressing people to empowering people and the multiple forms between. Critical consciousness-raising, through a style of education that perceives people's agency

to determine their own reality, can transform the individual and the group. This transformation of consciousness must be continually reinforced every day through actions that support a vision for the community. What is important is to be aware that this consciousness-raising must be integrated into everyday life so that people are reminded that it is very easy to fall back into a status quo way of thinking and being. The lens that a person sees the world must be continually challenged through reflection and action that challenges power relations.

My research implements a critical theory approach to Hollow Water's healing movement and the CHCH organization. During the life cycle of any institution there are times when an organization's ideas and efforts were appropriate for the organization's development and essential for its creation. However, there are times when these same organizational ideas and efforts are no longer applicable within the organization's current context. The internal organizational report, *What Comes Around Goes Around*, indicates that the CHCH organization's momentum has been lost and the staff members have changed or have forgotten the initial purpose or vision for the CHCH organization. Thus, the institution is in danger of dying. My research is intended to contribute to Hollow Water's healing movement and help the CHCH organization to recreate, revitalize and re-envision its purpose. My research corresponds to several projects as listed by Linda Smith's twenty-five Indigenous projects in her book *Decolonizing Methodologies*. As part of my research, I *celebrate* the survival of Hollow Water's community and document the *Indigenizing* efforts that has occurred with creating an alternative to the Western view of justice: a community justice process. My research explores the *revitalizing* process that

community citizens are currently attempting and contributes to how Hollow Water is *envisioning* the next iteration of its healing movement and its process of self-determination. My research contributes to *reframing* concepts of healing and justice as part of the larger society's understanding of Western justice as it applies to Indigenous populations and *restores* traditional understanding of community healing and justice as it applies to community healing movements and self-determination efforts. Finally, my research contributes to *naming, negotiating and sharing* ideas of healing, community justice, and self-determination so that concepts will continue and shared generationally as well as with other communities in the world (Smith 1999:145-160).

Analysis of the interviews with the people who created Hollow Water's healing movement and the CHCH organization, indicate that the organizations were successful because Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples from many walks of life (teachers, social workers, justice officials, health professionals, clergy, etc.) identified community issues and worked together to create solutions that were appropriate to community history, behaviour, and values. Many of the guiding principles of the CHCH organization originate from the traditional values of the Anishinaabek who hold the perspective that a healthy and safe community emerge through a community healing process of dialogue. My research explores the ways that knowledge can be re-envisioned and transmitted to the next generation of community citizens and to non-Anishinaabek institutions outside the community.

The challenge faced by Hollow Water is to continually work for community

consciousness-raising and to create ways in which knowledge is enacted as part of the everyday experience. I believe that Hollow Water has the beginnings of self-determination and that the community can build upon prior and current successes to determine their own vision for community.

CHAPTER FOUR

HOLLOW WATER'S HEALING MOVEMENT (1979 – 1989)

My research provides a detailed context for the forty-year history of the healing movement in the communities of Manigotagan, Aghaming, Seymourville, and Hollow Water First Nation¹⁰. Over the next three chapters (see Figure 4.1), I intend to describe the rich history of Hollow Water's healing movement (1979-1989), the operation of the healing movements' formal organization to address community sexual abuse (1989-2005), and the next iteration of the healing movement (2005+). This chapter is an analysis of my interviews with some of the key community citizens who participated in the development of, what I refer to as, "Hollow Water's healing movement". Interviews were conducted individually (Lorne, Berma, Marcel, Valdie, Thelma, and one other person who asked to be anonymous) and one group interview (Valdie, Berma, Marcel, Lorne, and one other person who asked to be anonymous). I began conducting interviews in September 2011, they were completed in November 2012.

The time frame of this "movement" is set at the ten-year period from when Hollow Water community citizens began to diverge from a coping strategy that involved distracting themselves from addressing personal pain (through using alcohol, drugs, violence,

¹⁰ A television series about a United States medical army surgical hospital (M.A.S.H.) in South Korea set during the Korean War (1950-1953) was popular during the 1980s. Many of the characters on the series were surgeons. The overarching theme of the weekly comedy series addressed the surgeons' emotional pain experienced as a result of being a healer, continually mending soldier's bodies, in the midst of a war. The series title was M.A.S.H. which, coincidentally, corresponds to the first letter of each community around Hollow Water. The series also corresponded to how people saw their life experience as living in a war situation while trying to mend themselves and people they care about. This theme provided a symbolic connection to the experiences in Hollow Water communities.

domestic abuse, sexual abuse, gambling, consuming, etc.) to actively contribute to making significant changes to their own lives, their family relations, and community interactions to the formation of the Community Holistic Circle Healing organization. For the purpose of this research, I consider the beginning of Hollow Water's healing movement at 1979. During the initial emergence of Hollow Water's healing movement there was dramatic personal and community growth over a ten-year period. Although social change was initially very slow, the mid-1980s brought about significant decrease in alcoholism, substantial increase in healthy individual and community expression, trust, and communication. The social environment provided significant opportunity to develop community assessment, planning skills, agency, and evaluation. Between 1979 and 1989, Hollow Water citizens put tremendous effort into developing the necessary skills (both personal and professional) for the community to work together, assess their own community, plan their own actions to address their community needs, act on their own plans (personal agency), and evaluate the effectiveness of their actions.

By 1989 a significant shift had occurred in Hollow Water First Nation in which the community had developed, not only specific actions to address social issues such as alcoholism and violence but had created a paradigm shift so divergent from the previous decade, that any community issue could be assessed through a community process specifically suited for Hollow Water First Nation. Addressing community issues by community citizens became locally known as "the Process" (hereafter referred to as "the empowerment process"). It is distinct from the policies and procedures of Colonial institutions and programs that have, and continue to be,

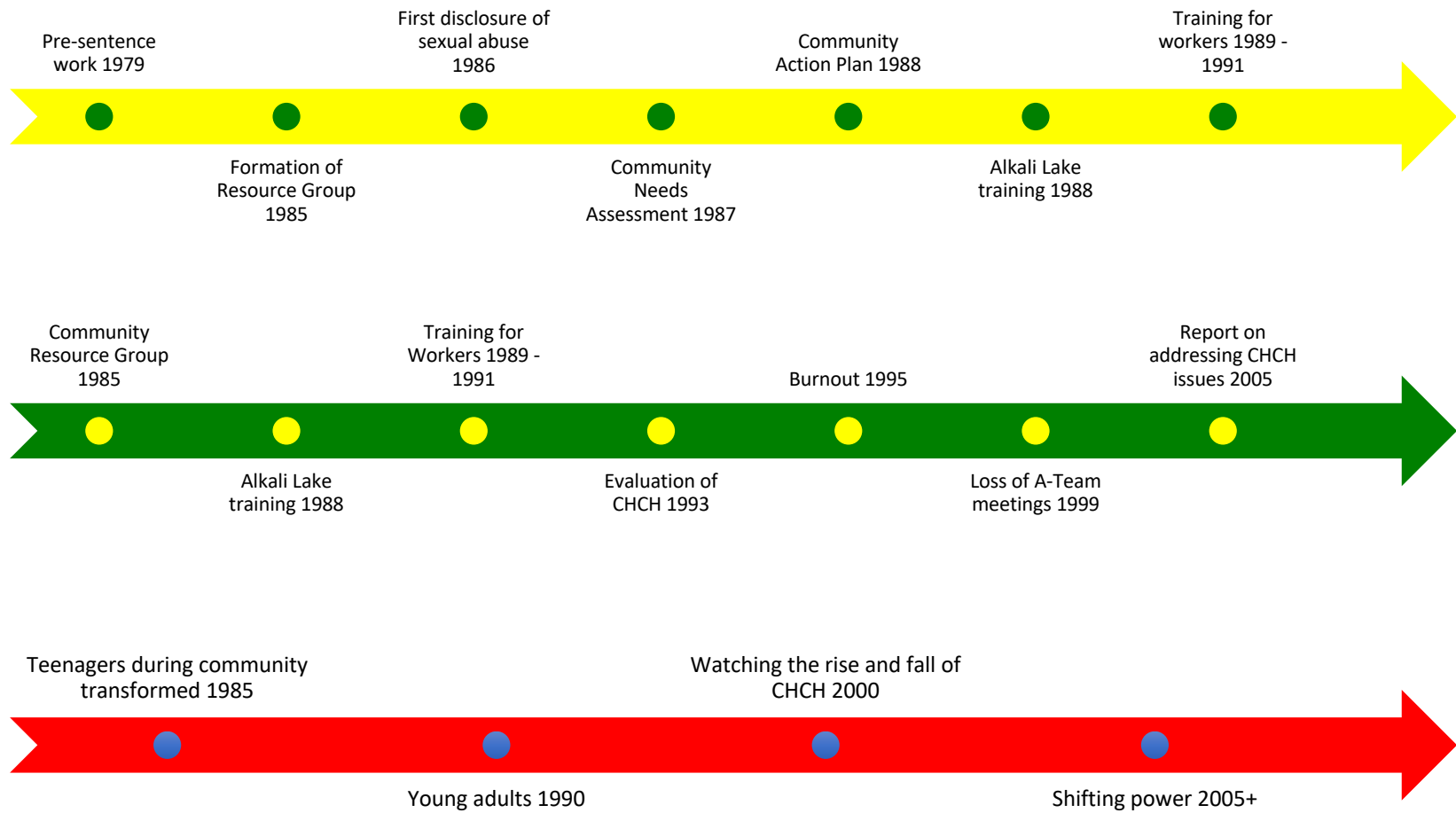


Figure 4.1 Timeline of Events Covered Through the Research

imposed by the Canadian State upon Indigenous communities. Institutions, such as, Health, Justice, Child and Family Services, Education, Religious, and Political Systems tend to form programs that – from the perspective of those I interviewed – did not meet the needs of the community, as decided upon by the community. Rather, these programs were and often are developed to meet the political and philosophical needs of the Canadian State. As Berma Bushie quoted in Brant Castellano, “we will work with the law and in cooperation with the RCMP and the courts, but if we had to follow agency and police protocols and regulations, we would be doing damage in our community” (Berma Bushie as quoted in Brant Castellano 1999:96). In this sense, programs are seen as a continuum; on one hand colonial institutions continually damage community but if there is influence to shift the organization of colonial institutions to include addressing community needs the way the community perceives as appropriate to community health then the colonial institutions can help the community achieve what it wants to achieve.

Ideally, “the empowerment process” is a grassroots organization that acts in contradiction to top-down programming. The empowerment process of community assessment, communication, planning, intervention, implementation, and evaluation are the original foundations for the Community Holistic Circle Healing (CHCH) organization and the reasons why it formed. Since the CHCH emerged from community grassroots organizing, the CHCH organization is a direct reflection of community interests. According to Hollow Water’s healing movement philosophy, described in CHCH’s *Position on Incarceration*, every community citizen is part of the Community Holistic Circle Healing organization. As well, every community citizen is responsible and accountable to some

extent for assessing, planning, and implementing activities to address community issues, providing support to each other, and monitoring each clients' progress – rather than designating a few workers to accomplish these feats (CHCH 1993:5; Brant Castellano 1999:96). However, if this philosophy is not continually expressed and practiced in ways to facilitate supportive community action, the philosophy becomes irrelevant. The CHCH organization was intended to be the organizing core to continually assess the community, address any issue that may arise, and evaluate the effectiveness of community action. Community citizens speak about “the empowerment process” as highly iterative¹¹ and community driven.

The CHCH organization also assists communication between community organizations and institutions, works to break down physical, emotional, social, and political barriers and encourages collaboration between community institutional resources. The CHCH organization facilitates community plans, facilitates community actions to implement community plans, and helps organize evaluations of the effectiveness of community actions toward an identified community issue. This “empowerment process”, described by each person interviewed, refers to community assessment, planning, action, and evaluation by the community citizens and organizations so that the community identifies its own issues and determines how to address community issues in a way that matches community-specific values. The value of this “empowerment process” is extremely important in the community and as a significant paradigm throughout my

¹¹ Iteration is the concept of repeating a process to achieve a goal where the project results of one iteration are used as the foundation for the following community assessment iteration. In other words, the results of a project are used as a community assessment for future community projects.

research. A process similar to the one that has been developed in Hollow Water First Nation will ultimately, I believe, be significant to each community with which it is employed; Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities. Specifically, many Indigenous communities can benefit from improving their skills to assess their own community issues, facilitate their own action plan, implement their own actions, and evaluate their results appropriate to their own community values, politics, and history. Although each community is unique and has its' own social issues, history, culture, etc., I believe the value of skills development, the CHCH organization, and its empowerment process are examples of community creating self-determination. I see the emergent actions of the Hollow Water healing movement and the establishment of the CHCH organization as a nascent decolonizing force. Furthermore, I agree with Marlene Brant Castellano that, "even the most sensitive, culturally appropriate efforts at healing will be short-lived, patchwork solutions, unless the authority for self-determined choices and the foundations of self-reliant economies are restored to Aboriginal people" (1999:97)

However, there came a point during the development of the CHCH organization where the generalization of "the empowerment process" became identified with a specific issue and lost its generalizing meaning and structure, with its emphasis on community assessment, community planning, implementation, and evaluation. Although "the empowerment process" is the same within the specialized focus on a specific issue, in that it facilitates shared communication and gaining support from community institutional resources to assess and address a community issue, it placed the issue at the centre of the purpose for the CHCH organization, rather than putting the issue on the periphery as just

one of many issues challenging the community. This attribution of “the empowerment process” to a single issue subverts the original generalized understanding of “the empowerment process”. In Hollow Water the CHCH organization focused on an emotional and highly volatile issue; child sexual abuse and domestic abuse in an environment where abusers are very skilled at manipulation. By specifically focusing on a single issue, it is not surprising that, for those working in the field of creating a general process of community assessment, planning, support, and evaluation would forgo the “community empowerment process” to a process that addresses sexual and domestic abuse in families and the community. The process that addresses sexual and domestic abuse in families and the community was prioritized over the “community empowerment process” as many child sexual abuse issues, emerged throughout the community. This then, created tension around the foundational direction and objectives of the Community Holistic Circle Healing organization. A split emerged between the community empowerment process and the process that addresses sexual and domestic abuse in families and the community. The Community Holistic Circle Healing organization as it formally emerged was no longer about facilitating the community to assess, plan actions, and address their own community issues (although there were still people involved that were advocating its original intent), it became an organization to address sexual abuse of children through the counseling and reconciliation of families in the community. This divergence is the point where the CHCH organization began to decline in trying to achieve its original potential as a “community empowerment process” and began to rise as a “child sexual abuse” program. The potential of the “community empowerment process” is a broader achievement of accomplishing community self-determination. The potential of the “child sexual abuse process” is to

develop family reconciliation relationships in an environment of extreme child sexual abuse and manipulation.

I set the year 1989 as a transition point marked by the establishment of the Community Holistic Circle Healing (CHCH). The development of the formal CHCH organization marks a significant community transition from the ten-year intense “Healing Movement” (community learning, skill-building, open and progressive community communication, identity development, and trust building), which characterized the first part of the Healing Movement, to what I refer to as the “Organizational Period”; a period of formulating a systematic process to build relationships between various community organizations and community citizens to build community justice. Community justice is defined as a way to organize community citizens so that community citizens recognize (through assessment), negotiate (through communication and developing teams), and address (through planning) community issues that affect the community and addresses these issues in a way that is supportive and appropriate to a community’s culture (Valdie Seymour; personal communication). The “Organizational Period” began within the late 1980s and continued on until sometime around 2000 with the collapse of organizational support from key community agencies and the loss of regular community resource meetings. The Organizational Period overlaps with the “Healing Movement Period” the beginning is set at 1980 and currently exists. In 2006, Four Worlds Institute completed a document called “What Comes Around Goes Around: A Review of the Hollow Water CHCH Program and Proposed Framework for Future Action”. The report indicated that CHCH Board, staff, and community institutions were aware that the CHCH organization

was not effectively addressing community concerns and had strayed from its original vision. According to the Four Worlds Institute, “the community of Hollow Water is now experiencing a social decline in which many individuals and families are again sliding downward into very troublesome patterns of dysfunction, fear, mistrust and hurtful behaviours. Right now, the community is becoming increasingly unhealthy” (Four Worlds Institute 2006:2).

However, during my interviews, I found that the succeeding generations still recognize the value of the “Healing Movement” because, although they were children during the height of the movement, they saw a dramatic change to the lives of their parents who came to terms with their own communication issues and abuses and developed skills to address them. At some point during the life of the Community Holistic Circle Healing organization, the empowerment process of facilitating community awareness and assessment, planning, action, support, and evaluation began to shift. Consequently, the CHCH organization became a program to address sexual abuse, domestic violence, and eventually became a probation program. This shift from “process” to “program” has extremely undermined the intent of the CHCH organization but also undermined the effectiveness of community working together to address their own issues. I will analyze the “Organizational Period” in Chapter five and the “Succeeding Period” in Chapter six.

Remembered Times

It became apparent to me during one of the group interviews with the originators of Hollow Water’s healing movement process that they were not trying to create something

new in the community when they were beginning to heal. Rather, they were trying to get back to something they remember having in their community but had eroded with the introduction and influence of the Church, the School and the Police. In my interviews, the founders describe Hollow Water in 1970s as alcoholic, violent and socially chaotic. They were interested in bringing a sense of healing and order to their own lives and the lives of their families. They had no intention of creating anything but stability to their community. However, a few authors, such as, Marlene Brant Castellano, began to see Hollow Water's actions as having meaning beyond healing one community (1999:97). She saw their actions as a critique of colonization, a criticism of Western agencies and systems, and a nascent expression of self-determination, which effectively, it was. I also believe that Hollow Water's healing movement organically created what Senge refers to as a learning organization, through the initial purpose (the empowerment process) of the Community Holistic Circle Healing organization, but I will develop this idea further in Chapter five.

The Healing Movement Period provided the foundation for Hollow Water community citizens to take responsibility for their own behaviour and make their own decisions as the community moved toward healing and/or decolonizing themselves. Hollow Water began to decolonize and restructure their community by using the systems that had partially and ineffectively¹² replaced their own traditional systems and institutions.

¹² The ineffectiveness of Western institutions, particularly justice, has been discussed in this work in Chapter 2. Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie (2005) draw attention to a view that often perceives the dominant justice system as overly punitive, however, Elders often view the dominant justice system as insufficiently punitive. To make justice sufficiently effective, specifically in small and relatively intimate communities (where 'face-to-face' social relations persist) shame, sanction and atonement for wrongdoing are significant and must be part of the justice system (2005). Additionally, among Indigenous community justice approaches, there must be a way to identify, address, and potentially heal the social environment in which the offense emerged.

These systems had fragmented Hollow Water society and disintegrated community relationships. Examples of Anishinaabek culture that existed prior to the influence of Western culture were shared with me during the interviews.

The influence of Western culture greatly impacted the daily life of the community citizens during the mid-20th Century. The originators told me, in a group interview, that the 1950s brought substantial life changes and created power shifts in the community. Power shifted from Anishinaabek traditional family practices of making social decisions on community issues to the Church, the School, and the Police making decisions on community issues. From the Western point of view, institutions such as Police, Church and School provide social stability to build community. However, from an Indigenous perspective (and a perspective of the originators' "empowerment process") these Western institutions literally destroyed the fabric of social relations.

The most pronounced example is the introduction of two Churches in the community: the Anglican Church and Catholic Church. These two Churches separated familial social relations and divided the community geographically. The originators talk about explicit community antagonism and conflict expressed through community citizens who belonged to the two Churches had for each other based on ideology that they assumed was the right way of perceiving (Christian) religion. Physical altercations between children and adults who represented either a Catholic family or an Anglican family were frequent. One interview disclosed that one of the Church leaders was responsible for sexually abusing this person during the 1950s.

Although the Chief and Council during the late 1980s supported the Community Holistic Circle Healing, they were initially resistant to the community healing movement. Valdie Seymour stated that during the 1970s and early 1980s there were no staff at the Band Office because they were often drinking until Wednesday. Thursday the staff began a cycle of drinking for the weekend and would not stop until Tuesday. One community citizen indicated to me that the Band Chief and Council and their administration staff were not true decision-makers because these positions were created by the Indian Act; they were defined, bound by, and served the interests of the federal government department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. It took thirty years for community citizens to begin to recognize that the problem of community destabilization was rooted in the philosophy of control imbedded in the perspective of colonial institutions. It took another ten years to develop a formal process to counteract and adjust the Western destabilizing institutions (Church, Police, School, and other Western programs and institutions such as Child and Family Services, Medical Services, the Band administration and governing body, etc.). During the Healing Movement Period, Hollow Water First Nation citizens developed methods to continually facilitate community dialogue, develop personal and professional skills, and use community resources to address community needs. This subversion of Western destabilization institutions was the Community Holistic Circle Healing process. The CHCH organization addressed community needs defined by community dialogue not necessarily institutional needs.

Several highly charismatic people among the group of originators became aware of the issues and their underlying root causes and they were also pragmatically committed to the long-term goal of achieving self-determination in their community. Since the Elders were silent on providing advice for re-constructing an older social organization prior to the influence of colonial institutions, the healing movement had to address community needs through the community resources and institutions that were already in place. Rather than reject all Western institutions, they chose to work with (and subvert) the various community resources to address community issues.

Influential Community citizens

I interviewed six people who I consider part of “the originators” during the ten-year emergence and development period of Hollow Water’s healing movement. Four people were extremely influential in the emergence and development of the healing movement: Valdie Seymour, Marcel Hardisty, Berma Bushie, and Joyce Bushie – however, I was unable to meet Joyce because she had passed on in the late 1990s. Each person I interviewed, refused to accept any category that I proposed to call them, as well as, refused to accept the importance of their work during the Hollow Water healing movement period. They refused to be called leader, original facilitator, or activist – all these categories inadequately described their identity as a contributor to the emergence of Hollow Water’s healing movement. This humility is consistent with the traditional philosophy that everyone brings his or her own personal skills (identified as gifts from the Creator) which helps build the character and development of the community. Each person has also indicated that there were more people, both inside and outside the community, that were

greatly responsible for the development of Hollow Water's Healing Movement – including Cruz Acevado, Jack Mendez, Joyce Bushie, Lloyd Bushie, however, due to their demise, I was unable to conduct interviews with them.

In 1979, Valdie Seymour was employed to be Hollow Water's National Native Alcohol and Drug Awareness Program (NNADAP) counselor and is now the Director of his own business that teaches personal and professional skill development to community citizens through his program Community Centred Therapy Program. Thelma Bighetty was Valdie Seymour's wife and worked as a consultant and social worker but has since passed. Marcel Hardisty, the current president on the Board of Directors for the CHCH organization, was the Social Assistance administrator and later elected under the Indian Act to Band Council as a Councilor. Marcel now works as a NNADAP counselor and consultant. Berma Bushie was director of the Community Holistic Circle Healing and later became executive director of Southeast Child and Family Services, Manitoba and is now retired yet seems to do more work now that she is retired. She is on almost all community committees in Hollow Water First Nation. Lorne Hagel worked for Manitoba Child and Family Services for the Eastman region, Manitoba and is now retired. One other interviewee worked in a helping field and did not indicate that she wanted to be identified in the interviews.

Social Environment of 1970s Hollow Water

Hollow Water's healing movement began with several social factors that were prominent during the late 1970s and the early 1980s. Hollow Water community citizens

were struggling with alcohol and illicit drugs, there were extreme cases of community and domestic violence, child abuse and neglect. Berma Bushie indicated that the Hollow Water community in the 1980s were extremely volatile. In the government document *The Four Circles of Hollow Water*, Berma Bushie described the state of Hollow Water and the drive to achieve a previous idyllic state,

By the 1980s [Hollow Water] was a really horrible place. We were seeing more of our women being beaten and raped, our children being abused. With all the alcohol and all the suicide attempts, we lost touch with God. When I started working I felt what would happen. So the challenge we face today in my community is we have to go back to the time of my father, the way of life that they had. How to do that, that's the really big question. (Canada 1997:130)

My interviews Valdie Seymour indicated that there were significant events in the 1970s and 1980s that affected his perception of the community. He states,

Valdie: There was an incident where a young guy was charged with rape and was sent away but didn't stay away long. [This happened] twice. The third time, when he came back, he was accused of killing the victim and actually dismembering the whole body. I knew something had to happen. By that time, I was recognizing that jail was not deterring any of the crimes that were happening in the community. They were repetitious, happening over and over. And I was concerned about everything from the probation system, the policing, and was concerned about how everything was a farce for me. It wasn't working. Nothing was happening – also recognizing most of the crimes and incidents, everything from abuse to everything that happened, all the alcohol and drugs – that's where I was coming from. I wanted to find a way to help people [to] be accountable and responsible for what their actions were.

Marcel Hardisty recounted a story about child abuse and neglect. He tells the story about a toddler in the community, neglected by the child's parents, who drowned in an outhouse while they were at a drinking party (Marcel Hardisty personal communication). Each of these accounts portray Hollow Water's past as a community in violent disarray. Each person I interviewed perceived Hollow Water in the 1970s and 1980s as a time of

extreme violence consumed by multiple abuses, including sexual assault. In response to the extreme violence and abuse, many people in the community denied the violence and abuse by distracting themselves many ways; often through addictions, such as alcohol, sex, abuses, gossip, and lateral violence.

EXAMINING THE ROOT ISSUES

The root issues confronting Indigenous and Settler peoples are multiple and complex. As I understand it, there is a conflict between Indigenous peoples' personal control and colonial institutions' control over decision-making that influence the perception, actions, and meaning of a person's life. The mentality and expression of colonialism and imperialism are attempts to assert dominance and control over peoples' behaviour and thoughts so that those who assert the dominating force consider the dominating ideology as the only "real" perspective of reality. This is an expression of assimilation efforts, paternalism, and ethnocentrism. An underlying characteristic of assimilation efforts is the belief that those who do not think and behave according to the dominant reality are inferior within the so-called dominant ideology and so-called dominant society. However, the assertion of dominance can only be imposed on a people to the degree that the people that practice this dominating behaviour have the power and the support of multiple institutions to impose their will on the so-called non-dominant people. This dominating behaviour based on dominating thoughts is the practice of racism; it results in the erasure of peoples' history, values, customs, and traditions. Practicing this behaviour over time can create self-hate among those assimilated, as well as create practices among the assimilated that they strive to practice the dominating behaviour to

impose assimilation on other so-called non-dominant members. It is the vicious cycle of abuse that those who have assimilated violence, dominance, and control impose and oppress others who then go on further to assimilate still more people. The dominating violence empties meaning from culture and suppresses communication and connection.

Calvin Morrisseau, a Program Manager at the Wee-chi-it-te-win Child and Family Services in Fort Frances, Ontario, states, “for years I (like many of my people) knew nothing of our history, creation story, beliefs, values, customs, and traditions. I knew only that Indians were savages ‘inferior’ to the non-native” (Morrisseau 1998:6). He indicates that Anishinaabek culture has assimilated into a hierarchical system and has developed a reliance on individuality. This shift towards an individualistic perception of life from a collective perception of life, “has brought about changes in the way our communities interact with one another, and has wrought profound effects on our personal relationships, where the roles of the community, the extended family, and the individual have become devalued and disconnected” (Morrisseau 1998:5).

The effects of assimilation have restricted and diminished community health as Morrisseau indicates that, “modern psychiatry and medicine have done their damage to Anishinabe people by suggesting that wholistic healing is not a *natural* way of dealing with our problems” (Morrisseau 1998:5-6). According to Morrisseau, control over who is recognized to heal, how one heals, and how many people should be involved in healing has been removed from a wholistic, sharing, and interdependent system enacted through families and replaced with an individualistic, dependency-oriented perspective of life

(Morrisseau 1998:6). This perspective has, “destroyed the sacred ties that connected our families and communities with one another. As a result, I believe many Anishinaabe people are people who are in pain. This painful cycle appears to take the form where the individual, their family, and their community become alienated from each other’s existence” (Morrisseau 1998:6). From this alienation, Morrisseau continues,

we blamed our parents, our communities, and the fact that we were ‘Indians’ for the ever-increasing loss of control over our own lives. The more we lost control, the more we needed to exert control. With those in authority too powerful or too far away for us to exert any measure of restitution, we inflicted revenge upon our elders, women, and children. Family violence became an issue passing from generation to generation ... Instead of passing down the teachings of our people, we passed down the noxious effects of trying to become people we were not. The denial of our responsibility for our own feelings by blaming others became the first step in our own self-destruction. Losing touch with our feelings, we became unable to teach our children how to properly deal with them” (Morrisseau 1998:13 and 14).

Within traditional Anishinaabek culture there is a strong relationship with obligation and rights. When using Anishinaabemowin/Ojibwaymowin¹³ terms to describe my name when introducing myself I would say, “maa’inganinini indishinikaas”. This translates in English “my name is wolfman”. However, the root words in the language of the Anishinaabek (Ojibwaymowin – speaking Ojibway) indicate several value concepts and orientations of reality that are not translatable to English. Examining the phrase “indishinikaas” within Ojibwaymowin, the term “i-shi” means “to serve” and “nikaas” means “name a certain way” (Dr. Jerome Fontaine personal communication 2021). This illustrates that within a person’s name there is an obligatory relationship that is suggested to the listener. Furthermore, a person’s obligations are deeply tied with that person’s clan

¹³ Fontaine refers to all human beings as Anishinaabek. Those who hold and practice values informed by Ojibway are referred to as Ojibway. According to Fontaine Ojibwaymowin refers to speaking Ojibway (personal communication with Dr. Fontaine).

affiliation (Coyle 1986; Sinclair 1991). To illustrate this, Borrows describes two questions that were asked between Anishinaabek when they met; *Weanaesh k'dodem?* (What is your totem (or clan)?) and *Ahniish aen-anookeeyin?* (What do you do for a living). These questions establish a person's responsibility within the community. As Borrows states, "a person's *dodem* indicates more than their lineage: obligations are attached to their clan affiliations. Like a *dodem*, a person's *anookeewin* also connotes ideas of duty and right (*daebinaewiziwin*)" (Borrows 2010:79). According to Borrows, Anishinaabek rights and responsibilities are intertwined, as he states, "Anishinabek peoples have obligations (*daebizitawaugaewin*) to their families and community: to support them, to help them prosper, and to exercise their rights to live and work ... when a right is invaded, a duty is violated" (Borrows 2010:79). In notes I received during the final editing of this thesis, Dr. Fontaine further clarifies the language and how it weaves meaning and values within Anishinaabek ontology,

the word 'doodem' derives from the root 'de', meaning 'heart' or 'centre'. We see its meaning throughout Ojibwaymowin and in the relationship between the words 'ode' (*heart*), 'oodena' (*town or village*), 'doodem' (*clan*) and 'de-we'i-gun' (*the Big Drum*). Simply stated, it's about our connectedness: physically the heart is the centre of the body, and the town or village is the centre of a community. The clan is therefore accepted as the centre of identity/responsibility and the drum is the heartbeat and/or the centre of the nation. As Anishinabeg we must live out the i-shi-ni-kaa-so (name) we were given by our clan and the spirits in everything we do. It's our responsibility to *walk in our name*, our given i-shi-ni-kaa-so-win and our doodem (*clan*). Your name and your clan will tell people who you are and what you must do. Ojibwaymowin teaches us this (Fontaine 2021 personal communication).

Traditionally, the structure of community justice was built on this personal understanding of rights and obligations. A person is born into a family in which strong values of right and wrong behaviour is solidified and strengthened through the language,

through observation of family life, and observation of the ecology for which there is specific identification to the clan and its associated animal reference (Borrows 2010). Borrows further indicates the intertwining of rights and responsibilities when he states, “wherever a potential right exists, a correlative obligation can usually be found, based on individual’s relationship with the other orders of the world” (Borrows 2010:79). The Anishinaabek have, as Borrows states, “strong legal traditions that convey their duties relative to the world. These are steward-like concepts (*bimeekumaugaewin g’da-kii-mi-naan onji* – *Being responsible for the care and maintaining the beauty of the land*) and apply to their use of land, plants, and others. Principles of acknowledgement, accomplishment, accountability, and approbation are embedded in the Anishinabek creation epic and associated stories” (Borrows 2010:79). Fontaine illustrates concepts/terms used within Ojibwaymowin to express *bimeekumaugaewin g’da-kii-mi-naan onji* and how this is related to Ojibway law.

The *bimeekumaugaewin* form an understanding of a peoples’ relationship with the spirits (such as Creation), elements, land, animals, and other people. This is the axiology of traditional Anishinaabek legal community justice relationships and, “are the enforcement mechanisms of Anishinabek law” (Borrows 2010:80). The first principle, acknowledgement (*gaamiinigooyang*), expressed through these concept stories is the realization that the world was created prior to human existence and humans are dependent on the earth, plants, and animals for sustenance and survival. Fontaine further illustrates that the Ojibway recognize the inherent sacred covenant that places Anishinaabek within the world by Creation: *Ga-mi-ni-no-zid anishinabe* (Inherent Anishinabe rights).

Enawayndiwin refers to the original way of relating to spirit and all of Creation (Fontaine 2021, personal communication). The second principle is based on the relationship with accomplishing (*gikinoo'amaadiwin*) Creator's vision of life and how plants, animals, and humans should relate to and respect each other. The stories talk about principles that are required for creating peace and establishing balance and friendship among all the orders of life. Accountability (*gwayakochigewin* – To live well and honestly) is the third principle in which ritual (an enactment of values) is performed in conjunction with the stories to communicate to the Creator and to express to others how one's duties and responsibilities have been performed. It is the enactment of legal relationships. The fourth principle of *bimeekumaugaewin* is about the consequences living in accordance with or against these principles. There are many stories (such as Nanabush and hundreds of other characters) that convey the notion that every being experiences the consequences of his or her actions. The idea that approval is received for the proper performance of duty and that disapproval (*tubuhmahgawin*) comes through failure to fulfill a responsibility (Borrows 2010:79-80). Anishinaabemowin provides the underlying values, roles, and responsibilities that of each person in relationship to all entities.

Borrows describes the practice of these Anishinaabek principles of law through the following process:

1. wait, observe, and collect information,
2. consult with their friends and neighbours when it is apparent something is wrong,
3. help the person who is threatening or causing imminent harm,
4. if the person does not respond to help and becomes an imminent threat to individuals or the community, he or she can be removed so that he or she does not harm others (though, to re-emphasize the act does not involve what the common law has labeled capital punishment),

5. help those who rely on that person by restoring what might be taken from them by the treatment,
6. invite both the community and the individual to participate in the restoration (Borrows 2010:83).

Returning to Hollow Water First Nation, a community that once valued its own justice system of bringing people into balance through healing relationships within a community is devalued with the forced imposition of a colonial justice system based on punishment and determination of guilt or innocence. Consequently, the forced imposition of the colonial justice model influenced people (Settler and Indigenous peoples) to respond by valuing the punishment model of justice and devaluing the community restorative relationships to justice. As Morrisseau states,

I was confronted by one counsellor for using the words ‘abuse’ and ‘healing’ in the same breath. He said that men should not be excused for abusing their partners on the basis that they were abused themselves. What he failed to see was that the concept of responsibility allowed us to work with the offender instead of locking him away. Traditionally our families were responsible for teaching about intimacy. In family violence, there can be no intimacy. For us, the development of intimacy lies in the teaching of those things to our children... whenever a man strikes out against a woman, he teaches his children to handle problems with violence. He also teaches his children that it is all right to hit and abuse (Morrisseau 1998:40).

Western-based treatment does not consider the community’s role as part of the child’s and community’s recovery plan. As Morrisseau states, “it does not recognize that the community has responsibilities to its members and individuals” (Morrisseau 1998:46). Morrisseau continues, “all community citizens must know and be clear what [is] the vision for their community. It is the responsibility of our leaders to ensure a vision, for without one, we flounder in a sea of apathy and confusion. Our vision must be one of healing for every member of our society” (Morrisseau 1998:49)

Morrisseau indicates that building a trustworthy, safe, and supportive environment for community citizens requires an honest evaluation of community issues, as he states,

we have only begun to demonstrate our courage by rejecting disavowal and facing the truth. When we create programs and services helping our families, we are creating an atmosphere in which our community citizens can feel safe and good about themselves. Instead of looking at our social safety network as a symbol of our need to heal, we must look at it as our healing ... It lets members who are still suffering from the effects of oppression and assimilation know there is a way out whenever it is wanted. Social programs create a change in the value system. We begin to tell the world that we, as a community, value the healing of our members ... It does no one any good if we stand up and pretend nothing is wrong. The only ones we hurt are those who really need the services (Morrisseau 1998:81-82)

A community that values its own spiritual philosophy, expression of life through ceremony, and family cohesiveness is transformed and devalued through imposed Christian spiritual teachings supported by Federal government's residential school. Abuse subjected on Indigenous families and children by the Church and Government either sexually, through mental and physical violence, and demanding children be regimented so that they are forbidden to speak their cultural language is a violation of humanity. The abuse has left many generations deprived of basic human needs and has left a painful psychological wound – shattering healthy communication with community citizens, diminishing concepts and opportunities for parents and communities to raise healthy children, and impairing efforts to build community trust – skills that are essential to build a healthy community. The Federal government and Christianity has devalued Indigenous spirituality and family structures for generations and have been and continues to be successful at destroying Indigenous philosophy, expressions of life through ceremony, and its relationship to family cohesiveness.

Morrisseau states, that for the formation of community policy to be effective, the community had to look at a way to address violators and victims. To do this, the community citizens addressed five key areas:

- found ways to reach out to those still suffering from violence, addictions, eating disorders, loss of identity, purposelessness, hopelessness, anger, disdain, and suicide.
- developed plans to ensure people are able to feel safe in discussing issues of family violence and healing
- looked at ways to help individuals heal from trauma and abuse
- looked at ways families can heal from abusive situations and relationships which were/are abusive
- ended the cycle of violence and abuse in our families and communities by looking at ways to prevent family violence and other issues. (Morrisseau 1998:82)

Morrisseau's concern indicated that the community contemplated how to make the transformations required to bring about a shift in the way we view healing and life? He states that, "there is no easy way to bring ourselves to the forefront of healing, but through dedication and commitment, we can build healing for all people. I believe that by relearning some simple concepts and applying them to life, you can accept a responsibility for yourself that can create a chain reaction of recovery within your family and community" (Morrisseau 1998:83-84). Healing that is informed by Indigenous culture (knowledge and practices) that embed and imbue Indigenous values and concepts within the individual, the family, and community are more appropriate for approaching healing among Indigenous people than the predominantly accepted Western approaches, techniques, and methods. As Morrisseau indicates that he, "always felt I was missing something – never completely healed using mainstream methods. When I went back and explored my ancestry, I began to feel more connected to my community and my nation" (Morrisseau 1998:87).

Morrisseau reiterates the importance of drawing upon fundamental system of values; an axiology that is appropriate to Anishinaabek culture. According to Morrisseau, the underlying cultural values and principles are critical to healing Anishinaabek people. Primarily, part of this healing is developing an active and continual relationship to higher power (Morrisseau 1998:88). Subsequently Morrisseau suggests that taking responsibility to examine one's own life and learn many of the skills that were lost from assimilation and genocide. As Morrisseau indicates, "our families need to relearn many of the things they have been taught about ourselves and our parenting. We need to recognize that within our communities lie the answers to all of our hardships and that recognizing those hardships is the first step towards community healing" (Morrisseau 1998:79).

The proceeding interview quotations indicate Hollow Water First Nation community citizen's perception of how colonial institutions create control and meaning over Indigenous peoples' lives. Colonialism of the mind (imperialism) is expressed, today, by various governments, institutions, and both Indigenous peoples and Settler peoples. Imperialism is the devaluing and dominating decision-making power of an Indigenous individual, family, community, and nation. This power shift favors external (to traditional community-oriented systems) colonial systems that are expressed through representatives of colonial institutions, that is, Church, School, Police, Government organizations, etc. For example, a community that once valued its own language spoken by individuals, family, community, and nation, with the introduction of a colonial school that exclusively values English over Anishinaabemowin – all people (Settlers and Indigenous peoples) are

influenced to value the English language and devalue Anishinaabemowin. Colonial mentality affects the minds of people so that an Indigenous persons' mind can be influenced to impose colonial practices on other Indigenous peoples; a particularly diabolical reaction to Colonial mentality.

BUILDING A FOUNDATION

Social Distress and Community Reaction

Hollow Water First Nation, in the 1970s, was ripe for a dramatic worldview shift that eventually altered many community citizen's lives – influencing community citizens to reject a colonial understanding of reality and create a new understanding of reality where strict adherence to colonial mentality simply does not maintain healthy community behaviours. The result in Hollow Water First Nation was the rise of charismatic leaders that trained themselves to be able to subvert colonial mentality to one that modifies colonial institutions so that the institutions become responsive to community issues rather than continually applying failed and failing policies. Charismatic, or in Weber's terms 'natural', leaders emerge during "times of psychic, physical, economic, ethical, religious, political distress ... the natural leaders in distress have been holders of specific gifts of the body and spirit; these gifts have been believed to be supernatural, not accessible to everybody" (Gerth and Mills 1948:245).

Community citizens were dissatisfied with the way that community violence and disruption had been dealt with by the Canadian justice system since the 1940s. One of the most important aspects of Hollow Water's Healing movement is how the people of Hollow

Water First Nation reframed English concepts to correspond to Anishinaabek worldview. For example, in order to refer to people who are accused of a crime, the English term is “offender” attributed to such individuals. However, this English term is not consistent with Anishinaabek reality who see these individuals as “people who are out of balance with themselves, family and their community” and who need to be offered an opportunity to “come into balance” within the family and community sphere. As well, the family and community need to address the social situation(s) that did not provide a healthy and balanced space to raise and interact with the individual to provide a social space for the person who is out of balance. In order to express this concept, in English, the term “victimizer” was used instead of “offender” to convey that the person was also a victim in his or her life and was now acting out from the lifestyle imbalance that has characterized his or her life situation (i.e. childhood trauma, poverty, social injustice). Many of the terms and concepts that are held by Anishinaabek are consistent with a traditional Anishinaabek spiritual philosophy and a governing body based on the clan system and consequently the clan system’s relationship with instilling rights and obligations within its family members.

When I lived in Hollow Water First Nation from 1997 to 2001, I enjoyed the conversations I was having with community citizens. I was fascinated by community citizens understanding of colonization and their subversion of English to convey traditional spiritual concepts. In 1998, the Aboriginal Healing Foundation (AHF) established an Indigenous-managed, Ottawa-based, not-for-profit private corporation and provided with 350 million dollars from the Canadian federal government as part of the *Gathering Strength – Canada’s Aboriginal Action Plan*. Gathering Strength refers to Volume 3 of the 1996

Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) report. The report outlines the many aspects of health and healing service disparities between Indigenous peoples and Settler peoples. These disparities contributed to suffering in many Indigenous communities due to Canada's assimilation process, the Indian Residential School being just one of the many forms of assimilation that have been inflicted upon Indigenous populations. Traditional Indigenous spiritual philosophy has been and continues to be severely attacked in many places across Canada. However, traditional Indigenous philosophies are continually being interjected within colonial mentality daily. There is an increase in redressing the acknowledgement of Treaty Lands among various government institutions in official communications, an increased attention for concepts regarding the restructure of rights and obligations between Indigenous and Settler society have emerged through a call to action of the recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Gladue (1995) and Ipeelee (2012) are legal decisions and enacted through Canadian Parliament indicating that Canadian courts are obligated to take into account the historical effects assimilation, living conditions, and circumstances of Indigenous peoples when contemplating sentencing for Indigenous people who have offended. This has resulted in pre-sentencing reports being used by sentencing judges as a way to assist sentencing Indigenous offenders. Jordan's Principle is a federal law passed in 2007 that ensures First Nations children living on and off reserve have equitable access to all government funded services regardless of jurisdictional conflict between levels of government.

Reframing Colonial Reality

Hollow Water's "Healing Movement" paradigm shift was a reaction to the imposition of various authoritarian institutions that had been introduced in the late 1940s (Church, School, and RCMP). The interviews indicate that the real root of social distress was not rampant addictions, family violence, and abuses, these were merely symptoms of the colonial mentality, dominance and control actions, and abuses of power. The real issue was controlling people's ideas and behaviours, trying to devalue a system that had functioned effectively for tens of thousands of years, and replace that system with an inadequate system that tried to force people to become something they could never be, White people. As Hollow Water's healing movement gained popularity and organized activities, it began to influence more community citizens. However, the paradigm shift was not directed against Western institutions, rather, those responsible for leading the healing movement often saw the Church, School, RCMP, as well as other colonial institutions as potential allies who could aid the healing movement in achieving community goals. In other words, Hollow Water's response to the atrocities inflicted upon them was to forgive and subvert key aspects of the institutions to work for them; to work to address the community-defined goals. Hollow Water's collective philosophy suggests a way out of their current situation was not one of revolt but was a cultural revolution of working with others to overcome these atrocities and their consequent symptoms with an intention of working toward shifting colonial mentality toward a balanced humane state that approaches reconciliation between cultures. This intention is practiced through traditional Anishinaabek language¹⁴, concepts, and practices. The objective is to be able to express terms, concepts, and behaviour so that those that hold Colonial mentality can understand

¹⁴ Anishinaabe language is still spoken by Elders and the young but only minimally used by adults whose age is between youth and Elder.

Anishinaabek system of values. In other words, to persuade those that hold Settler Colonial mentality that another way of thinking is possible and perhaps more effective based on the credibility of the people working to introduce Anishinaabek understandings. Lorne Hegel illustrates the initial colonial subversion of who has power and control,

***Lorne:** I can remember that as we were working our way through [our discussions about power] we eventually came to that place of there are two ways that you can think of history – You can say that the outside systems, school, police, child and family, court, whatever took [power] away from us or you can say we gave [our power] to you [the colonial institutions] – and now we want to take it back. So that is how we worked our way back to that. It may have been over several conversations about just trying to work it through. Okay court, ok police, ok school, we are taking [the power] back now. If Creator puts the right people there to go okay, then if that’s what you want to do then let’s giv’er a shot. So if you’re just a little bit not sure, Creator takes care of it and makes it ok.*

So I think that was an important discussion and when you present it like that, and you don’t present it from a place of anger because we never did it from a place of anger. We did it from a place of responsibility. We were all credible in our systems so that even if someone in your system did not always agree with you, you had enough credibility to make someone stop and think. And then you bring in some other people and supplement (and support you) and suddenly people are saying “why didn’t we think of this years ago?” and you can twist that dynamic.

***Kevin:** Rather than sounding like a radical and getting angry, it’s like calmly saying, “did you think about it this way?”*

***Lorne:** We were really good at that. That was a really good skill set that we had. Talk calmly, do things, be humble, saying, “we don’t know that we got this right but we really need to try it. Because this is what makes sense to us, right now.” And people would get on board.*

If you are coming from a place of love and humility and talking quietly, people will listen. So they are open to changing the way that that they are doing things. It hasn’t been my total experience, that because I change, others change. Sometimes it can be quite the opposite. If you are changing in a healthy way and the person you are engaging with is fairly healthy, too, then [healthy change to the relationship] kind of happens. I think what is key, is the way that you approach it. We are just taking it back now, that’s all. Having enough depth to what you’re saying to convince people that this is not frivolous and saying the right things at the right time. People spoke

from their heart. There is something about it that grabs people. They can tell that if you haven't got the words exactly right – you are coming from a good place. And that makes it worthy for you to be listened to. The teaching of humility is so clear.

One of the first concepts that worked well within Hollow Water First Nation goal of reframing colonial reality is the pre-sentence report. The pre-sentence report is an examination of the accused's past and current behaviours. If the accused is contributing positively to his or her own community it suggests that the accused's behaviour can be reformed and his contribution to community can be used to restore community relationships that were damaged due the accused's previous anti-social behaviour. For example, a report that shows that the accused has plead guilty to a charge, suggests that the accused is willing to take responsibility for his actions. Further, if the report shows that the accused's behaviour shows that there are many community positive ties that he has to the community suggests that the accused is likely to reform his behaviour and attempt to restore relationships to those he has offended; individuals and associated famil(ies).

Hollow Water First Nation regularly used pre-sentence reports to work with offenders on community issues – defined as a report that outlines community contributions and involvement by a person accused of a crime. By showing that the person accused is community minded and involved in positive community activities, a judge can sentence the accused person to community work under the recognizance of a specified community citizen or other institutional monitor. Currently a type of pre-sentence report, Gladue reports may be used by courts prosecuting Indigenous peoples. A Gladue report documents an Indigenous person's historical and current circumstances prior to sentencing.

Seeing an Alternative Reality

Part of Valdie Seymour's work as a NNADAP worker was helping clients who were in danger of being sentenced by the colonial Justice system for driving while under the influence of alcohol. His work with the court system helped spark an idea that he could work with other systems to help the people in his community. Valdie's idea was to help community citizens take charge of their lives by providing community information to supplement a pre-sentence report to the justices and lawyers at the courts. A pre-sentence report "requires probation officers to interview offenders, family members, employers and teachers. Probation officers also review police and correctional files to help the courts in knowing the offender as a person and his/her willingness to change" (Bonta, et al.: 2005). Valdie interviewed each offender and program representative in Hollow Water. He reported the offenders' community involvement in social programs and volunteer activities aimed to address the offending behaviour. Valdie provided community information on the offender that was greatly valued by the courts. By providing a community perspective of the offender, Valdie states that he began to influence the court system toward a community understanding of community needs.

Valdie began to influence the Canadian court system by working with people who were charged with drunk driving and responding to the charges by helping those charged find ways to contribute and respond to the needs of the community. This approach was much more effective at rehabilitating a repeat offender than the institutional (court system) view of punishing and incarcerating drunk drivers. This colonial view of institutions as the

controlling and dominating force – had it's own need that were foreign to Hollow Water's community.

Jeanette Cook, a Community Holistic Circle Healing counselor, depicts community citizens disillusionment with the Canadian incarceration system. According to Jeanette, the Western justice system is insufficiently punitive in working with offenders. The Western justice system punishes but it does not work to heal offenders or incorporate family or community within addressing justice for the community. The Western justice system does not offer a way to establish offender reintegration back into the family or community. And the Western justice system offers no way to address issues that brought about offending behaviour in the first place. In the film *Hollow Water* she states,

We want to help them, we don't believe in jail, 'cause they don't get no help in jail. The way we see jail system is ... sure they'll go to jail. Sure people sees this as punishment but we don't see it that way. That's not punishment 'cause they go in there and nothing happens in there and they just get angry and angry and they come back to the community and do the same thing over again. So that cycle just continues. And what we're trying to do is stop that cycle to start helping these people. We believe in healing. I believe in healing. I believe they can heal (Jeanette Cook interviewed in Bonnie Dickie 2000).

According to the original activists, the community had been eroding since the introduction of Christianity, School, and Police in the community. Rather than create a new stable social order for the Hollow Water citizens, these institutions systematically presented a social order that devalued Indigenous traditional culture that destabilized the community social order. Many community citizens point to the traditional community breakdown as a directly facilitated by the forced institutional influences on community citizens. This community breakdown directly resulted in the high incidents of alcohol

abuse, violent crime, domestic abuse, and child neglect. A response to intense and systemic devaluation of Anishinaabek culture was to subvert colonizing strategies to build a system of community collaboration so that community needs could be addressed rather than supporting Colonial needs. For example, Hollow Water community citizens established regular weekly meetings of resource persons working in various community institutions (Child and Family Services, RCMP, school, community nurse, Church staff, NNADAP staff, Chief and Council, Elders, etc.) to assess community needs and come up with ways to address community-defined issues. They agreed to relax the rules of confidentiality between institutions, the community agreed on new English terms that reflected traditional Anishinaabek concepts in addressing community issues. Terms such as “victimizer” referred to Anishinaabek understanding of the cycle of abuse that creates a violent and sexual offender. The justice process developed in the community was intended to bring people to balance and heal beyond Western understanding of merely individual punitive responses to a crime. Anishinaabek understanding sought to encourage responsibility within community citizens as a collective to facilitate balance to family and community relationships.

Understanding Healing as Decolonizing

Valdie recognized Hollow Water First Nation’s root issues that characterized community breakdown. In the 1980s, as a NNADAP worker, Valdie saw the benefits of offering people a choice to participate in a way of life that encouraged responsibility and accountability to build healthy relationships or continue through the court system themselves. Valdie states that he thought he could address the root issues through building

community accountability by offering community citizens a choice in taking responsibility for their behaviour. His experiences influenced the creation of a community justice model that would become CHCH's restorative justice. An accused can proceed through the Western court system's punishment model and become incarcerated based on a person's behaviour. Or an accused can proceed through a restorative healing justice model and find multiple ways to develop personal healing and contribute to community health through healing plans, restore relationships, and participate in community activities. These healing plans and actions for restoring community relationships would be recorded and documented for the court system in a pre-sentence report and self-care plan. The pre-sentence report could be offered as a way show the court that the person facing charges is committed to changing his/her behaviour in the community from a criminal to a productive community citizen. The following quotation illustrates Valdie Seymour's understanding of the community healing model as an alternative to the court system.

Valdie: I started studying what was happening in the courts and studying a small community like Hollow Water, for instance, had as many as a hundred people on the docket. Your looking, at the most, less than 400 people in community [at that time]. So per capita, if you figure that out, 25 percent [were in conflict with the legal system]. But also studying that docket and what crimes are committed over and over and over and how many times people were charged with drunk driving and stuff like that. So I wanted to help. By [the late 1970s] I was working with NNADAP the [National] Native Alcohol and Drug Abuse Program. I was starting to understand how to use that system to have people be made accountable for what they were doing. And that's where I started to negotiated with the Crown Prosecutor and also the lawyer then the [community] people before going into court – with them I would design a process where I would help them with their alcohol and drug issues and set up an alternative [to incarceration]. Instead of incarcerating they would come up with a process where they could become alcohol and drug free by using the probation [programs system]. Also, using probation as an [initial] way of making them accountable, to attend meetings, to attend counselling, to do some volunteer work, to help out with the NNADAP program. I could work with them so that I could actually do some counselling with them. Attend some programs like [Alcoholics

Anonymous] or church or culture or whatever that may be. And I started to learn how to do a pre-sentence report with probation, sometimes the lawyer and crown prosecutor would come up with a contract so the people that were going to court would sign and that I would be responsible for them. But I also knew that if they were not accountable I could take them back to court. Make them go back to serve the rest of their probation. So that whole idea really started to work for me because I started to work with the people who were going to court. It started to become part of my volunteer and support system for other people. So it started to snowball. But beyond that we began to be involved in sports and getting involved in cultural activities. Even at the start of it in the [late] 70s beer gardens were still quite popular then. So what I actually did was supervise these beer gardens and some of the people that I was working with also helped me supervise but that's how it started. People started to recognize that [who] I was associated with, were no longer drinking. They were doing things in the community – volunteer work, that type of thing.

Valdie recognized the practices and institutions that were already in place within the community; the colonial system (prison, addiction programs, probation) would force people to become accountable. However, Valdie felt that forcing people to go to programs or to prison was fundamentally flawed because people would do it, but they would do so grudgingly. Valdie understood that traditional Anishinaabek philosophy (Coyle 1986) tended to offer people choices with the freedom to make their own realization for their own path. People that came to a decision on their own, based on a positive approach rather than through force or punishment offered people agency to be in control of their own decisions. Soon, Valdie realized that having the threat of punishment of outside system helped him to work with clients. Valdie's clients went to counselling, they went to programs, they developed plans which created opportunities for non-alcoholic social activities, they would work as volunteers for helping Valdie achieve more community awareness, and they would provide support systems for other community people. It is important to have the threat of the outside incarceration system so that people could see the choices available to them. When given such a choice to go to jail or have an opportunity to involve themselves in

positive community activities by expressing themselves as healthy and balanced people, people have generally chosen to recreate their lives and reconstruct their perception of themselves through participation in a community program that examines the self and encourages healthy behaviour; however in order for this program to fully work a person's friends and family must also work through awareness exercises and behavioural family and group counselling sessions. Working with community citizens, people begin to explore their potential goals, make realistic plans to achieve their goals in dialogue with other community citizens, gain supports to achieve their goals through networking with other community institutions, engage in actions to achieve their goals through family and community healing, and evaluate their actions to determine if their actions brought them closer to their goals. Valdie recognized that this healing/choice approach could be used with other colonial institutions already in the community; this approach could have greater implications for developing, supporting, and maintaining community agency.

Creation Through Dialogue

My interviews indicate that there were many hours dedicated to meeting and talking about what community citizens wanted to organize and how the organization would help address community issues. Meetings explored how a proposed organization was consistent with traditional Indigenous spiritual understanding (as the originators and community understood it). If the organization diverged from traditional concepts was it important to do so according to the social environment and community needs at the time. From my interviews with Valdie and Lorne they indicated that Joyce Bushie had some knowledge of traditional Indigenous spiritual concepts. Berma Bushie indicated that, "*Joyce was the*

one to work with the circles. She had knowledge. She had used circles with her own healing. She was an incest victim. And that's what they used. So she had knowledge of the circles and how they worked. It's what she brought". As well, Valdie had spent time with "the old man" becoming familiar with Indigenous spiritual philosophy and ceremony. Marcel's contribution came from his experience as an income support administrator in which he spent a lot of time talking with Elders in the community. Dialogue was essential to understanding why an action was important, it clarified peoples understanding of what was being created, and it also clarified their own sense of personal identity and boundary maintenance. A continual dialogue between community citizens and institution resources was seen as essential for community work.

***Lorne:** The community was ourselves. First we needed to do our own work, work with each other, and work with the empowerment process. All of those things we needed to do. That was within our community. And other parts of the community could come into balance. See we would have these discussions. I can remember discussions that would go until 2:00 in the morning. Crazy stuff! Because there were those that would say we have to give Creator a chance to do his stuff. And the other side would say the Creator is working through me. And you could go back and forth on all that. Until 2:00 in the morning! But we needed to find a place where we were comfortable with our actions.*

We would have lots of conversations about how it would have been 100 years ago. Like, how would the community deal with victimization? We would try to have these discussions and come to a place where we could feel good about [it], but that was hard. I don't know if we ever got agreement on [an issue]. There were those who thought that victimizers would be sent off into exile, those that thought there would be someone watching while victimizer was sent in exile, like a [spiritual] fast. Put someone out in the bush but keep an eye on them. But I don't think there was ever a resolution to that. So, we found our own resolutions within our own individual cases.

Community documents, such as, the CHCH organizations document *Position on Incarceration* illustrate collective agreement on community issues. As well as, formal team relationships, supports, and policies emerged from a distillation of these dialogues.

Guiding Traditional Stories, Ceremonies, and Philosophy

I asked what were the beliefs, knowledge, and practices that guided the interviewees during the creation of CHCH (see APPENDIX B). Several interviews indicated the importance of relationships with elders, knowledge of Nanabush¹⁵ stories, and ceremonial practices. A special note on the importance of Nanabush stories must be made here. Allan J. Ryan (1999) quotes Lawrence Sullivan in his book *The Trickster Shift* to explain a key part of Nanabush stories conceptual purpose. Sullivan states,

Trickster's character and exploits embody the process of ironic imagination. His dynamism of composition mocks, shatters and re-forms the overly clear structures of the world and the overly-smooth images of the mind ... in him the double-sidedness of reality reveals itself ... What the trickster's play reveals [is] how ludicrous is every vision of life constructed of hierarchies without ironic wholeness or formal arrangements without communication between one form and another. He reveals how static is the vision of life built on earthy corporeality without passage to [the] sacred spirit of metamorphosis (Ryan 1999:8-9; originally quoted from Sullivan 1982:238 and 239).

¹⁵ Nanabush is known by many different names in many Indigenous cultures. Nanabush is a mythical creature without gender who has skills and abilities that are fantastical but also figurative often enveloping a hidden meaning. Nanabush is a trickster that engages with the world often by doing silly and inappropriate behaviour. The teaching in the story is to think about what Nanabush has done, the consequences of Nanabush's actions, and consider one's own actions when interacting with the world; doing so with humour or not taking yourself too seriously. Rather than a moral story of right and wrong, the story holds the perspective that all things in life are a dynamic combination of good and bad – what is appropriate for a person to act, at any given time, is to consider what is appropriate to live life in a good way knowing that there are consequences to any action; both positive and negative – the humour puts life into perspective.

However, it must be clearly stated that traditional Anishinaabek teachings in Hollow Water, for the most part, were not explicitly taught, rather they had to be explored and learned through dialogue and discussion with the originators. Every person I interviewed indicated that they grew up a certain way and had to figure out what their own spirituality. Often, the originators drew upon their own childhood experiences rather than drawing upon a certain dogma that was taught. Although some interviews indicated that the originators didn't have a specific detailed law to draw upon some of the interviews indicate that they drew upon their life experiences to create their own understanding of what is right. For example, Lorne indicates that there weren't discussions about a set number of laws to live by, such as the 7 grandfather teachings. The empowerment process of creating a new healing organization based on spiritual beliefs was an envisioning experience in which community citizens dialogued about what was right and what made sense to them at the time to heal the community.

Lorne: it's easy in a way to talk about the 7 teachings but in lots of ways we didn't know about that stuff. At least it wasn't universal. I think some people knew more about that than others but even the ones that knew more still didn't know lots of things. I'm not sure if that's entirely accurate. I can remember there was anger, we laughed a lot and we cried a lot. There was lots of stuff going on. There was a feeling of anger at certain points around how the old people, the elders, hadn't passed on the teachings. But then somehow that got rephrased eventually to "they are sleeping". Which is a really good way [of explaining the situation] because what we are told then from that, is the elders will only wake up when there are someone to listen. And I think that's how it's helped us to get through that anger in lots of ways.

Lorne: I know for myself we speak of four sacred laws – I can remember writing something. Maybe it was the Position on Incarceration or one of those documents. Where we talked about the 4 sacred teachings or laws so even at that point we didn't know about the 7 [sacred teachings]. So that's probably a really good example. It had significance to some people – but it still wasn't complete [to other people]. So for myself, I don't know, we tried to do what we thought was good in life. And there were enough of us that

we could have that discussion. And we could work it through just using our own life experiences to be able to come out through the other end in a fairly healthy kind of way. We didn't always get it right but it wasn't any one person who was kind of running it.

The fact that a community of people working through their understanding of what works and what does not work in terms of comparing contemporary actions with traditional principles is significant. The amount of community effort to discuss these issues and maintain a focus on them indicates a high commitment and participation from the community citizens during Hollow Water's Healing Movement.

Lorne: *I think the traditional beliefs had been mostly embodied in [Valdie Seymour, Marcel Hardisty, Berma Bushie, Joyce Bushie] and the rest of us were kind of on the fringe of that. Some of us knowing more and some of us knowing less. But we didn't really talk about those things. We did talk about love and respect and all those things in the teachings kind of way – because we talked about how we should be. This is how we should relate to each other. You should be honest, you should respect each other. That kind of stuff. So it wasn't really traditional laws of the Creator kind of structure, it was just, "this is how it should be". I can remember someone asking Marcel "why would you want to work with the victimizers"? They called them offenders and stuff like that. "Why would you want to work with them bastards", and, "they should go to jail", and all that kind of stuff. And Marcel said, "why wouldn't I"? So it's a completely different kind of understanding of a dynamic of the community where a lot of not healthy stuff is going on and yet people have found a way to get along and get together and at least in some way have found a way get through the day. And maybe even seem like it's okay. Oftentimes, in fact, it is okay.*

The key group of people, Valdie, Berma, Marcel, and Joyce had a philosophy and a daily interaction with the world and their own community that was intensely restrained, compassionate, forgiving and pragmatic. The originators learned from their own life experiences. Marcel was inspired by the strength he observed from community Elders.

Marcel: *I was young probably in my early 20s and I had already established a rapport or some kind of relationship with the Elders because then I was the income support administrator. So a lot of people that came for social assistance not only came for [their payment], they also came to vent about what was going on [in the community]. Vent [frustrations] about Chief and*

Council, and vent [frustrations] about of the things going on. So I already had an established relationship with the Elders; a lot of them especially the old timers. Although they were hurting, they weren't being heard. They would never attack elected leaders or any of the caregivers in public. A lot of them suffered in silence. I don't know what it is, inner strength or what? But they had something that allowed them to maintain their dignity at least be civil about how to deal with struggles, challenges, and difficult people. Even though they have difficult issues. They have those teachings those principles that were handed down to them. There was a time in the 20's, 30s, 40s, 50s and even the 60s our people were not allowed to gather in groups larger than three. So those kinds of teachings were passed on probably in secret. Otherwise, how would they survive? Teachings like, be courteous, be kind to anyone else while they are in internal turmoil, internal conflict. They knew something. [They had] some kind of strength. And that's what motivates me. If these people can go through this terrible time in their lives of residential school experience, because that's what they would talk to me about what happened to them. What they saw was just as traumatizing to them. What they saw happening to other people sometimes their own siblings and they were powerless to do anything. Things like that. These are the things I heard from the old-timers. And sometimes some of them shared knowledge of traditional healing ways. So that is what mobilized my interest. And later on talking to my own grandparents because once someone told me something I would check it out with my own grandparents.

Marcel looked to his relationship with his elders and how they were experiencing psychological and emotional pain, struggling through a variety of community issues, and were expressing their hurt. However, they were powerless to change the issues existing in the community. Within their culture they had learned and practiced ways to cope with community issues but it seems that prior to the late 1970s they were unable to actively change the structure that Hollow Water First Nation had become. The community response by Elders seems to be what Leanne Simpson considers in her book, *Dancing on Our Turtle's Back*, a concept known as *aanijigone*. This concept is that “one needs to be very, very careful with making judgments and with the act of criticism” (Simpson 2011:55). This traditional concept is further developed when it came to addressing people who are not-in-balance or accused of a crime as the originators were developing the CHCH organization.

This will be further discussed under the section Choice Must be Presented to People Accused of a Crime.

Other originators were also struggling with unhealthy behaviours among community Elders. For example, Berma point out,

***Berma:** Although our Elders, at the time, were not active in terms of passing down the teachings and helping with the current situation, they were also part of the problem. For me personally, Elders were the ones who had the hardest time dealing with [sexual abuse], it's really hard to address their offending behaviour because I was taught to respect our Elders. So, to address the [Elders] offending behaviour was not easy to do. I was trapped in wanting to respect our elders. I felt that I was disrespectful by trying to address that whole issue. That was really hard to do. I am really grateful to Cruz Acevado because he walked us through that.*

Dr. Cruz Acevado's teaching techniques also contributed significantly to the group's awareness of relationship manipulation during Hollow Water's Healing Movement. Dr. Cruz H. Acevado Jr. was a "training and wellness coordinator for the state of California Department of Alcohol and Drug Program. His research uncovered that among Native people that there was a tremendous amount of sexual abuse. However, it was not addressed. Instead there was strong denial of the sexual abuse. In 1986, Valdie Seymour from Hollow Water, attended a workshop Cruz conducted at Alkali Lake. He invited Cruz to come to Hollow Water, against much resistance at first. In the past four and a half years [1986-1990], Cruz has been involved in helping Hollow Water develop their current model that is now gaining national recognition" (Hollow Water 1991:29). He was brought into Hollow Water to teach several courses during the time 12 students participated in a two-year education program prior to the development of the CHCH organization. Dr. Acevedo was a Yaqui sex therapist from California who helped the community to become

aware of and address the many ways that a victimizer and those in relationship to the victimizer will manipulate all relationships and continue to abuse sexually. Therefore, a counselor working with a victimizer and a victim must be aware of the potential of manipulation. I will discuss this in the next section – Awareness of Spiritual Manipulation and Sexual Abuse. The traditional stories indicate a proper interaction with all things, all spirits, and all entities in the universe. Nanabush stories offer an appropriate relationship in contrast to a manipulative relationship.

Marcel: stories of Nanabush his interactions with all of creation. At the time I thought these are good stories. Entertaining. But later on I figured what they were about. It was about a mystical person and his relationship to different animals and creation, the lake, the rocks, the trees, all the teachings if you don't have this proper relationship with this entity something happens to him. So, there's a teaching in all of that but at the time I didn't know it. So, all of those are meaningful stories.

The Nanabush stories are significant teachings on many levels about relationships and the proper interactions a person has with the self, other people, the community, plants, animals, the elements, and the spirits. The stories are humorous to attract the attention of the young but as a person grows older and passes through life experiences the stories gain a new meaning or teachings. Often, Nanabush is a character that wants to get something in an easy or tricky way. Often, the story concerns satisfying the senses, hunger, sex, or just plain greed using trickery. The story often ends with Nanabush dealing with the consequences of his trickery with Nanabush losing what he wanted. Reflection on the story and a person's life unfolds deeper meaning to the story. As the late Gary Raven once said to me the stories are like the skin of an onion with deeper levels of meaning as you get to the core (Gary Raven personal communication). These stories provide instruction for proper behaviour with the world.

Marcel: participating in sweats, pipe ceremony, teaching lodges, they all played a part in [the development of CHCH]. [The Elders] told us “whatever you’re doing, whatever you’re creating for your people, [the teachings] have to fit there. If it don’t fit there, then something’s not right”. To me now, that means you have to be able to incorporate [the teachings] and know what you’re doing – and if you’re not able to do that, then you have to be able to readjust this program or this process so [the teachings] can fit. You don’t change the [traditional] laws to fit [the CHCH] you to change the empowerment process so that the [traditional] laws fit.

The originators incorporated the teachings that they had learned from their childhood into the development of the CHCH process. Simpson refers to *biskaabiiyang* which means “returning to ourselves” – in this context can be considered the term “decolonizing” (Simpson 2011:49). Simpson states that,

biskaabiiyang does not literally mean returning to the past, but rather re-creating the cultural and political flourishing of the past to support the well-being of our contemporary citizens... It also encompasses a visioning process where we create new and just realities in which our ways of being can flourish. Nonetheless, it is not just a visioning process. We must act to create those spaces – be they cognitive or spatial, temporal or spiritual – even if those spaces only exist for fragments of time (Simpson 2011:51 & 52)

The originators were also drawing on the traditional teachings of other Elders, such as, Mashkiki-inini, an Anishinaabe Elder from Rocky Mountain House, Alberta, who conducted yearly ceremonies in several locations across Canada, one of which was Black River First Nation, which is 57 km south of Hollow Water First Nation. The ceremonies addressed various governing relationships in maintaining *mino-biimaadizawin*. Valdie Seymour was strongly influenced by the Medewewin teachings of “the old man”.

Marcel: Before they started the ceremonies in Black River, [Mashkiki-inini] used to come to Pritchard House to guide the people there. It probably started here [referring to Black River] in 1980 or 1981.

The originators drew upon the energy and insight of people from outside the community, such as Gerry Le Roye (the nurse-in-charge at Hollow Water), Lorne Hagel

(Eastman Child and Family Services), Sister Margaret Sadler, Staff Sergeant Don Murphy (in charge of The Pas RCMP Detachment), Murray and Ruth Martin (Mennonite Church Native Ministry), Father Paradis (The Catholic Church and the Community Healing Circle – sexual abuse); people who were not born in the community but who participated in discussions, assessment and planning of community actions. Working with people who were part of external organizations solidified a process of working together with a variety of resources, decision-making, and power. This led to a better, coordinated way of approaching a community issue rather than working on a complex issue from the piecemeal of one's own limited institutional perspective.

The originators also gained unique and valuable teachings from Dr. Cruz Acevado, as Berma Bushie indicates,

***Berma:** [Cruz Acevado] really helped us build a strong sense of community in our obligation to protecting children. In fact, he was reminding us of our traditional values – “The child is central to our families, to our communities, and everybody in that community is responsible for all the children. We were to protect our children, we were not to harm our children”. He also made us understand that offenders are not born they are made. He made us understand the cycle of abuse, how it goes from one generation to the next. How community buys into that whole chaos and made us understand the whole issue of power and control, how that was the driving force behind the offending behaviour. He reminded us of our history with residential school and colonization and how those impacts, even though, in our minds, they were long gone of the past, they are still present in our lives, today. We need to free ourselves, liberate ourselves from those impacts. He really drew a clear picture of where we are at in terms of our own healing, how to use Western techniques, how to incorporate our own healing practices, and how to incorporate our own laws, our own teachings as Anishinaabe people. He began to remind us of the honour of women. So, that was the beginning stages of putting our community back in order.*

In talking with the originators and various community citizens who participated in the 1980s training courses, there was an indication that people did not talk about

alcoholism. It was a taboo topic. So, the idea of sexual abuse was beyond comprehension. In order to talk about sexual abuse, Cruz offered a course entitled “Nutrition”. It was this course that people learned to talk about sexuality and sexual abuse.

Awareness of Spiritual Manipulation and Sexual Abuse

Marcel Hardisty talked about the need for workers to understand spiritual and sexual manipulation by victimizers – originally the victimizer may have been manipulated and abused. This affects their spirit and sexuality so they continue to inflict the abuse on others and the cycle of abuse continues. To understand that the abuse is not about the sexual act but rather, abuse is about gaining a feeling of power and of control that had been taken from the victimizer (at an earlier time) and the victim (by the victimizer). The following interview with Marcel illustrates the careful philosophy taken by the originators for addressing victimizer’s relationships with victims and other community citizens.

The interview also illustrates another aspect the community that needed to be established before community citizens could form a team to work with individuals who were “not balanced”. Community citizens needed to develop their own personal sense of maintaining their own social boundaries and be aware of those who would try to overstep personal boundaries. This is a necessity for people who are learning to nurture their own strength, their own spirit, and their own voice as a protection against other community citizens as well as other institutions who would try to transgress these boundaries.

***Marcel:** Sexuality and spirituality might be the same thing because that’s what sustains life, that’s where life comes from. And if you don’t have a foundation and understanding of that, then you have what we have today,*

commercialization of sexuality and spirituality. Most of the educators that we've utilized to understand the dynamics of victimization, whether it's mental, emotional, physical; these educators say that it's not about the sexual act, it's not about the spiritual act. It gives people power and control. Victimizing someone in those ways.

Kevin: *It causes fear, it causes confusion, that [creates] manipulation. When you abuse someone you have power and control over them [and] their emotional state. Even make [the victim] feel like this [abusive act] "is a secret between me and you" or "don't tell your parents" or "you have done this" and "you made me do this"; effectively to blame the victim for their abuse.*

Marcel: *I don't know how many of those acts would become sexually satisfying unless you are totally messed up, especially with a child.*

Kevin: *I guess it's this whole vicious circle, [the victimizer] themselves have been abused in a way that makes [the victimizer attracted to controlling other people. To] control how they were controlled. They just use the same techniques over other people.*

Marcel: *The worst of it is, in some situations, if the child is at a particular age they are easily manipulated and controlled and victimized. But once they reach a certain age all of that changes.*

Kevin: *They start having boundaries for themselves?*

Marcel: *Not only that, the relationship continues but it changes where the victim is in control [of the relationship]. The initial perpetrator now becomes the victim. I've seen that happen. Like grandpa was buying whatever for his granddaughter and he could do whatever to her. And I actually saw an old man with a young child and it was almost like a teenage relationship. They were in love. So jealousies and stuff like that [were expressed]. She and other boys took notice of this girl [and] he acted like a teenager.*

Kevin: *So [the relationship is in an] underdeveloped emotional state?*

Marcel: *Yes. Also when the young girl recognized this [abuse] she used it to her advantage. She purposely made the old man jealous to get whatever she wanted from him. It's vicious. Cruz educated us to be prepared for that. Those rules shift and there is actually a time when the perpetrator wants to stop it. And the victim doesn't allow it to stop because [the victim], in turn, gets power and control. A very deadly dynamic.*

Marcel: *I don't know if you've met Dr. Cruz Acevedo? He was brutally honest. He would get caught up and messed up [by] working with people. Like if his buttons were triggered he let people know it. I think he was a womanizer. But he was honest about it. He said, "if I find someone attractive I can't work with them". So [this information about him] made me very careful [about his behaviour]. And I think that's what he wanted. He wanted us to confront him if we saw anything. I guess that's why he was honest about it. [He wanted us to be aware of] how damaging abusive relationships can be.*

The originators and the emerging community team were taught that they had to be wary of the fact that the sexual abusers, and potentially those around the abusers, could be very manipulative in all of their relationships. The team that the originators were building had to understand the psychology of manipulative relationships to be able to work with victimizer (offender), victimizers (offenders) family, the victim, and the victims family to provide a clear foundation of what is happening and what needs to happen in order to heal families and communities. However, there was another level of manipulation that community citizens had to be wary of, the trainers who were taking advantage of vulnerable people.

***Marcel:** Eventually everyone from the community went through the “Flying on Your Own” program. [It] was an experiential process that made it okay to express your own feelings, whatever they were, whether it was, fear, anger, joy, [or] sadness. It was safe to express those [emotions] in that environment. But what happened in that environment was that people became trainers and utilized that process to find [romantic] partners. In their sickness as trainers, when they find someone attractive and vulnerable, they took advantage of it. And that kind of destroyed it in this community. Not trainers from here – the trainers from outside the community. As soon as the community people saw that [behaviour, they realized] that it’s no good. The program and the empowerment process were good; the people running the program were not well. I saw that. I understood that but not the community people.*

Although the “Flying on Your Own” program was designed to encourage people to express hidden and painful emotions that built trust and support in a group environment, the trainers of these programs (who were composed of community citizens) manipulated other community citizens; members who were vulnerable people participating in the program. The community citizens learned that they had to be vigilant against many forms of manipulation.

Choice Must be Presented to People Accused of a Crime

According to Marcel Hardisty, traditional and current Anishinaabek philosophy understand that Justice for community is different from Settler understanding of Justice. In Anishinaabek philosophy all people must come to a choice to learn from their behaviour. Therefore, the freedom to recognize how they hurt the community and how they choose from a number of options to restore community relationships is an important value. However, if there is non-compliance from the offender to accept accountability and responsibility for his or her actions, the Colonial Justice system provides the threat of incarceration as a way to address community accountability. The aanjigone concept promotes the idea of non-interference but with the expectation that the imbalanced person will recognize this imbalance through the consequences of how people relate to the imbalance. Aanjigone supports the view that it is the responsibility of those who act out of imbalance to inwardly reflect on his or her behaviour and address improper behaviour with behaviour that returns the person to balance. The traditional Anishinaabek understanding of Justice and the ways to address those that are accused of a crime, is to see offending,

Marcel: behaviour as a result of a broken spirit. It's an emptiness that people try to fill through alcohol and drug distractions, [as well as] other addictions. The [colonial] way that we dealt with it, through charging people, taking people through the legal [process]; that just added more pain to what was already there. Those teenage children who were victimized, they in turn became the offending victimizers ... we do [Justice] different.

From my experience, what I've seen over the years, taking people through the legal system, all that [the colonial system] provided was some accountability to a system, an outside system that was there if you needed it, if there was non-compliance from the offender. You have that kind of [accusation] over your head. [Those accused of the crime are] forced to do this. There is some resentment [which creates] some distance to making real

healing. To making real change, to do some real wellness kind of work [with the person accused of a crime].

In order for CHCH to work with an offender, the person accused of the crime must agree to a guilty plea as soon as an abuse is disclosed. The guilty plea simultaneously accomplishes several goals for individual and community healing. Pleading guilty indicates that the offender is willing to work with the CHCH organization to come into balance and willing to restore relationships that have been damaged in the community. Pleading guilty to a crime reduces the work for the Justice system. A trial does not have to spend a lot of time determining whether or not a person is guilty of a crime.

A corollary of the non-interference concept is the word onjinae to be accountable for our thoughts and actions. When I hurt others, the hurt I inflict comes back to hurt me. When I create positive experiences in life, positive experiences come back to me.

***Thelma:** we are accountable – for our actions and thoughts. It starts with a thought and then it becomes an action. Be able to look at that. In our culture there is [a word] Onjinae – for each thought there is a consequence – reaping and sowing. If I sow a positive thought then I am going to feel good in my heart. If I think a negative thought then I am going to feel negative in my heart. When I offend Creator, I am hurting me. It comes back right away.*

Lorne summarizes the point of working through personal and community issues through dialogue. He sees the empowerment process, the experiential process that community citizens work through together through dialogue, actions and learning from those actions are an essential part of what happened throughout Hollow Water's healing movement. The movement was not about stopping harmful behaviour; it was about going beyond – to continually building the habits and supportive community institutions that

create a good life; mino-bimaadazawin. A life where individuals, families, communities, and nations dialogue and act in ways to support good practices.

Lorne: Overcoming your addictions, it's not about overcoming beating up your wife, it's about finding your way to that good path where you are guided by those teachings. That's that people need to do. You can't create a program for that. You can do it in a spiritual way get people together and talk about honesty and truth – but people need to experience that. So you need to build in the experiential part to all that. That's the empowerment process. And you have to be careful about not erring one side or the other. Otherwise, it becomes one of the many things that has gone wrong.

Healing Comes from Trust and Safety

A few of the originators indicated an essential aspect of the “Healing Movement” was trust and safety. Healing can only occur when one feels safe enough to express themselves and trust that others will support rather than hurt. When trust and safety are established, a person can reveal how they have been hurt or abused, as well as, reveal how a person has hurt or abused others. Creating trust and safety in a group environment allows a group to discuss and develop communication techniques and skills. These communication skills need to be encouraged, supported, and practiced until it becomes habit, until communication as one interviewer, Valdie would say, “comes from love”, where a person does not blame self or another and can address and work through whatever issue arises.

Marcel: These attitudes of intolerance and criticism that's where they come from sometimes; from secrets, hidden secrets. Aboriginal peoples' experience of assimilation, oppression is the reason why they are so hopeless. There's a reason why you open up the wound to let the poison flow out; you feel better, you get better. You struggle [through your] life [if] you don't open [up]; you let it fester until it kills you. It eventually turns into infection. And it kills you. If it's not treated it kills you. And that's the way emotional pain is. Even the medication that you use to heal the wound without opening it and to let the poison out, even the medication, if you use it long enough, will kill you. Medication can be anything from gambling to alcohol, pills, drugs, anything. The thing is to expose the poison and do

things to heal it. Drain it, drain it and then patch it up with good stuff. But to facilitate that when people are closed off, or don't even remember anymore, or where's this pain from, that's difficult. I remember when we first began this work, to talk about "AA" [alcoholics anonymous] or "alcoholic" was drastic. Nevermind [talking about] "sexual abuse" or "domestic abuse", stuff like that. You just didn't talk about that stuff. And it's still like that for many people, today.

This practice of "opening up of painful emotions" and taking actions to heal these painful emotions, release repressed emotions. Emotions are repressed from practices that inhibit communication of emotional events. Often, the events are secretive and it is through practicing communication in a safe and trusting environment that a surrendering of emotions can occur – letting the poison out.

Marcel talked about what he had learned through his childhood. He talked of the Elders way of life, their respect for all things, and their daily life perspectives, including acknowledgement of a spiritual relationship with ancestors and spirits. This spiritual relationship extended to appropriate ways of listening to someone; of evaluating someone; establishing a relationship with everything in a good way – in a respectful way. This relationship established a way of interacting with the world in a good way.

***Marcel:** I realized that there are ways of doing things that are handed down from thousands of years. How you treat people, how you treat other things, animals, plant life, stuff like that, utilizing those things. Like I knew that because I saw it. I watched people how they did that. I didn't understand it at the time. What I mean is, the old people when the families moved, fished, picked blueberries, harvested wild rice, harvested medicine, there was [always] a ritual, there was a ceremony, they offered tobacco. Then they would do what they intended to do. They didn't take [any action] for granted like everybody else [does today]. [Spirit is] around us. [The old people] acknowledged the ancestors, they utilize this [awareness], how they traveled, what they did, how to pick medicines, berries, or wild Rice because you needed [to be aware of Spirit]. I recognized that early in my life. I could never figure it out but I'm starting to get there. Some of those old people, some of the Elders invited me to their place to talk, no agenda, no*

explanation of why they invited me but most of the time they want me to sit with them and drink tea. And just, as you say, “evaluate” me. “Can this guy just sit there and drink tea and just be with people without asking thousands of questions”? And I saw that too. I saw how people would just sit and just be with each other without just yapping away the odd time they would say something. That was a way of meaningful connection. Tea or bannock, or some other food [was given, and they] shared stories. It’s all ceremony. When I see certain ceremonies, it’s like when Valdie, Berma, and Edith were remembering, I remember. And I saw these things. I saw the Shake tent. I saw the Powwow. I saw the singing. I saw those things.

Inclusion

An important part of creating a new cultural reality is including all community citizens within the functioning of the group. That is not to say that everyone must be included in all meetings but rather it is important to find a role or place for everyone in the community that wants to help create a new way of doing things. For example, many of the people I interviewed in Hollow Water First Nation referred to the traditional use of the Clan system as a way of including each family group. As I indicated in chapter two, the original structure of the CHCH organization was modeled on the Clan system structure.

***Lorne:** We selected informal family leadership and probably some of the formal leadership, as well. They became allies of themselves in lots of ways because that’s how that training works. I think that the training changed the outcome of the community. People gained credibility in the community. [Local] politicians could see that this would benefit them and the community. There were all these things that were happening that let the community move forward with the empowerment process.*

There was an understanding among community citizens that the offender/victimizer is a part of the community and part of the solution.

***Anonymous:** nobody was left out. Everybody was included. We often talk about that. We talked a lot about that. You don’t get that in regular white society. It was better to work with and support [the offender/victimizer] than to [isolate]... because in jail, what’s he going to do? What’s it going to be like when he comes out? We use to talk a lot about that. We talked about how traditionally they are community. You can’t hide the victim away from that person forever because they are going to interact somehow. That’s*

what we talked about why it was important to work with both [victim and victimizer] instead of sending that person away [offender/victimizer]. There may be instances where someone would go in [to jail], but when they come back [to the community] we would hook them back in [to the community].

Forming the CHCH Organization and the Sentencing Circle

Berger and Luckmann refer to routine action as habituation. Two things emerge from habituation: a) individuals who create roles for themselves and others and b) institutions that support a common understanding of reality. In the case of Hollow Water First Nation, the originators had completed the two aspects that emerge from habituation as described by Berma,

***Berma:** There was Valdie, Marcel, Joyce and myself. The way that we divide up the tasks, because this was a huge, huge problem we recognized right away. Our community was living in crisis, we also knew that. For all of us, we were talking about our own childhood abuses for the first time after thirty, forty years. We knew what we were headed for. So we divided up the tasks – Valdie worked on the outside system – he would work with the justice system, I would work with the Child and Family system because I was employed by them. Marcel would work with Chief and Council system because he was a councilor at that time and worked with community. He would be the link to justice. Joyce was the one to work with the circles. She had knowledge, she had used circles with her own healing. And that's what they used with her dad. So she had knowledge of the circles and how they worked. So that's how the work was divided. Plus we had Lorne Hagel working with us. He worked with the province Child and Family Services so he knew the stuff inside and out. Valdie was the one to bring in resources like Cruz Acevado, Jack Mendez, Lawrence Ellerby. So he found key people in the system that he brought into the community that would help us set up the empowerment process and designing the program the approach. He also connected with New Careers, and they came out and helped us design a training program because we couldn't find anyone that dealt with offenders in Manitoba so we had to design our own training program so that's how it was set up in the beginning. We had few people that had salaried positions so a large amount of people were volunteers. We were lucky. It was mostly women – there were only two or three men.*

As I pointed out in previous chapters, Freire believes that liberation from oppression cannot be achieved by a revolution that imposes the same oppressive behaviour

on those that have dominated the oppressed people in the past. The commitment to liberation is not a gift that is bestowed from revolutionary leaders, rather it is a result of the oppressed people's own awareness of the effects of domination and continual facilitation of dialogue for liberation through their own conscientização (conscientization or awareness of the continual process of oppression) (Friere 2007:67). The effect of this awareness of the empowerment process of oppression and a commitment to facilitating community dialogue, rather than imposing dogma upon community, is a path to overcoming oppression and restore humanity to a community. Hollow Water First Nation community citizens have historically committed to awareness and understanding the empowerment process of oppression and have committed to a process of facilitating community dialogue as expressed through the interviews.

Most of daily face-to-face interaction is composed of typifications; how people typically interact within society. Language “defines” or “expresses” the values and ethics (axiology), ways of being (metaphysics), individual identity, and social situations typically experienced in society. Individuals and groups construct a shared reality through a continual socialization process and individual daily interactions. The typifications provide a foundation for rules or patterns of participation within society. Routinely acting in shared behaviours (habituation) creates individual roles and defines group behaviour through institutions that support a common understanding of reality. It is the shared nature of actions (habitualized between individuals) that becomes institutionalized (Berger and Luckman 1966). The interviews with community citizens clearly illustrate how the continual dialogue and training through the 1980s created typifications of appropriate

individual, family, and community behaviour. Typifications addressed individual boundary maintenance, as well as, a common understanding of concepts that were drawn from traditional perspectives. For example, creation and inclusion in daily speech, the term “victimizer” as a person who is out of balance and who can be brought back into balance with the support of families, and community citizens is such a typification.

Berger and Luckmann’s next stage to socially constructing reality is objectivation. Objectivation lasts beyond the face-to-face interactions but provides insight into another person’s or groups of people’s subjectivity. An institution is experienced as an objective reality. The institution is external to an individual observer; it exists beyond the life span of an individual, it is persistent, and it has coercive power over an individual or group through control mechanisms usually attached to the most important institutions. The subjectivity of another person or group is the meaning/intention of the person/group as expressed by a product, relationship, or role. Berger and Luckmann describe the individual’s realization of externalization,

the objective reality of institutions is not diminished if the individual does not understand their [institutions’] purpose or their [institutions’] mode of operation. He may experience large sectors of the social world as incomprehensible, perhaps oppressive in their opaqueness, but real nonetheless. Since institutions exist as external reality, the individual cannot understand them by introspection. He must ‘go out’ and learn about them, just as he must to learn about nature (1966:60).

Collectively, humans (as producers) interact with their social world (human products) through a dialectical relationship. As the authors point out, “the product acts back upon the producer. Externalization and objectivation are moments in a continuing dialectical process. The third moment in this process ... is internalization” (Berger and

Luckmann 1966:61). Objectivation is one aspect of the externalization – objectivation – internalization dialectical relationship. According to Berger and Luckmann, internalization is, “the objectivated social world [that] is retrojected into consciousness in the course of socialization” (1966:61). Each of the three dialectical moments, “correspond to an essential characterization of the social world. *Society is a human product. Society is an objective reality. Man is a social product*” (Berger and Luckmann 1966:61 italics in the original). These three dialectical, “moments are not to be thought of as occurring in a temporal sequence. Rather society and each part of it are simultaneously characterized by these three moments” (Berger and Luckmann 1966:61). An individual member of society, “simultaneously externalizes his own being into the social world and internalizes it as an objective reality. In other words, to be in society is to participate in its dialectic” (Berger and Luckmann 1966:129). For example, when I sing a song in a ceremony I am externalizing my being into the social world and I am also internalizing the experience of the objective reality of singing a song in a ceremony with others who are participating in the ceremony.

Two examples of objectivation were expressed during Hollow Water’s Healing Movement: (1) the 13-step process for the Sentencing Circle and (2) the Turtle Model governing system. The Sentencing circle was the most prominent expression of Anishinaabek challenge to the colonial Justice system. It came prior to the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry (1991) and captured the imagination of many around the world as a type of justice that was Indigenous in nature and could be effective if used in conjunction with the Western system. To those from outside the community observing the Sentencing Circle, it

is often seen as an innovative approach to instituting community justice. To those community citizens living through the Sentencing Circle, it is often seen as a single ceremony that culminated a four- to five-year preparation period, and represents an individuals', families', and community citizens' lifetime commitments to address collective community issues and reorganize community citizens' social identities. In other words, the Sentencing Circle is only a small part of what is required within family and community relationships to accept collective responsibility and hold each other to account for addressing community issues and that potentially constructs an environment in which the offence never occurs in the first place. The Sentencing Circle preparation, commitment, and implementation work to achieve an environment where individual, family, and community relationships are balanced, healthy, safe, and committed to social justice.

Lorne: The Sentencing Circle case solidified the circles we needed to have. As you are preparing for different things you gather and have a circle so that things can be resolved. For example, we wanted to get a circle between [a client] and his aunties because we knew there was shit [unaddressed tension] between them. And we couldn't pull that off before the court. Sure as hell [the clients' Aunt] shows up for court. In the middle of court, right in the sentencing circle, the judge is sitting there and the police are sitting there, and she asks [the client] if he had sex with her when she was drunk that time. Right there. And he says "yes". So you just gotta say, "Holy Shit! Where are we going here?" See we knew we had to get that out before that sentencing circle because that just takes [the Sentencing Circle] ... into a whole other thing. And he could have said "No". But he said "yes". So you just kinda go, "whew, made it". We knew we needed to do that and we couldn't pull it off. I look back on it now and I never felt that before. But we just nailed it, just nailed it. And when we just didn't quite get it right Creator would back us up. It was just time for it to happen.

The originators were cognizant of communities misunderstanding and misrepresenting the Healing Movement's ideas. It was expressed to me that the organization developed for Hollow Water First Nation in the 1980s was appropriate to the

place and time. However, the organization must continually develop, otherwise, it would become irrelevant. Also, there was the belief that other communities may misunderstand what worked for Hollow Water First Nation and believe that if another community replicated the Sentencing Circle's thirteen steps it would lead to the development of a CHCH-like organization that would address other community issues. This is a false mentality. Unless a community assesses its own issues and determine its own ways to address its issues, any organization that emerges will fail. The empowerment process of dialoguing and addressing community issues results in an appreciation of community creativity and involvement. This building up creativity skills, dialogue, and community involvement is part of "the empowerment process" for a community to address its own issues. Another false mentality is that the CHCH is a program that people can implement rather than a process that requires an immense amount of dialogue in order to come to a group vision. It also takes a lot of continuous effort and actions provided within a safe environment.

Lorne The thirteen-step process we kind of talked about but we didn't necessarily do. It didn't always fit and in many situations it didn't fit. But when people are coming and they want to learn about what you are doing it's kind of easy to give that to them and then they feel like they've got something – the first steps kind of thing. But it was a way to handle that whole need from the outside to find out about what CHCH is doing because some of those steps made no sense at all. But people would go back home and say, "oh yes, we will go and do that".

By focusing on the steps and not the empowerment process many people will find that they will not be able to accomplish the goals of self-determination. There is no quick fix, no easy way to do community development, no model to look to, no magic pill. People have to come to an understanding of themselves and their community and come up with

their own way of doing things that makes sense to them through dialogue – long, emotionally painful dialogue – and acting on the results of that dialogue.

For Hollow Water First Nation, the relationship structure of the community organizations is the product of the community citizens. Thus the relationship structure or community organization is modelled after an interpretation and modification of a traditional governing structure; namely the clan system. Using Berger and Luckmann's concepts, Hollow Water's Healing Movement expressed externalization – objectivation – internalization through the development of the thirteen-step Sentencing Circle process and the Turtle Model governing system. However, the 13-step process was the most prominent and gained a lot of attention in academic writings and media attention while the Turtle Model did not. See Chapter 2 Hollow Water's Clan System.

SKILLS TRAINING

Self-Awareness, Boundary Maintenance, and Network Training

The originators began to work with resources in the community and look for training and workshops that were being presented outside the community. The originators assembled a core group of community citizens to participate in outside workshops and eventually worked to deliver training and workshops within the community. By offering courses within the community the core group became a team and attracted other community citizens to attend workshops and training. One of the first aspects that the group had to work on was self-awareness and personal boundary maintenance, then team building and networking. It was extremely difficult to work effectively with people who had multiple

complex trauma, trust issues, anger issues, and had suffered through multiple generations of systemic colonization and racism. The foundation of building trust, self-exploration, and communication of oneself to others had been developed in Hollow Water during the first few years of the 1980s. The next phase was to build a team and vision of the team. Hollow Water First Nation had to work through issues of working together, they had to learn how to communicate together instead of holding on to resentments with other community citizens, they had to learn how to build a team, and learn how to create a vision with other people. This is not something that happens within a two-day workshop or a week-long retreat. The training and practice needed for communication and team building takes years of consistent systematic effort to develop.

***Marcel:** just knowing that we wanted to establish a degree of trust with most of the people that what we are doing with the people is a good thing and they would believe me. Because at the beginning it wasn't about sexual abuse it was about revitalizing our customs, our traditions, our ceremonies, nutrition, it was about making systems work for us, networking, caring, responsibility, that was what it was about. A process that we started. We began learning skills and stuff like that. [Completing emotional] closures, most of us panicked because we didn't know what the hell to do [Marcel laughs]. So we had to learn skills about that. That's what we had to learn after Cruz came in.*

***Anonymous** – In the beginning you realize everyone was working but no one was really, really working – together. Everyone was basically doing their own thing and it wasn't good enough. We needed to learn how to network. We talked about it but we really didn't know how the work begins.*

***Berma** – As individual workers we weren't making much of an impact. So coming together and planning different things together, working together, networking. That was the second phase. We started to bring in training different kinds of training. We brought in different experts into the community.*

Interviews suggest that the community citizens are describing how the community was fragmented and damaged by, what is referred to as, “the silo effect”. Originally, the

community did not understand how to communicate with each other in a healthy way and did not understand the value of working as a team by being responsible and accomplishing parts of a shared project together. Community citizens had to learn how to take responsibility for what they said they were going to do, when plans were discussed, and had to learn how to hold each other to account in order to achieve agreed upon goals. As one person states,

***Anonymous:** It was very tedious when we first started because you had to deal with yourself, first, before you can take that next step. Until you did that you couldn't move forward. It was very, very painful. You have to have the supports in [place]. And the supports for all your coworkers, the ones that you knew and understood what you're going through, there was a lot of tears, both sad and happy.*

We have lots of programs here [now] but [then] we were basically working alone; you had your own projects but basically working alone. Nothing worked until we got together like this.

Support from other community citizens is seen as important. Unless an individual has community support the community cannot heal. Person talks about the isolation and gossip that came from community citizens that continually denigrated workers.

***Anonymous:** [Before we were trained in networking,] you basically get eliminated from the community, at times. There was a lot of people calling you down, [for what you were doing]. You basically had to be strong. It was very, very important the way we used to meet. It helped. Yes they were wicked hours, very! Sometimes I wonder where did the strength come from? You basically put everything aside and basically kept moving. I didn't realize how committed we were. And I still have my job to do, plus being involved in the write up of this whole thing. You come home at all hours of the night and go again the next day. I don't know where I got the strength to do it. I don't think I'd be able to do it again.*

Often family members did not offer support as the group going through the training process were changing and learning. Very often the changes that were experienced by team members were threatening to family members because the

team were changing their ways of interacting with the world. The behaviours expressed by the team did not match expectations that the family members had of the team members.

***Anonymous:** When I come home and I had no way of judging to see if I was making any progress or whether I was sliding back. Sure I was very open with all of the friends I went to town with, the ones I worked with. I tried to be very open with them but I didn't have a clue, nobody ever told me until, it must've been a month later, me and my husband were going to town and out of the blue he said "you have changed", in a kind of an angry voice. And I just turned around and said "in what way"? He said, "that's all I can say. You've really changed". He said it in a way that used to make me really angry but now I was able to work things out on a different level. And I looked at him and I said, "Gee, thank you". And Oh! He gave me a dirty look and asked, "How's that"? I said, "I was wondering if I was changing", and he said, "that's not what I meant"! and I said, "well which way do you mean"? But he didn't have words to explain in which way I've changed. So to me it was positive but to him it's not what he wanted.*

Learning how to set personal and professional boundaries, networking and planning required a lot of energy and time. Hollow Water First Nation team realized that not only did they have to work hard to break down barriers that prevented them from working together but they also had to be available for clients outside of the 9 to 5 workday. The team also realized the reality of their community and adjusted to the cultural environment of their clients.

***Anonymous:** Sure, there was lots of resources but the necessity of the clients both the victim/victimizers, nobody was there for them. Everybody was 9 to 5 and that was it. And the resources were "out there" not locally, and how often do they make time to come here. People here live within their income they don't have extra [money/time to get the needed services]. If they did go, how long are they going to see whoever they need to see? Here we could give them our time. I think that was the part that everybody recognized; We are it! We recognized the need that [the community] need! The supports are really important!*

Hollow Water citizens realized that the personnel that had the recognized skills to assist community citizens were external to the community. This situation

created a lack of needed community services. The obvious solution to address their community service needs was to build the social service needs of the community citizens themselves. Hollow Water First Nation then applied and received funding to train twelve graduates in the 2-year Community Centred Therapy Program. Six of these graduates started working for the newly created Community Holistic Circle Healing organization as sex abuse and domestic violence counsellors.

Working with Community Institutional Resources

People began to take traditional counseling training from Cruz Acevado. The empowerment process of learning about counseling was from an Indigenous perspective and explored traditional values that reframed Hollow Water community citizens understanding of how to work with both the colonial system and their own community values.

***Berma** – At the time we had been bringing in Cruz Acevado into the community. He was training us on sexual abuse, physical abuse, family violence all that piece of it. He used his own experience in the way that he dealt with his healing. Those were the things that he came to share with us to make us understand offending behaviour and how denial works in individuals, families and community and how we can live with that. How we can continue to exist under that kind of chaos. He used our own community, our own experience. Every time he came we went deeper and deeper into that understanding. He helped us map out our own community, the family groups, the religious groups, and the political groups in the community. He called them hidden leaders, you know, people within families who are able to influence others within that group. We also worked with existing programs, for example the school, the CFS program. So we established a real connection to the existing programs in the community. With his help we were able to draw everyone to a strong network. The Church people were there, educators were there, Child and Family Services, NADAP workers, the elected leaders.*

The CHCH organization was developed through the philosophy and actions of Hollow Water's Healing Movement. As I have indicated the original process was to provide a way to assess and address community issues. However, as the following quotation indicates that at some point "The empowerment process" diverged from the original mandate and became intricately tied to the issue of sexual abuse of children within the community. The "Process" that is used in the sense of "addressing any community issue" is the same (in that it connects community citizens, families, and community institutions) but used in a way to apply to a specific context rather than the general. Since Hollow Water First Nation was addressing an extremely emotional and volatile issue (child sexual abuse) within the context of people who are very skilled manipulators, it is not surprising that the CHCH workers became focused on the specific content of the community issue. They began to present themselves as sexual abuse workers and formed an ideology around that specific community issue rather than seeing CHCH's general process of seeing sexual abuse as a single issue within all community issues. In other words, CHCH became sexual abuse workers rather than facilitators for the assessment and planning actions to address community issues.

***Berna:** We also had a very clear understanding of what the system had to offer and how the limitations for really taking care of the children the way we were meant to take care of them. For, example when you report the abuse of a child to the child welfare system. The empowerment process they use is [that] they come interview the child and very often do not talk to anybody else in terms of family or other resources in the community. They will come exercise the mandate that they have under child welfare. They will interview the child and take the information back [to their organization]. Their first solution is to remove the child from the family, the community. Take the child to Winnipeg, usually. How is that protecting the child? Their idea of protecting the child is not what we want. When we say protecting children they belong with the family. They belong to their community. So what makes sense, to us, is to remove the offender, the perpetrator. It's that person who has done wrong not the child. So that is a*

*major difference [between Anishinaabek and Settler systems]. And because the [Settler] system, still to this day, that's all they have to offer. It's disheartening that they haven't evolved in any way to really taking care of children the way they say they do. So their idea is not acceptable to us in Hollow Water and was not acceptable in the 1980s. So we had to **develop a process where we ensured safety for our children**, supports, and working with the child and family to deal with the issues. [We wanted] to **include the perpetrator in that process**, too, because the whole mess stems from their actions. The child needs restitution or needs those issues resolved in the way that removes the guilt, that shame. That's the work that the offender must do, no one else can do that work. The child needs to hear directly from the offender. The family needs to hear directly from the offender over a five-year period – **that's the empowerment process**. You build supports for the child and the child's family. We used the circle to help diffuse the anger the burden, the shame all those heavy feelings. Through the circle you begin to build harmony. You begin to bring the child and family back to balance.*

The parts of my interview with Berma highlighted in bold indicate that the focus for the Community Holistic Circle Healing organization became a single issue program addressing sexual abuse of children rather than an organization that would facilitate community dialogue to assess and address community issues. This view of CHCH as addressing sexual abuse issues is so ingrained in Hollow Water First Nation community and world outside (in academic and journalistic writings) – it is assumed that the original vision and mandate of the CHCH was to address sexual abuse; it was not. Over the years this point of the purpose of the Community Holistic Circle Healing has been a point of contention between those who believe a community process of assessing and facilitating plans to address community issues should be the focus for the organization and those who believe that sexual abuse of children should be addressed using the community's institutional resources to address individual, family, and community relationships should be the focus for the organization.

During the 1980s and 1990s the many institutional resources and services of the community would be gather regularly to discuss and assess community issues. This gathering of the Assessment Team (the community citizens referred to this team as the A-Team due to the popularity of a television program in the 1980s) was organized and facilitated by the CHCH organization. When I first came to Hollow Water First Nation in 1997, there were still regular Assessment Team meetings with community institutions organized by the CHCH organization. The CHCH organization recognized the need for community institutions and resources to meet regularly amongst themselves as part of the networking, reframing confidentiality, information sharing, and trust building for community planning. These meeting lead to trust among the multitude of community agencies, departments, institutions, and resources throughout the 1980s and 1990s.

A significant aspect of the idea of confidentiality had to be reframed in order for the CHCH organization to work. Due to the nature of the various institutions that were involved in assessing, discussing, planning, actions, and evaluating the actions among multiple services agencies with competing confidentiality agreements, the idea of confidentiality had to be reframed to fit the traditional spiritual understanding of working together. Within Colonial institutions confidentiality is highly respected and the rules governing sharing of information are quite rigid. A police officer could not share information to a school teacher or a Child and Family Services worker regarding an individual or a family. Confidentiality held within an institution but not shared to other institutions created a barrier to effective community assessment, discussion, planning, actions, and evaluation. In order to create a safe environment so that the free flow of

information could occur the term confidentiality would refer to the group represented by various institutions. As many people that I interviewed indicated, “you had to leave your hat at the door when you came to an Assessment Team meeting”. This meant that in order to be part of this group you had to give up your institutional identity to discuss a community issue presented before the group. Those that attended the meetings were no longer the Priest, the teacher, the social worker, the Police Officer – everyone became a concerned community citizen that was bound by confidentiality of what was discussed. The Assessment Team reframed confidentiality to include confidentiality within the group of various institutions, workers, and service agencies that were present at the meeting. The confidentiality of each various institution had to be breached in order for the CHCH organization to be effective in assessing and addressing community issues.

Berma: We had to find a process for bringing the two systems together. They still don't work together. One system deals with the child and the other system deals with the offender. They have no way of coming together. So that's the piece we had to do. We worked within their systems we didn't try to change any of their processes. We were the ones to find ways to engage their justice system and in the CFS system. That's what we had to do because [the Colonial systems] are not about to change.

Case Management Training

The years of training experiences prepared the Hollow Water's Healing Movement group to take on the roles required to implement the vision and mandate of the CHCH organization on a day-to-day basis. The teachers of the training courses were brought from all over Canada and the United States to come to Hollow Water First Nation.

Berma: Valdie was the one to bring in resources like Cruz Acevado, Jack Mendez, [Lawrence] Ellerby. So he found key people in the system that he brought into the community that would help us set up the process and designing the program and the approach. He also connected with New

Careers¹⁶ and they came out and helped us design a training program because we couldn't find anyone that dealt with offenders in Manitoba. We had to design our own training program so that's how it was set up in the beginning. We had few people that had salaried positions so we were lucky to have a large amount of people as volunteers. It was mostly women – there were only two or three men.

The content of the courses has been described as intensive practice that involved in-class training, out-of-class continuation of practice, in-class working through a real case with the client's present, and a question and answer period.

***Berna:** Cruz Acevado would do intense training with us for 3-5 days [at a time]. He would use live situations. Like we would bring our casework to him and he would supervise. He would teach us about casework and what we needed to do and basically be our supervisor. He would actually come with us to our clients and have that interaction and do a live teaching. That's how he instructed to us. Like a role-play but an actual [counseling experience]. So he would be there with the offender and counsel the offender. He would show us how to break down the denial [through] the questions he asked. He would ask open-ended questions and show us how to engage, how to read the body language to understand how that person is wired, and [interrupt them] because they are expert [manipulators]. He showed us with individuals, circles and groups. He would [go with us to] the community programs and the [Chief and Council] leadership so he became very well known in the community. He had established a working relationship with the Principal at the school, the Priest at the Catholic Church, the Minister at the Anglican Church. Those are techniques you will never get at a university course. He would teach us about the impact of the cycle of abuse from generation to generation and how it works. The dynamics of an offenders' [relationship] with their spouses and families of victims. The dynamics of offenders' behaviour impacts their families and community as well as the dynamics of victims and how they impact their families and communities.*

An important part of the training was the development of habituation of the participants' skills. Cruz Acevado would teach what he knew to the students and would expect the participants to practice these new skills within as many social situations as

¹⁶ New Careers was a former Manitoba education and training program that began in 1971. Many of its graduates were from disadvantaged backgrounds, and several were from the province's Indigenous communities. The program claimed a 92-93% job success rate during the 1990s. New Careers was all but eliminated by the government in the mid-1990s.

possible. For example, he would expect that the participants practiced their skills within their own lives at a personal level, at a family level, at a community level, in their daily work, and in their own personal lives.

Berma: So in those 3-5 days we would get case management, community development kind of processes, and he would also critique our work. He would help us with questionnaires – he would say, “you want to get this kind of information? – These are the questions you have to ask. This is how we have to pull your data together. Because you want to measure these attitudes in the community”. Like I said, he was well rounded and well beyond an educator/activist. He was very down to earth. He didn’t waste time being nice. I mean, he was very nice person and down to earth. He didn’t allow himself to be sidetracked. He knew what he was dealing with when he sat across from an offender. He had his own personal experience about that. And he was constantly refining his methods and techniques but also sharing them. Before he left [each course] he would give us a list of the things we need to do before his next visit. So when he came back [for the next course] he would look at what we had done. What we had produced. That was his commitment to our community. Our commitment had to match his commitment. He said, “I have all this to offer you but it’s up to you to take it and it’s going to take a lot of hard work”.

By the time the CHCH organization was formally constructed, the Healing Movement shifted toward institutionalization. The group was learning and implementing what they learned in the training, they spent many hours discussing their created roles, and how they were going to set up the organization of these roles. They were already practiced and ready to take on the new roles that they were forming.

Once an institution is created the habitualized actions and habitual roles establish a relationship of social control of appropriate social behaviour. Berger and Luckmann indicate that, “to say that a segment of human activity has been institutionalized is already to say that this segment of human activity has been subsumed under social control” (Berger and Luckmann 1966:55). Social control generally refers to societal and political

mechanisms that regulate individual and group behaviour in an attempt to gain conformity and compliance to the rules of a given society, state, or social group. Social control can be divided into informal and formal mechanisms. Informal mechanisms of social control include group socialization, peer or community pressure, and collective responses to meet community interests. Formal mechanisms of social control include rules or laws enforced by a recognized authority on the people of society to ensure a functioning community.

During the 1980s, resistance emerged to outside formal mechanisms of social control with the emergence of Hollow Water's healing movement. Community citizens began to question the way institutional authority was practiced; not as a way to overthrow the authorities power but rather to subvert the institutional authority. Instead reframing institutional concepts in ways that corresponded to traditional understandings emerged, as well as, the promotion of community informal control through dialogue, taking responsibility for community issues, and holding each community citizen accountable for his/her actions. The traditional methods practiced by those who were engaged with Hollow Water healing movement, altered their perspective of institutions from isolated and divergent organizations to a holistic community family. Institutions were seen as integral parts of the holistic community system and, according to traditional systems thinking, were expressed as relationship. Community relationship with and among institutions was promoted through an appreciation approach as opposed to a Western approach to institutions as mechanical. As I indicated in Chapter 2 under Systems Thinking, traditional methods and activities promoted understanding holistic community system (institutions) from a subjective point of view where maintaining relationships with everything are

through an appreciation as opposed to an objective point of view where relationships are fragmented, isolated, and mechanical. This approach required accepting parts of the operating Western institutions but reframing and implementing new ways of organization, communication, and interaction appropriate to traditional ways of thinking. The Turtle Model described in Chapter 2 is an expression of Hollow Water's institutional and community relationship. Valdie Seymour describes the effect that isolation and fragmentation from Western institutions has on addressing community issues. Within Western cultures, allegiance tends to be to institutions, whereas often among Indigenous cultures allegiance tends to be more to family and community relationships including spiritual and land relationships. This difference of allegiances is often a source of conflicts.

Valdie: isolation itself, [is] part of the issue of what needs to be addressed. In order for an issue to be addressed you have to work with the whole community. The issue is not an individual problem; it's a family problem and there are no short-term solutions. It's a long process, whether it's individual or family, the time of recovery [from the issue] will differ depending on what resources are available, the location, and the environment. [For example, when the] residential schools were set up, the whole issue of isolation, loss of culture, loss of tradition, loss of connection to the environment, loss of land also started. So we can't just look at residential school in isolation [to the large-scale social changes that were simultaneously emerging]. You have to look at the whole picture [to heal]. Accountability has to take place for healing to be effective. Someone needs to be held accountable for what happened and I'm not just talking about punishment, I'm talking about a commitment, accountability, and an acknowledgement of what was done to a person by the offender. We need that healing to take place and it's only in community that healing can take place. All of community resources can be part of that [healing] process. One of the key areas of the process of involvement is Justice. If you are going to [refer to] what Hollow Water did, then you need to understand what happened, how it happened, and what happened in terms of how community justice worked in partnership with the present Justice system. I think people don't really understand that. We've lost the ability to work together, we've lost our ability to be a family, we've lost our ability to govern – our clan system, people's roles, we've lost our sense of history – we really don't know what happened to us because it's been hidden from us, we've also lost

our own personal history, a genogram – a lot of us don't know how to do that, a lot of us are not encouraged to do that.

Valdie suggests that it was the volunteerism and raised personal and professional skills among the community citizens and the staff of all the community programs significantly contributed to the development of Hollow Water's healing movement. The Turtle Model that emerged from the healing movement is an expression of the relationships between Hollow Water's community institutions and its membership; the CHCH organization was originally intended to facilitate these relationships and communications.

Valdie: when the director of CHCH was hired and paid, the whole process changed. Before [that] it was all volunteer people, even though [they were] paid by [their] programs it was still [voluntary] to come to meetings, to do interventions, to do all of that [community development]. [Community citizens] should be able to have the skills to do counseling, intervention, family work, and all of that, and so should all of the other programs. Child and Family Services, the police, the school, all of these [institutions] should have these [life] skills so everyone [can know how to address a community issue]. When you isolate workers to do a certain thing, you isolate them to be something other than part of the community. But [the Turtle Model] was designed for programs to work together. The underlying process the spiritual process has to be there. That means the safety has to be there, that everyone is equal, that everyone has a right to speak, that everyone has a right to be heard, everything, everybody has to be respected, you don't need to feel judged, you need to feel you can say I belong to this team because I say so, you know all those human things has to be there.

Kevin: did it just slowly erode away over the years? People just weren't involved as much, new people came in and ...

Valdie: No. What happened was people were not informed of what was happening. People were no longer informed of decisions, of meetings, there were no longer dinners, stuff like that. There's a process that keeps things together and it's the volunteers, the people that make coffee, who make sandwiches, who make invitations, who make phone calls asking, "are you coming to the meetings", it's an organized effort.

Becoming a Learning Organization

Team management was an important aspect to consider as the Healing Movement group transitioned into the formal expression of the CHCH organization. The group

transition from Healing Movement to CHCH organization, as well as, the philosophical foundation of the original mandate of the CHCH organization, established the CHCH organization (i.e. their roles) as, what Senge (1990) terms, a “learning organization”.

Senge’s concept of the learning organization is,

the new way individuals perceive themselves and their world. At the heart of a learning organization is a shift of mind – from seeing ourselves as separate from the world to connected to the world, from seeing problems as caused by someone or something ‘out there’ to seeing how our own actions create the problems we experience. A learning organization is a place where people are continually discovering how they create their reality. And how they can change it (Senge 1990:12).

The original foundation and vision of the CHCH organization was an organization continually learning and transforming itself based on the issues and decisions of the community citizens.

***Lorne:** It was a really good working group. There were ten of us but there were five core people. Valdie, myself, Marcel, Berma and Joyce were the key players – they kind of formed the inner circle – you might even call it the management team. In a lot of ways it was good that it was brand-new because it was just what we wanted to do. We did not have a model to follow. Cruz introduced a few models but they weren’t [precisely] what we wanted. I think people saw the group as providing some leadership. But nobody was obvious in saying, “we are the leaders come follow me”. We know that you are a leader in the way that nobody else is doing this. In the way that, “we’re not really sure but we need to do that because it’s time. We can’t keep on going the way that it has been”. So there is that inner sense of leadership but it comes back to more of a sense of “doing what you know is right”.*

When a certain action was required of individuals to intervene and address an issue, there was not a formal role that was bestowed on an individual member of the intervention team. The role of an individual member of the intervention team shifted depending on context of the situation on which to intervene and the family relationships that existed between the team member and the person who is going through the intervention. This type of “learning organization” is a different form of institution, as is described by Berger and

Luckmann. The process that formed the CHCH organization was importantly different. For example, rather than proceeding from typification → routine → habitualization → roles → institution; the CHCH organization began from “community needs” → informal gatherings → formal meetings → circles with roles → Community Holistic Circle Healing.

Lorne: The group was large enough and crossed jurisdictions, family lines, so that you could put together an intervention team, pretty well, so that you could do what you needed to do in that particular situation. And that would change because that situation would unfold. You would bring people into it and it would be a different group of people with another [situation]. I mean [the group intervention team] was constantly changing and we spent a lot of time just talking things through because we were just trying to find [a good way].

Lorne: We all had different portfolios (NADAP, Child and Family, or whatever it was) but we also realized that it was just the half of it. You kind of borrow from but you didn't wear [your work identity] there. It wasn't, “it's your job – you're NADAP” or “it's your job you're Child and Family”. Whose job it was [to complete a task, was determined by an agreement by the group of which person it] made sense to do it. There was discussion and some kind of agreement around [the task]. The Child and Family Services person might be the last person who should do an intervention, talk to a child, or whatever. Because of the person's history and [family politics].

Valdie's vision of the CHCH organization becoming a learning organization rather than caught up in a specific content of the sexual abuse issue is his genius and commitment to building a functioning contemporary organization that is consistent to traditional teachings. The name of the organization itself indicates that it is the community citizens that heal themselves, holistically through many community circles, not atomistically by focusing on a single issue. Addressing the issue of community-wide sexual abuse is an extremely necessary and valuable contribution to address community needs but according to the original mandate of the Healing Movement and the working group that created the CHCH organization there could have been an organization that addressed sexual abuse

separate from the CHCH organization. The CHCH organization's original purpose is to facilitate community holistic healing through sharing circles among community citizens.

Lorne: Valdie has the best handle on that. He had the best idea of where it was going, of where it could go, and everybody looked to him for the role, while we played other roles that were important. Valdie's approach sees people transition to a teaching role is very consistent.

However, the purpose of the organization was not consistently agreed upon. An extreme amount of responsibility was placed on a small group of people to address community sexual abuse issues. This was impractical resulting in a large burnout rate. By having the CHCH workers identified as sexual abuse workers to address community sexual abuse, only a select number of community citizens were identified as responsible for addressing community sexual abuse rather than placing a shared responsibility on all community citizens. Alternatively, representing CHCH workers as community facilitators that assess community issues and work with community citizens to create ways to address community issues was a more holistic approach to a learning transformative organization. As well, by moving the locus of responsibility to the community family groups, people could not point to a single person and criticize them for not doing their job properly. If all community family members are equally responsible for coming up with plans to address sexual abuse it diffuses attacks against individual community citizens.

Lorne: I don't know about Joyce, but Valdie, myself, and Berma were seen as leaders by a lot of the community. But there was none of [the formal concept of leadership], it was a circle, we were all students and we are all teachers. You talked when you needed to talk and you shut up when you needed to shut up. So there is no kind of hierarchy that would be in the kind of structured way. It was kind of the informality of all that. It was a natural, logical process. To be a leader that's what I would think is being a leader since then you have all these people with this idea. Because everybody's got a different version of [leadership]. The working group knew the community and they shared that. When we shared about interventions it was clear from the group who the formal leaders of the group were and who we

needed to talk to. Because those people from that family knew all of that. They knew who went where, when there was trouble, or, who to go to when they needed help in each of the family groups. That was all well-defined through the family, so you knew you had to bring [someone to address a situation] pretty quick. Otherwise, you are not going to pull this [intervention] off. It's as simple as that. People will follow their informal patterns and family structures. So, having that, really made a lot of our intervention a lot simpler and a lot easier because it was about getting them on board [to what we were doing as a team].

***Thelma:** It seems that people get so angry at CHCH [workers]. They think that [the CHCH workers] are the ones that are supposed to be fixing people. It can't be just CHCH. How can CHCH, that small group, take care of their clients and be the answer to all the problems on reserve? They can't. There's no way. People just want them to have all the answers; but they don't. They can't do it all for all those people. **It's a community.** And if you take the three people [that work at CHCH] and [told them to monitor] 300 children... could they handle 100 children each? No. Well that is what [the community] expects. That is the expectations of the CHCH. You can't. I learned my lesson with Hollow Water. I worked for awhile then I took some time off. Worked again and took time off. Learning how to pace.*

At the formation of the CHCH organization in 1989, the organization was already split. The original healing movement mandate was to form an organization that would facilitate community assessment and work with various organizations to address community issues. However, this new organization, the CHCH, was mandated to address sexual abuse through various community institutions and heal the various family relationships that were affected by the sexual offence. This new organization drew on the original framework of working with families and institutions in the unique way that was developed by the Healing Movement but the purpose became addressing sexual abuse. The CHCH organization divided along lines of opinion within the leadership that saw the organization's purpose as being a) facilitation of community assessment, dialogue and action to address general community issues, or, b) assess and counsel family relationships to address sexual (and other forms of domestic) abuse. However, once the outside world

started to pay attention to what was happening in Hollow Water First Nation, the narrative became overwhelmingly focussed on the assessment and counselling of family relationships to address sexual abuse. The self-determination aspect of facilitating community assessment, dialogue and action to address general community issues was largely ignored.

Around the beginning of the CHCH organizations' formal creation, Valdie left the community and never fully returned. At that time, there were tensions between Berma and Valdie over the guiding direction of Hollow Water's healing movement and the creation and development of the CHCH organization. This tension and multiple tensions during the 1990s made the maintenance and development of the CHCH organization difficult. In the early 1990s, a new Chief and Council were elected that did not explicitly support the CHCH organization/philosophy. In the mid-1990s there was a movement among some CHCH staff to obtain Social Work degrees and move toward Child and Family Services (CFS). Later, Berma became director of the Southeast Child and Family Services as Manitoba Child and Family Services devolved from a Manitoba government responsibility to that of Indigenous organizations' responsibility. Within the Hollow Water community, the formation of the CHCH organization led to community citizens no longer being involved with conducting sexual abuse and domestic violence interventions. The CHCH organization and/or other institutionalized programs, such as CFS, took control over providing this intervention service. In the early 1990s, Hollow Water First Nation and the CHCH organization were gaining media attention. Subsequently, the CHCH staff and Board of Directors were invited to give presentations and workshops to many communities about the CHCH

organization. However, Valdie felt disregarded by the community. Valdie states that, “they took me out of the picture”. Other opportunities opened up for Valdie and he travelled to various communities across Canada teaching personal and professional development skills to community citizens so that they could assess, plan, implement, and evaluate their own solutions to their own community issues. Valdie did spend a few years in Seymourville during the late 1990s. He became Mayor of Seymourville and offered 1 year of the Community Centred Therapy Program – a two-year program that was based on the principles learned from the training experiences that Hollow Water organized during the 1980s (personal communication with Valdie Seymour).

Within a few years after the official launch of the CHCH organization there was a high number of CHCH staff and community resource workers who exhibited characteristics of occupational burnout; defined by the WHO as energy depletion or exhaustion, increased mental distance from one’s job, feelings of negativism or cynicism related to one’s job, and reduced professional efficacy (World Health Organization 2019).

***Anonymous:** Some of the people, that we worked with, did backslide quite a bit but they moved away. Some of them, you could tell, they had breakdowns. Sometimes I wonder if they had continued, if they would’ve had the proper support, would they have had these breakdowns? I don’t think so. Sometimes I wonder how long can a person go [without addressing burnout] because I’m sure there’s a point where a person burns out and that’s when things come right down. Of all the people that were involved in there [the CHCH organization], I don’t think that there’s a healthy one in there.*

I will describe in greater detail burnout within the CHCH organization and other community resource organizations its effects on the community in Chapter six.

DIVISION OF VISION

Struggling Through CHCH to Mino-Bimaadiziwin

Hollow Water First Nation had gone through a paradigm shift. Community citizens were much more capable of assessing their own community and working with their own institutions to address their own community issues. They were active in not only resolving conflicts but they were going beyond addressing an issue they were building practices that were creating wellness or creating mino-bimaadiziwin; the good life. The CHCH organization was actively engaged with community citizens in restoring relationships that had been damaged through offences to a community individual and families. The CHCH organization facilitated these ongoing positive relationships expressed through an annual spiritual fast (also known as vision quests), through various ceremonies, sewing circles, Black Island Days (an annual community celebration), and annual give-aways to families.

However, since the incorporation of the CHCH organization in 1989, the philosophical foundations and the raison d'être of the organization were already creating a split among the originators.

***Berma:** At that time our vision was very limited but we, in our research, came to understand the impacts of colonization – how deep that's gone in First Nations to the point where there was very little of the good life left. We know mino-bimaadiziwin – that's what we had to go out and search for. We had no teachers, we had no elders – [they] were still silent. We had one or two elders who walked with us – picked up the drum and pipe. And then we had to depend on outside resources both traditional and contemporary. The message has always been from traditional spiritual people that this is on loan, that what they had to bring was on loan from them to us. We still had the task of finding our [way], the Anishinaabe. And that's what I mean when I say that we are on a journey. There are high peaks and valleys. I think the high peaks in the 80s was focusing on our children, focusing on the women, and focusing on abuse, of all types – mental, spiritual,*

emotional, sexual. It really made us define what we mean by gifts when we talk to our children.

According to Berma, the focus of the CHCH organization was to address sexual abuse and domestic violence and reconcile family relationships.

Berma: *This is the work that started in the late 1980s and through the 1990s. It was one of the peaks in our development. So clearly we were shown and we were able to demonstrate by ourselves that we have the capacity, we have the knowledge, we have commitment to deal with, probably the worst crimes on earth against children. We were able to deal with that. So we can never say that we can't do it. We dealt with the hardest thing in our community. So everything else should be a piece of cake. That whole piece has shown us [that] it's only one piece of the journey. When we look at the whole process of colonization – one of the highest crimes of colonization is how it displaced women. We had matriarchal systems that governed our societies, we had clan mothers and systems in place and that was all turned inside out. Where [the] election process was brought in [from outside the community]. Men having power over women. Lives became possessions. So that's the piece, if we are talking about wellness, we are talking about health, we are talking about a good life. That is where we have to return. That's one of the fundamental principles of our traditions. Woman is key, woman has to be healthy, has to be nurtured, because it is the woman that brings that harmony/balance to her own individual family, to the community and the nation. Men can't do that.*

Berma indicated that the purpose of the CHCH organization is to displace colonization with traditional Anishinaabek culture that would restore a traditionally matriarchal system.

Berma: *In this decade [2000-2010] we can say that we regressed. Not necessarily. I think that we certainly need to refocus but the skill set is there, the will is there. What we've been shown in the last 10 years is how to bring our own, if you want to call them institutions, our own ceremonies, our own lodges – that's been the concentration of the last 10 years. So far we brought back two lodges – and I think that is phenomenal if you think about the loss that we suffered in the last fifty years. So bringing back two lodges in 10 years, to me that is a good start. We know outside institutions have nothing to offer us spiritually. So we have to turn to our own.*

Berma: *So, you know for me, it's not a regression, it's somewhere we had to go. And now we are at a time where we really have to look at – when we talk about our responsibilities – it's not just to my children and the children*

in the community – but also how it will affect others, you know, within the Race, within our geography, but also with nation to nation. I believe that we will always come back over and over if we have not resolved a problem it's not going away. We will have to come back to it in different ways until you resolve it. That's how I see community development – you always come at it in different ways as you go along picking up skills and making connections. Every person you come across is a piece of the puzzle. You receive a piece of the puzzle [seeing each experience as something from which one can learn].

According to Valdie, the CHCH organization was oriented to facilitate communication between community citizens and institutions so that the community could assess, plan, act and evaluate its own community issues and their corresponding solutions.

Valdie: Coming into balance is all the things that we don't need to do, like drinking alcohol or using drugs, fighting, and all of those things. Becoming into balance is to be able to enjoy life without having to drink. Being able to solve your problems without having to drink.

At first, those that were interested in changing their lives were coming to the Healing Movement group with the perspective of, “how do I avoid jail”? Valdie explains that these people slowly started to shift their perspective. The threat of going to jail transformed to something beyond avoiding jail; instead community citizens wanted to live a life that was more than merely existing. They wanted to move their lives toward achieving a new identity. A person's purpose was defined not by merely, “to stay out of jail”, rather a person was motivated to establish their own healthy identity – to see their own life grow and improve.

Valdie: I think being in community and understanding that if I saw them drinking I could make them accountable. The families of the people that had quit drinking noticed that [my clients] started to change their lifestyle changing their behaviour. When you take alcohol out of your life there are all sorts of good things that [replace it and] come into play. So that, the community, the families started to recognize [the changes]. If the father all of a sudden wants to change his lifestyle – he is volunteering, he is going to

program – even the family starts to [return] into balance. They want to do something. They want to get involved. So this snowballs into a whole community thing. So that's what happened. Everything from Black Island Days [families camping on Black Island during one week in the July] to square dancing, sports, and all those things. Now that people are getting sober they wanted to get involved in things. So those are the things that happened.

***Valdie:** But I wasn't so [rigid in directing people] that they had to go to Alcoholic Anonymous or they had to go to Church or had to go to cultural programs. I was open to all of that. As a community worker you have to be neutral with everything and I mean everything, politics and religion. Because politics and religion have had such a [tremendous influence] on us as a community. So I was aware that I had to be open to all [perspectives] and not just one. Not just say "this is the only answer". There are all kinds of answers. So I started to work with other resources. Like CFS [Child and Family Services] and people that lost their children because of alcohol and drugs. I took the view, "how can I help these people". How can I help this couple, what can I do so that they can get their children back? So the same process would apply. You sign an agreement that you can use alcohol or drugs. You have to come up with a way to replace that alcohol – going to culture or Church or AA programs or self-help programs or whatever.*

Recreating Cultural Identity

Culture is learned in the context of group interaction; it enables communication, conformity, coordination and invention of solutions to issues that arise and, as it passes from one generation to the next it changes in the transmission (Greenbaum 1992:15-16).

As Berger and Luckmann point out,

The individual, however, is not born a member of society. He is born with a predisposition toward sociality, and he becomes a member of society. In the life of every individual, therefore, there *is* a temporal sequence, in the course of which he is inducted into participation in the societal dialect. The beginning point of this process is internalization: the immediate apprehension or interpretation of an objective event as expressing meaning, that is, as manifestation of another's subjective processes which thereby becomes subjectively meaningful to myself (1966:129).

Identity is a continual process of negotiation whereby people orient themselves in relation with others through a continual construction of reality; a reality based on

simultaneous mechanisms that both maintains and transforms identity for an individual, society and segments of it (Spice 1995:6). The conceptualization of culture as a static and homogenous phenomena is inadequate to account for major cultural processes, such as, culture change and revitalization of ethnicity and nationalism. This conceptualization of culture that cultural identity and distinction do not depend on an absence of social interaction and acceptance; rather, interaction of social systems is often the very foundation on which cultural identity and distinctions are constructed. Cultural identification can be seen as a strategic axis around which groups and individuals organize to compete for resources and power (Greenbaum 1992:7). Cultural identity is not necessarily based on occupation of territory, nor by some pervious grouping, “but by continual expression and validation” (Barth 1969:15). As Goodenough states,

If, by culture, we contextualize things and behaviours of ourselves and others so that expectations and understanding are shared by members of a society, then a theory of cultures must consider the processes by which individual members arrive at such sharing. In this regard, the differences, the conflicts and the misunderstandings that arise from human interaction also become noteworthy in articulation with mechanisms that construct unity (1978:81)

Goodenough suggests that all cultures have mechanisms for sharing, developing unity and identity, but also have mechanisms for creating difference, conflict and initiating societal changes. This view implies that all societies are multicultural to some extent. When reality is transmitted from one generation to the next, the generation taking over not only understand the other’s subjective processes but also understand the world in which he lives and that world becomes the next generations which may be creatively modified (Berger and Luckmann 1966:130). Berger and Luckmann state that, “primary socialization is the first socialization an individual undergoes in childhood, through which he becomes a

member of society. Secondary socialization is any subsequent process that inducts an already socialized individual into new sectors of the objective world of his society” (1966:130). However, they stress that, “socialization is never total and never finished” (1966:137). According to Berger and Luckmann, “secondary socialization is the internalization of institutional or institution-based ‘sub-worlds’. Its extent and character are therefore determined by the complexity of the division of labor and the concomitant social distribution of knowledge” (1966:138). Further, to internalize this institutional knowledge, identity, and reality, “language constitutes both the most important content and the most important instrument of socialization” (1966:133). According to Berger and Luckmann, “secondary socialization requires the acquisition of role-specific vocabularies, which means, for one thing the internalization of semantic fields structuring routine interpretations and conduct within an institutional area (1966:138). In *Hollow Water* the role-specific vocabularies for community citizens and institutional workers included subversive code-switching words and concepts; “offender” became “victimizer” and the concept of justice shifted from “punishment” to “healing community relationships”, as well as, innumerable other terms and concepts. As well, the code-switching attempted to go from “Western institutions and roles” to “Indigenous institutions and roles” based on Indigenous worldview. This attempt is very difficult because of the “power” of western motivations and the lack of “fit” between the two approaches. The perspective becomes a struggle as to which institution becomes legitimated.

For Barth, self-identification negotiated with identification imposed by others are the most important features of ethnocultural boundaries in which identity forms, he states,

“identity implies a series of constraints on the kinds of roles an individual is allowed to play, and the partners he may choose for different kinds of transactions” (1969:17). These constraints provide the range of roles that an individual may enact. It is these constraints that are ascribed to individuals within a group. Goodenough proposes that the sharing aspect of culture is a matter of attribution; a process of defining and formally structuring group identity. The validity of this attribution is measured by its practical utility for effective interaction with group members in group-defined situations (Goodenough 1978:81-82).

Berger and Luckmann also consider the individual that “switches worlds” or a process of re-socialization. They call this transformation process “alternation” which resemble primary socialization that radically reassigns, “reality accents and, consequently, must replicate to a considerable degree the strongly affective identification with the socializing personnel that was characteristic of childhood” (1966:157). They are different from primary socialization because they must dismantle and disintegrate the preceding natural law of subjective reality (1966:157). Successful alternation requires an effective plausible structure to replace the previous one and must provide both social and conceptual supports to guide the new reality. For example, as I discuss in Chapter five, Hollow Water’s Healing Movement transitioned into working with community citizens, several of which were selected to attend training to become workers. The Healing Movement created the Turtle Model system, which was based on the Clan system model, addressed the roles of available and operating community institutions and their relationship to each other. The two-year training program offered the participants a resocialization process and an

opportunity to practice in their families and within institutions, as well as, provided a supportive environment.

***Valdie:** You need to develop your own plan and that's a major part of this process. When I first started I didn't realize that I was actually doing intervention, treatment, aftercare, prevention. I was doing all of those but I was doing them in a holistic way. I wasn't saying today I'm going to be doing prevention, I was just doing a holistic way in dealing with people. Not everyone fits neatly into intervention, treatment, aftercare, prevention [in linear fashion]. Sometimes I'd begin with the aftercare. I didn't follow the traditional model of doing intervention, treatment, aftercare, prevention. I followed my own instincts, my own way of knowing how to assess a person, their family. I believed that you don't have to be a professional to help a person. I really believed that if I cared for my community enough, and my people enough, and I loved the people I was working with, I could help them. Everyone does not have to be a professional, just about everyone in the community can help. You don't have to be a psychiatrist or a psychologist or a therapist or a qualified counsellor. I think the first step to helping is caring for that person, set up a support system to be able to monitor them, and offer them help. That whole thing has to happen first. We've come a long ways from that I'll tell you. Today people are scared to intervene because they think they don't have the skills. They don't want to intervene because they think they have to be professional. That you have to have a degree in psychology or psychiatry, or whatever. They don't want to intervene so they don't want to do anything with anyone unless some therapist comes into the community and that's the one who has to intervene. I don't believe in that. I think we can intervene. Put that person in a stable place. Then use resources. Outside resources if you have to. In a lot of ways, that's what I was doing in the courts because it wasn't just me [helping]. I knew my community and the resources that were in the community to be able to work with community citizens. I began to understand that if a person I'm working with in the courts becomes a sober community citizen you are going to have [a potentially active and energized community worker].*

***Valdie:** Why is it today that we have to be a professional to deal with [issues]? Don't get me wrong, there should be professionals in [addressing community issues]. All I am saying is that as a community person you can begin to deal with [community issues]. Once you set up a plan identifying the resources to come in to help a person or family, then all those professionals will be more effective because you have the support of the community. If you have a professional that comes in and works with a group of people that's already working with a person it will be more successful than someone coming in trying to implement a foreign concept. Or sending [a community worker] to a home and saying "look there's drugs and alcohol in that house. Go there and see what you can do". I guarantee [the*

workers] are not going to get anywhere. You have to know what you are doing within the community. You have to know how to work with it. Today what happens is some professional, a psychologist, or psychiatrist, or a therapist comes into a community and stays at the Health Centre and that's all they do. People come there for one-hour sessions. That will never recover a community. You might help two or three people but you are looking at helping 400 people. It has to be a different way. I don't know why, in my own community, it has gone back to the way it was [referring to the 1970s¹⁷].

Valdie: *When we started addressing serious issues around violence, making people accountable for everything from spousal abuse and even abuse of their own children, and sexual abuse, I understood that these issues could be worked with. I knew that they could be addressed by making people accountable and responsible for what was happening without using the prison system. But still using the system to make them accountable, but without putting people in jail, to come up with a plan that would help them come back into balance. To take treatment for whatever that treatment would look like. Because in every treatment your healing looks different. Healing is different. There's no one healing that fits all. There's no such a thing. At least I haven't found it. Everyone's recovery is different. Coming back into balance is different for everyone.*

Identity is extremely important to find for oneself. How one gets an understanding of oneself and how he or she fits into the roles of the rest of society determines one's path in life. Does one follow a path that contributes to community or not?

Valdie: *It's really hard to find your identity especially if you haven't been brought up in it. Because in our society, from the time you were born, even before you were born – our people believed that the child that was being born, was going to be born to the clan they chose before they were born or conceived. [The spirit of the unborn child] knew who their parents were going to be, what clan it was going to be, so the child had a mission coming here. They had a mission that they were about to learn. And that's what [the child] is going to teach their clan. So that identity was nurtured right from the start. Because you choose to be in the bear clan, you were educated and everything to be in the bear clan. You were educated and nurtured so your identity was already identified before you were born. [Your identity] was there because the elders knew that this person was going to be born to this clan. So today, people don't get their names, they don't get anything until they are forty. All of a sudden they say "I don't know my identity", "What*

¹⁷ The reference to the 1970s suggests that the community has returned to an environment where violence, addictions, gang rape, etc. have become prevalent.

*clan am I?”, “Who am I?”, “I was brought up in 10 different foster homes” – You know what I mean? You know how screwed up that is? People ask, “how do I find my identity?” Holy shit! I don’t know! People want to know, “how do I get to know my identity? Tell me right now! Give me the answers!” I tell them, “I don’t have the answers, you do. I’ll help you find it. I can teach you some skills. But **you** have to find what **your** identity is”. You can’t look it up in a book. People say this is what their identity was and they lost their identity. But just because you went back to your culture doesn’t mean you’ve found your identity.*

Re-establishing identity requires recreating reality. Identity is about pursuing ideas, and behaviours that make sense to you.

***Valdie:** When people start to feel good about themselves it really has something to do with their identity. That’s where it begins. You have to start feeling it. You have to see it. You have to hear that. You have to think it. You have to be it. If it starts by, “I want to go to a ceremony or I want to go to Church”. It comes from that. You are never going to identify your identity by going out to drink and getting drunk. Your never going to find it that way. It makes sense that if you begin to feel good about yourself, then you begin to ask questions about yourself. Ask yourself, “what can I do next”? That’s one of the things that I really help people with. I always ask those questions, “what do you think needs to happen for you”?, and “if you do this what do you think might happen”, or “what do you think needs to happen” – **you** have to make that decision. I’m not going to make the decision for you. I tell them, “if you are caught drunk driving – what do you think needs to happen”. They say, “I guess that I better not drink and drive”. And that’s what balance is – what is balance for you? It may be different for you, it’s different for me. It is based on your identity. People begin to recognize some of our cultural teachings that begin to recognize they behaved and did things a certain way based on what their culture was, their Clan, their Indian name, whatever that may be. All of those things began to make sense for myself and other people. I think it works the same with the Church, too. The Church helps you get back into balance if you follow what ever it is they are trying to teach you. I believe that the creator worked though me. I certainly believed that a power greater than myself was guiding me in the things that I was doing. That kept me balanced, to be able to think that way.*

Valdie indicates that community people, as well as, people outside the community misunderstood the actions of the Healing Movement thinking that it was only addressing sexual abuse.

Valdie: Sometimes people only saw that we were addressing sexual abuse. Sexual abuse was only a small part of [the Healing Movement]. All of the stuff we were addressing was everything the people wanted to address. Whether it's spousal abuse, whether its losing their children, whether they were in residential school, they wanted to address all of those different issues. People wanted to recognize [in themselves] "why do I drink"? Those questions start to come up when you are sober for awhile. [Community people questioned their own motivations and asked] "Why did I do the things that I did"? People start to ask questions and we provided resources to help them find their own answers to identify [the reasons why people became out-of-balance]. Sexual abuse was probably the hardest because it involved the law but I think [the empowerment process] is the only way to address sexual abuse. All of the other issues were not just about sexual abuse. The empowerment process and dealing with sexual abuse, dealing with suicide, dealing with depression, dealing with trauma, dealing with just about every issue – the empowerment process is the same to addressing [the issue]. There's no difference. The empowerment process is the same [people need to be involved in their own decision-making for their lives]. You have to find a way to intervene. I don't like using [the term] "intervention" it's kind of a hard [term in the language]. I believe that you have to find a way to help that person address their issues and help them find whatever treatment is going to look like for them to recover. And be there for an aftercare, [in other words], follow up to help them along. Based on all that, you create prevention for the next generation, for their own children – so the prevention will be there.

Hollow Water's Healing Movement drew upon traditional healing methods through family and community support. Traditionally healing came from the support of the clan system.

Valdie: With the clan system, all of the community people looked after – we were responsible for these kids. So from the time you are born until the time you are 25 years old – if the community is responsible for you – you don't get traumatized as easily as a person who doesn't have that support system today. When something happened to you, you were addressed right away. You were worked with, you were supported, you were loved, and you were cared for. All the main ingredients to address [the issue, were present]. So you go on, you move on, you don't get traumatized. Today we talk about sexual abuse or something traumatic happens to you, and you carry that until you are fifty. In your fifties, you recognize that you were traumatized as a child at five-years-old. In our system, that would never have happened. It can't because it was so balanced. That would never have happened. Trauma has been around since the beginning of time, so has suicide thoughts, depression and all those but because the system, the support

system and the help was always there for everyone. It was a balance that community.

Identity of a parent comes from their ability to practice parenting to their children as their child moves through the various life stages. When a child is taken from a parent, the parent no longer has an opportunity to express their parental identity.

Valdie: We talk about it takes a whole community to raise a child but it also takes a child for the community to work. Without a child you lose that [system of caring and support for each other]. Today we only understand that it takes a community to raise a child but we also understand that when residential school happened, when it took the children away, there was no community. It wasn't there. It destroyed the community. We can only recognize that when children were taken away, [the issue was confined to the single child] but it wasn't. It destroyed the whole community. We don't look at that. So when the child comes back we think everything is back into balance. But it already destroyed [community]. It upset the balance.

When I was doing a presentation, I put child, family, community, and then nation, of course [within successive embedded circles with child at the centre]. But I also put community, family and child [within successive embedded circles with community in the centre] and people say, "you've made a mistake"! I say, "No, no, let me finish". So I explain to them why removing that child you didn't have a community. You destroyed the community. All we could think of was that child. We think that we brought those people back from residential school – but we already destroyed community. We destroyed that process. You have to rebuild that child again in that community. That's where we are still at in the community.

The empowerment process of colonization has drastically affected not only the language, peoples relationships with the land, and each other, but the empowerment process of creating community. The empowerment process of community is a complex and delicate process to maintain. It requires a lot of support, trust, awareness, and communication with the various institutions working together for the goal of the community enhancement.

When bringing in trainers to build community citizens' skills, the trainers had to understand that they were selected to teach skills that were identified by the community citizens as important for community to learn as part of the overall goal of empowering the community, rather than learn skills that would train the community citizen to be skilful in activities that promote Western institution programs that were limited in their scope.

Valdie: The trainer that was brought in had to understand the community's perspective and do a needs assessment of all the people that they are going to teach, not focussed [solely] on their [own curriculum]. So I understood that anytime I brought in a trainer they had to follow what we [the community] wanted not what they wanted. That was the whole concept that was followed. I understood that I wasn't to impose my ideas on people. I was providing an opportunity for people to think and do what they needed to do for themselves. I was providing information the skills they need in order to make their own decisions. That was all there was to it. I worked with a client by understanding and knowing how to assess that person – by understanding what [his or her] needs were. What would they like to do? And how would they like to do it? My clients would actually be involved in designing their own plan for their own recovery. That's why they liked what they were doing. If I was to draw up a probation condition, like probation services conditions are based on what [the probation officer] thinks a person needs to do so as to not reoffend based on a [Colonial] punishment system, it won't work with a community person. For a community person, [the solution might be,] his need was to camp and take kids along, and take people with him so that he can be a service to the community. All of these things have to fit. Probation for instance, they don't understand what the resources and skills that people have at the community level. So that was two different systems.

When the Hollow Water Healing Movement started to work with and include institutions from outside the community, like the Police, they had to explain their purpose to the outside institution and explain how Hollow Water wanted the institution to help in the achievement of Hollow Water's goals. Hollow Water Healing Movement saw outside institutions as resources to be used to support community objectives and goals that were defined, developed and implemented by community.

Valdie: At that time I preferred to work with the police and educate the police. I went to visit Pine Falls detachment Sargeant in order to get to know him, to explain to him what I was doing and how I would like to work with him and help the community. And he was very open to it. In fact he attended our meetings because I introduced myself to him and explained what I wanted to do, how I wanted to do it, and how I wanted to get him involved, so that his whole force would understand what we are doing. In some cases we used the police as support for any kind of intervention. If we have to use them to intervene. In some of the cases we would take the person to get them charged but sign over [recognisance] to myself, for instance, and take them home. So I would be accountable for that person. And I think that in some ways once you gain that respect – when someone is signed over to [a community citizen] – that person is really respectful towards [the community citizen]. They wouldn't drink, they would abide by their conditions and would be very respectful. But in the other system where you sign an agreement to let you go [on your own recognisance] and you drink or do anymore violence that doesn't work either. Everybody knows when the police are going to come out on a Friday. The police are going to be here certain hours. How do you enforce the conditions [the court set]? What I did was I would go visit [my clients] at home. Even just going there and visiting was enough to say I'm just coming here to check on you. But it became a friendship. But I also knew that I would have to report them in order for that to work.

The Healing Movement's healing process was holistic in the sense that it addressed prevention, intervention, treatment, and aftercare of each community person, identified as out-of-balance through their behaviours, to bring them back to balance. This was strategized and planned through various layers of support and complimentary action.

Valdie: You have to understand what treatment looks like. You have to understand what prevention is. You have to understand in the intervention what are the steps. What needs to take place first. How will you understand your history? The history of your people, of the clans. You have to understand so much of the community. I didn't do intervention until I understood all those things. By that time I knew what was needed in the court system for them to accept it. But when we started our pre-sentence reports we just blew that whole thing away. They couldn't understand how well it was done. That's what got it accepted. The whole thing in Hollow Water was accepted because of how we did it. Intervention, treatment, aftercare, all of that how well that was done was recognized by everyone. No one had actually ever seen [a First Nation community take control of itself]. It's really hard [to see where Hollow Water First Nation is now].

The people of Hollow Water, the ones that were involved [in the community development, CHCH] was their healing piece. That was their recovery.

According to Valdie, Hollow Water's Healing Movement, it's working group, and the development of the CHCH organization was an extremely personal and intimate experience to the people living through it. However, he and others acknowledged, through conversations, that the community process was incomplete because it lacked mentorship and was not solidified as a routine process before it began to express itself outside the community. As one person¹⁸ indicates,

H: there was talk of [mentorship] but no action, it just wasn't applied. People started to burn-out and we had no cushion. We had nothing to fall back on. No young people that were trained as we were going along. I think that was the piece that would have made the difference if it were implemented in the planning. It would have kept [the CHCH] going [by] focussing training on mentoring and internships for people in every role. Like shadowing; having a person next to you that you are always mentoring. If it was handled that way the outcome would have been different. But there were power struggles that were beginning to happen there because people needed to hold on to their positions because people need to survive. People that were needing to leave the community to become more educated to [address] what was needed [in the community] were ostracized and [community] viewed them as 'you left us so you are not coming back in'.

With regard to Hollow Water expressing itself outside the community (to academia, films, governments, institutions, other communities, etc.) when it was not solidly engaged within its own community routine process, a person states,

H: People [outside the community] were learning about [Hollow Water's activities] but we weren't solid enough, still, to be able to put it out there as a model. We needed more to solidify us as a community. I don't think the timing of that was the greatest. Creating a focus on those families that were going through the process of the thirteen steps. It was the straw that broke the camel's back because it created division. But who could possibly know at that time? It was such an amazing experience and it generated so much community healing. I am thankful that I was a part of that, and I always acknowledge how it has shaped me as a person and professionally.

¹⁸ This person is described in the following chapter.

Summary

Hollow Water community citizens began to recognize the damage that was happening to their own culture from the effects of adopting colonial institutional systems thinking and practices. The emergence of a group of people reacted to this recognition by being proactively subversive to established institutions, shifting their focus but maintaining their overall principles of aiding the community. This led to the development of a community empowerment process that used community institutions and community volunteers to assess, plan, address, and evaluate community issues in collaboration with each other. A charismatic and influential group worked together to address community needs, community trust, and skills needed to build a healthy community. Concepts and terms were created and remembered to reframe community issues from a humanistic perspective that fit within their own understanding of spirituality. Community citizens discussed and remembered the older order of Anishinaabek ways of living. Hollow Water saw community justice and healing as a way to decolonize their lives. Hollow Water created a new order through dialogue and guidance through sharing stories, ceremonies, and daily interaction. The community had to be aware of the potential that abuse (specifically sexual abuse) also comes with people who are extremely manipulative. The community chose to provide a choice, to those who are charged with abuse, to undergo a process of community healing or undertake the Western justice system's approach. The community created an inclusive environment of community trust, safety, and healing through formalizing the CHCH organization and the community Sentencing Circle. The community had developed skills training for developing communication between individuals, family members, and institutions. Hollow Water worked with breaking down

barriers between community resource institutions. They developed and regularly held community assessment team meetings. The community provided case management training that was exceptional in its approach to learning through guided practice with active local abuse cases. Hollow Water organically became a learning organization but as it was recreating its cultural identity and expression, there was a division of its vision. The community empowerment part of the process was lost when the community focused on a single issue (sexual violence against children in a family) rather than focusing on all issues identified in the community.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE CHCH ORGANIZATION OPERATIONAL PERIOD (1989-2006)

This chapter is an analysis of interviews I conducted with CHCH counselors, as well as Child and Family Services workers (some of whom used to work as CHCH counselors), two workers who work in other community programs, as well as one worker who works outside the community in another organization and who used to work for the CHCH organization. This chapter discusses the formal creation of the CHCH organization in 1989 and the issues experienced around CHCH since 1989 until 2006. In 2005 CHCH commissioned Four Worlds International to conduct focus group research and write an internal report (which was published in 2006) on the severe operational issues within the CHCH organization. None of the people interviewed about the operational period in CHCH's history would agree to be identified, so I will identify each person by an arbitrary letter. I interviewed eight people for this section and they are identified as A, B, C, D, E, F, G and H.

In providing an analysis of the CHCH organization, I combine Senge's understanding of the learning organization with the results of the interviews to describe the early development of the CHCH organization (its formation from 1984 to 1991). The Healing Movement organization emerged organically as a learning organization through an intensive period of community dialogue and planning. I combine aspects of Senge's mental model, personal mastery, shared vision, team learning, and systems thinking

categories to discuss the community citizens' self-awareness and communication learning activities as experienced by CHCH organization workers and workers in other community institutional organizations. For Senge, "the fundamental learning units in an organization are working teams (people who need one another to produce an outcome)" (Senge 2006: xiii). I also discuss Weber's routinization of charismatic authority to analyze the challenges that the CHCH organization experienced to creating stabilization within its organization.

Recording community citizens' understanding of traditional concepts, illustrates community citizens' personal and professional perception shifts toward a community healing/justice philosophy through a learning organization networking team. In the small and intimate community of Hollow Water, where, as Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie would suggest, face-to-face social relationships exist, shame, sanction and community atonement for wrong-doing are significant and must include components of a healing philosophy approach toward the offender and those offended (2007:52). According to those interviewed, there must also be a healing approach toward the immediate family social environment, as well as a healing approach toward systemic issues that confront the community. By creating a safe space for people to talk about their own experience of abuse (experienced from other community citizens, as well as abuse that they may have imposed on others) people could feel comfortable to talk honestly (and publicly) about abuse; its history and its effects on individuals, families and community citizens. The silence of abuse in the community, represses healthy community communication, analysis, and behavior. Creating a safe environment for people to publicly share their experiences, allows an opportunity for a member to discuss and release their emotions. Hollow Water's healing

movement created such an opportunity, by providing individual skills training courses so that community citizens could examine their own thoughts and behaviours and come to a community systemic understanding of their social environment (these are expressed in simplistic terms as Personal Mastery, Mental Models, Team Learning, Shared Vision, and Systemic Thinking).

BUILDING A LEARNING ORGANIZATION

According to Senge, learning organizations are composed of five technologies. These are systems thinking (a conceptual framework, a body of knowledge and tools – the worldview is extremely intuitive), personal mastery (continually clarifying and deepening our personal vision, of focusing our energies, of developing patience and of seeing reality as spiritual), mental models (deeply ingrained assumptions, generalizations, or even pictures or images that influence how we understand the world and how we take action – often not consciously aware of them or the effects they have on our behaviour), building shared vision (when there is genuine vision people excel and learn, not because they are told to, but because they want to. Shared vision involves the skills of unearthing shared ‘pictures of the future’ that foster genuine commitment and enrolment rather than compliance), Team learning (learning that starts with dialogue – the capacity of team members to suspend assumptions and enter into a genuine thinking together) (Senge 2006:6-10).

Nascent Organization Structure Prior to Formal CHCH Organization

As I indicated in Chapter 4, there was a split in the organizing purpose of the community Holistic Circle Healing. There was the view that CHCH was to become an organization for community empowerment through assessment, planning, action, and evaluation of community issues. In this view, the CHCH organization's role was anticipated to be an organization that would facilitate community communication and collaboration as the community addressed community identified issues. From another view, the CHCH organization would become an organization that addresses family violence through child sexual abuse in order to reconcile community/family relationships as a way to facilitate community healing. During this 17-year period of the CHCH organization, it drifted toward addressing child sexual abuse, family violence, and general crime. The CHCH organization became less about facilitating community communication, collaboration, and development and, over time, became more of a community probation program. Although it maintained the original 1989 mission statements, Board structure, and goals, the CHCH organization was not at all what it was originally intended to be. At the end of the 17-year period in 2006, the CHCH organization was no longer effectively addressing child sexual abuse in the community as it had been doing at its origin in 1989.

The history of the CHCH organization has been described by the community through a booklet that was published in 1991 by Hollow Water First Nation and Community Holistic Circle Healing called "Ni-pi-tai-osh (Sharing): The Special Gathering: The graduation of Twelve Community citizens of Sexual Abuse & Family Violence Training" to commemorate the graduation of community citizens from a two-year program developed by the Wanipigow Resources Group. The origin of the CHCH

organization came from, “a networking team made of human resources in our communities” (Hollow Water First Nation 1991:4). This was Hollow Water’s Healing Movement that had formed the “empowerment process” idea by 1984 with the development of, “a group of concerned service providers, politicians, and volunteers from Hollow Water” (Lajeunesse 1993:1). Following this, “the Resources Group was developed in April 1984 because of all the community social concerns such as; vandalism, absenteeism, alcohol abuse, child neglect, suicide and sniffing” (Hollow Water First Nation 1991:4; Lajeunesse 1993:1). The Resources Group, “consisted of 24 people: NADAP workers, volunteers, church leaders, guidance counselor, provincial child care worker, band councilor and welfare administrator. Action began to take place regarding these issues that were affecting some of our children’s lives in the community. To be able to assist these people that were affected, the resource group began to see that they needed skills to work and assist the community citizens better” (Hollow Water First Nation 1991:4).

By 1986, members of the Resource Group, “concluded that a high number of children and adults were or had been sexually assaulted. The Assessment Team, a sub-group of the Resource Group, decided that a coordinated and culturally appropriate intervention approach should be developed” (Lajeunesse 1993:1). A sub-group of the Resources Group, “the Assessment Team was formed in 1986 to address strictly Sexual Abuse and Family Violence. A core group of 10 people were chosen to form the first Assessment Team which has expanded to 24 members” (Hollow Water First Nation 1991:4). According to Lajeunesse, “the Assessment Team began by providing community awareness and education in order to ensure that victims would feel safe enough to disclose.

Soon the number of disclosures had increased dramatically, often with the result that other disclosures would be made within the same family, indicating the prevalence and complexity of sexual abuse” (Lajeunesse 1993:1).

Lajeunesse describes the emergence of the family violence workers that made up the CHCH organization,

In order to be able to provide the kind of services required, a two year training program was organized which brought trainers into the community to cover topics including: cultural awareness; alcohol and drug awareness; team building; networking; suicide intervention; family counseling; communication skills; nutrition and human sexuality. As these skills were developed and the ability to handle cases was increased, the group began its own sharing circle to deal with issues and disclosures of sexual abuse within the group itself. Twelve individuals graduated from the training, seven of whom became family violence workers; the other five have full time jobs while being members of the Assessment Team (Lajeunesse 1993:1).

Valdie Seymour provided a list of courses that were part of Hollow Water’s Healing movement training strategy during the 1980’s included the following:

- Individual Needs Assessment
- Community Needs Assessment
- Cross Cultural Awareness
- Circle of Life
- Grantsmanship – Proposal Writing
- Prevention – Intervention – Treatment – Aftercare
- Single Parenting
- Nutrition
- Human Sexuality
- Trauma
- Native Way of Leadership (Indigenous Governance)
- Suicide Prevention, Intervention and Aftercare
- Native Training program in Prevention and Treatment of Alcoholism
- Native Communication Skills
- Holistic Approach to Counselling/Therapy
- Strengthening the Circle
- Organizational Development
- Healing the Caregiver
- One week per month Self-Awareness for three years

- New Careers Sexual Abuse Trainings for two years
- Community Centred Therapy Program training for two years

The last three training programs were offered concurrent with each other or delivered subsequent to each other. Participants engaged in a transformative healing journey through attending these courses and recognizing participants' thoughts and behaviours in themselves. These courses created an opportunity for participants to reframe their identity; to become what they chose to be. Changing participants' interpretation of life events (analysis and philosophy), their communication, and their behaviour caused community citizens to change their personal and professional relationships (Mental Models, Personal Mastery and Team Learning).

Regular Communication Between Institutions

The CHCH organization originally spent a lot of time conducting community assessments through dialogue and working with multiple community organizations as a networked team toward a shared vision. Thus, the CHCH organization originally spent a lot of time and energy maintaining networked relationships as a way to get community resource people, through institutions and agencies (a multiple sector approach), to intervene on community issues. This multiple sector networked approach was missing from community interaction prior to the development of the CHCH organization. Implementation of a multiple sector networked approach was highly effective in addressing community-defined issues and communicating with community citizens. Communication with other community programs and agencies led to new ways of looking at confidentiality between participating programs. This sharing was in opposition of the silo mentality effect, in which information of an issue was only discussed within a single

agency – often associated with a fragmented management worldview. In essence, the CHCH organization had organically developed into, what could be called, a learning organization. Each aspect of the CHCH structure had to be understood, facilitated, supported, and maintained otherwise, the whole structure would fail (Systems Thinking) causing a collapse of effectively addressing community-defined issues.

A learning organization spends time facilitating and maintaining a shared vision. Within the development stage and first years of the CHCH organization, shared vision referred to high-level, regular communication among the Assessment Team, defined as the community institutional resources, and between the Assessment Team and the community citizens. Once the CHCH organization was formally introduced in 1989 there were high expectations for its staff to conduct counseling to victims and victimizers, victims' families and victimizers' families, as well as provide all court-ordered activities. The CHCH staff were under extreme pressure to maintain high-level regular communication with community citizens, maintain an active management/administrative system to address daily management/administrative issues, search for sustainable funding, and maintain their counseling responsibilities.

Punitive Approach vs. Healing Approach

To illustrate the comparative differences between the punitive approach to justice (Western) and the healing approach to community justice (Traditional), Lajeunesse used a summary of her personal communication with Justice Rupert Ross. Ross was part of the Aboriginal Justice Directorate, a Canadian Justice, and author. He wrote three books about

his close relationship to Western and Indigenous Justice systems. He has written about his close relationship with Hollow Water First Nation and the CHCH organization. Lajeunesse states, “it is useful to briefly consider these differences to not only understand the CHCH approach but also to assess how it differs from the adversarial system. What follows is a summary of comments provide by Rupert Ross” (Lajeunesse 1996:50).

1. *“First, Western law seems to believe that it can effectively deal with offenders strictly as individuals, whether for rehabilitative or for deterrent purposes”. In contrast, traditional law focuses [on individuals] “as products of their relationships” and thus, “sees to require that justice processes involve all of the people who operated within the webs of relationships which surround and ‘define’ every offender and every victim. Hollow water’s insistence upon family healing demonstrates that understanding”.*

2. *The focus of Western law includes reliance on the assumption that individuals “are equally capable of simply choosing to change our antisocial behaviour, a choice which the threat of punishment is intended to encourage”. In contrast, traditional “wisdom” points to the impact and importance of other forces which shape our behaviour, choices and among other things, healing. Viewed from this perspective “justice involves healing injuries which have already occurred and helping people develop the skills they need to avoid further injury in the future both to themselves and to others”*

3. *Western law focuses on the specific act(s) which are alleged to have transgressed a statutory provision, the proof of which becomes the “seen” of the courtroom struggle. Traditional approaches, in contrast, “suggest that acts are no more than signals of disharmonies in the relationships between individuals, as well as between the physical, mental, emotional and spiritual dimensions of each individual”. The act(s), then, becomes but one of the factors to be examined as part of the healing process.*

4. *The adversarial process often exacerbates the antagonism between parties to a dispute. In contrast, traditional law focuses on processes designed to decrease such feelings. As noted by CHCH, “only then is there a change to bring health, understanding and respect back to those relationships and thus reduce the chances of harmful, angry acts erupting between them”.*

5. *The labeling and stigmatizing of offenders is often an outcome of the adversarial system; participants become reduced to the categories in which they are placed in the legal system and its practitioners. In contrast, traditional law and wisdom assumes that individuals are too complex to reduce to the confines of a label. From this perspective, alienation and labeling become roadblocks to the healing process.*

6. Admitting guilt for the physical act and “paying the price” set by the court is at odds with traditional law and philosophy which requires that justice processes:
 - i. involve all those affected by crime;
 - ii. “*provide respectful, dignified and ‘non-blaming’*” methods allowing everyone to express their views and feeling regarding the offenders actions;
 - iii. that, through these means, the offender experience the “‘felt’ awareness of the full extent of the impact of his act on the lives” of all those who are affected.
- d. Western laws reliance on “experts”, Such as judges, psychologists’ and other “ologists” who approach the problem as strangers is at odds with traditional-wisdom and is apparent emphasis that “only people who can be fully aware of the complexities of their relationships are the people actually involved. Hollow Water’s insistence on using members of the healing team as guides and teachers to help the parties create their own Healing contract demonstrates allegiance to that teaching (Rupert Ross as quoted in Lajeunesse 1996:50-51)

According to Hollow Water’s community values, accepting responsibility and keeping others accountable are primary principles for atonement followed by reintegration and acceptance back into the community would make community healing/justice, as Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie state, sufficiently punitive (Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie 2005:51-52). The CHCH organization with the support of the other community institutional resources were responsible for facilitating, managing, monitoring a large part of community change. However there was not an effective management plan to address the inevitable burnout, stress reduction, and ongoing succession for this program to address such relationship issues for so many in the community.

Creating a Structured Safe Environment

The people that make up the CHCH organization staff were initially volunteers/participants in the 2-year training that helped with Hollow Water’s healing movement and had experienced abuse in their own family history. This abuse affected their

perception about themselves. The two-year training they received allowed them to examine their philosophy and behaviour and create a new identity. Senge indicates that a learning organization must involve people who are deeply committed to continually clarifying their personal understanding of themselves. Senge states that, “personal mastery is the discipline of continually clarifying and deepening our personal vision, of focusing our energies, of developing patience, and of seeing reality objectively. As such, it is an essential cornerstone of the learning organization—the learning organization’s spiritual foundation” (Senge 1990:7).

Dialogue is an important foundation of developing a learning organization. Senge notes that the practice of dialogue is absent in modern society but continues to be preserved in many cultures, such as, Indigenous cultures of North and South America (Senge 1990:10). Senge states, “the discipline of dialogue also involves learning how to recognize the patterns of interaction in teams that undermine learning. Patterns of defensiveness are often deeply ingrained in how a team operates. If unrecognized, they undermine learning. If recognized and surfaced creatively, they can accelerate learning” (Senge 1990:10). According to Senge, “the discipline of working with mental models starts with turning the mirror inward; learning to unearth our internal pictures of the world, to bring them to the surface and hold them rigorously to scrutiny. It also includes the ability to carry on ‘learningful’ conversations that balance inquiry and advocacy, where people expose their own thinking effectively and make that thinking open to the influence of others” (Senge 1990:9)

It is interesting to note that the CHCH organization was built organically as a learning organization prior to the term being popularized by Senge's publication of his book *The Fifth Discipline*. The term "learning organization" came into Senge's awareness during a morning meditation in the late fall of 1987 (Senge 1990:ix); three years after the emergence of Hollow Water's Resource Group. Senge defines learning organizations as, "organizations where people continually expand their capacity to create the results they truly desire, where new and expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured, where collective aspiration is set free, and where people are continually learning how to learn together" (Senge 1990:3). Hollow Water First Nation and the surrounding communities were working toward becoming a "learning organization" through dialogue and creating a "safe space" for people to share information about their own pain and learning how to address painful community issues. I define Hollow Water's learning organization as the Healing Movement and later the nascent forms of organization that became the CHCH organization.

Hollow Water's learning organization addressed community-defined issues in ways that were consistent with building highly empowered community citizens, families, professional networks, and community relationships. The learning organization perceived community issues as having a historical reason for emerging. A healing approach to community justice perspective was the necessary model adopted by the organization in order to address these community issues. The organization's perspective and model is dramatically distinct, perhaps opposite, from the imposed systems and structures that idealize fragmentation, punishment, and incarceration to address community issues and as a way to prevent future crimes. This conflict of justice approach perspectives is what

Hollow Water's community citizens were and are living within. The imposed structures and agencies tend to encourage individual and group dependency on fragmentation, isolation, and punitive models to address community issues. Ultimately, the imposed structures encourage dependency on the imposed structures themselves.

When the CHCH organization formed, it worked with community citizens to indicate that the punitive approach to justice would be modified with a healing approach to community justice. This meant that an offender would be sufficiently shamed, publicly sanctioned, and provided with an opportunity to publicly and sufficiently atone to those offended, as well as, an opportunity to be reintegrated and accepted through community relationships. In Hollow Water's healing approach, rather than appealing to punishment for a transgression, community citizens are responsible and held accountable for their actions through the support and supervision of a CHCH worker who is in constant communication with other community resource workers. The transgressor, as part of the healing program, is expected to put their relationships into balance starting with themselves, their family, and ultimately community relationships. Lajeunesse details the process of community healing/justice,

The CHCH process ensures that any victim known to the program is assigned a trained worker. This worker works with the victim to reinforce the reality that the community has a strong mandate to hold people accountable. The worker also stresses that the unhealthiness of sexual assault is compounded by secrecy. The person in the abusive situation becomes aware of the dynamics of abuse and the support available through CHCH. It is believed that this approach leads more victims to disclose than the mainstream system where little support is available to individuals in similar circumstances. (Lajeunesse 1993:5).

The model developed by CHCH is based on the protection of the rights of all victims, including women and children; all victimizers are charged and children are removed to a safe home if necessary. Mothers of victims are also assigned their own worker and supported in the same manner as are all members of the family. Disclosure information is shared with the RCMP and the laying of charges is encouraged. (Lajeunesse 1993:5).

A major focus of dealing with sexual abuse is including the victimizer in the healing process, by confronting him, holding him accountable and offering him, the opportunity to restore balance for himself, the victim and the community. The term “victimizer” was chosen by the project organizers as it reflects the fact that most victimizers are acting out their own physical and sexual victimization when they themselves become victimizers (Lajeunesse 1993:5).

Many interviewees indicate that the CHCH workers developed a personal commitment toward returning to balance through understanding themselves and their own spirituality. All of the people who took the 2-year training became family violence workers through CHCH organization or other community resources workers (i.e., Child and Family Service workers, NNADAP workers, Health workers, etc.). Each participant of the 2-year program have experienced sexual abuse directly or had family members that have experienced sexual abuse. Learning ways to recognize the effects of sexual abuse and other abuses, reframing an understanding of the abuses, and developing ways to address abuses, as a community, required continual personal commitment and development to provide effective healing activities through the CHCH organization. Lajeunesse continues her description of the healing/justice process,

the identified worker from the Assessment Team taking responsibility for the victimizer ensures that s/he is comfortable enough with the alleged offender to work as an ally to the victimizer. This worker, with other Assessment Team members if necessary, approaches the alleged victimizer and confronts him/her with the information gained in the disclosure. The worker explains that there is a good possibility depending upon the severity of the offence(s), and his or her willingness to cooperate, that the matter could be handled by the community, in conjunction with the court system.

S/he makes it clear that any attempt at interference with either the victim or the process will result in the community assuming a secondary role and the matter being handled primarily by the court system. The alleged victimizer is informed that it will be necessary for him/her to accept full responsibility for what has happened and undergo a psychological assessment if s/he is going to choose the community alternative. Whatever arrangements that are necessary for the victimizer, e.g., psychological assessment, admission to victimizer's group, self awareness training etc. are made by his/her worker (Lajeunesse 1993:5-6).

A CHCH worker and a support team are assigned to a case and victimizer. The worker clearly informs the victimizer of his/her expectations for the process of returning to balance. The CHCH worker clearly informs the victimizer that if he/she attempts to interfere with the victim or the process of returning to balance the victimizer case will be handled by the court that will be the primary institution assigned to the case with the CHCH assuming a helping and healing secondary role. The CHCH worker with a support team and the victimizer must assume meticulous attention to follow a path of returning to balance. By meticulously following this path the CHCH worker and support team expect to break the cycle of violence in their community that they have personally experienced and addressed.

TRAINING CHCH WORKERS TO BE A LEARNING ORGANIZATION

Changing Community Mental Models

Senge states that mental models are, “deeply ingrained assumptions, generalizations, or even pictures or images that influence how we understand the world and how we take action. Very often, we are not consciously aware of our mental models or the effects they have on our behaviour” (1990:8). This corresponds to the Berger and Luckmann's theory of the process of individual and group construction of a shared reality

through a continual socialization process and individual daily interactions. Routinely acting in shared behaviours (habituation) creates individual roles and defines group behaviour through institutions that support a common understanding of reality. It is the shared nature of actions (habitualized between individuals) that becomes institutionalized.

From my understanding, the 2-year training began in 1989 but there was an overlap of when the CHCH organization formally began and activities addressing sexual abuse prior to 1989 that established a nascent social structure for communication and providing a safe space for trust to emerge in community relationships. The 2-year training provided an opportunity for the participants to share their own personal stories of sexual abuse as children. As part of the training and its concurrent practicum the participants deepened the personal and professional relationships, links, and networks that had been recently established. The numerous community relationships and networks would support training participants and other community citizens who had disclosed traumatic events in their lives and would be used to address community issues.

A: Each one of us in our team, at that time, disclosed that we were sexually abused as children. Most of the time [the abuser/victimizer] was family members who were drinking or under some kind of influence, mostly alcohol. I don't recall anyone being on drugs like marijuana – when I was growing up.

Self-awareness was encouraged, among the participants, to recognize and address a participants' perspective of abuse and the effect of sexual abuse on the participants' way of thinking about, and responding to, the everyday personal interactions of the participant. For example, how does a person who has been sexual abused characteristically respond to life's challenges? What are the family and community relationships? What is the mental

model that the person is holding on to? How does that affect how they interact with the world? What mental model replaces the previous mental model as an effective way to heal? From the interviews, it seems that the mental model replacement consisted of an identity shift. Repeatedly, the interviews suggest that a personal spirituality identity was essential for that shift to occur.

C: Working with sexual abuse and having my own abuse issues come up, I had to find myself. The only way I found myself was through the spiritual. Getting my traditional name and talking to other people in the tradition about what happened to me as a child. We had already dealt with a few cases before CHCH [began] and we saw the damage that was done. It affected me. I went back to my own issues. I knew I had to get some help through that. For me it was to get my name and understand who I was. Then, when we started our training, it was even more [important] that I needed to have my spirituality. Doing the work, doing the training, that helped me a lot with my abuse.

Those that were trained to be sexual abuse workers also had the support of a majority in the community. These people often wanted to stop the cycle of abuse in their families and in their community.

E: I remember feeling really good about myself and about people in Hollow Water, people I know, my grandchildren and my kids. I have a really good feeling about what we were starting to do [in the community]. [Community work] was going to be bigger and better, in the future. I was so excited and gave it all I had. Just thinking that my community was going to be a healthy place one day, for my grandchildren. I even thought 'wow, what if I'm not even around to see this change'. It didn't matter because as long as my grandchildren and children are going to have a safe place to live in. That was in my heart and in my mind at that time. Even though it wasn't easy. For me it wasn't an easy path to follow. But I know in my mind was a duty and safety for my grandchildren. Because I know, one day, kids are going to be safe. Already they are. [Sexual abuse is] still happening but not as much as it used to be.

Prior to and even during the operation of CHCH organization, many people in the community had been in denial of sexual abuse in the community. The workers themselves

had to recognize and address their own sexual abuse. They had to uncover the denial that had repressed their own experiences, their family experience, and that of their community.

E: Well, the only thing that I could think of is my own experiences in my own family. There was sexual abuse that nobody even talked about. Because of how I was brought up, too, you didn't talk about it. Especially when it is in your own family. I later found out [about the community abuse] when I was in this training here. My thinking was, 'it doesn't happen around here'. That was my belief that 'there is no such thing' [as sexual abuse in the community].

The following interview conveys the difficulty of confronting personal incidents of sexual abuse within the family. It also shows how reframing the concept of sexual abuse moved the interviewees' understanding of sexual abuse from fear to compassion for self and others. It also illustrates a release from a mindset that continually (perhaps obsessively) holds people's minds to the fear of the abusive past event. Instead compassion for self and others is the mental model that is held while a person that has been victimized continues to think of past traumatic events while interacting with present actions of the abuser/victimizer.

E: I love my dad and I didn't want him dying with this secret. I wanted him to know that I knew what he did. I wanted him to know that. I wanted to tell him [that I knew what he did]. I said 'Dad, I know what you did. I know you hurt people. I know you hurt my girls'. And he started coughing and choking and I just froze in my chair. I didn't know what to do. He just started choking and finally he got up and sat up in his bed, still choking and coughing. I didn't know what he was going to do or I thought he was going to start screaming at me. He said 'yeah'. That's all he said 'yeah' so I sat back down. He said 'yeah, I hurt a lot of kids, my girl. When I was drunk and even when I was sober'. You know it made me feel so relieved. He didn't get angry. It just felt good that he was admitting and as he was admitting there is this question in my head I want to ask him 'did you ever hurt me'? And he said that 'anybody else that comes here and asks that I hurt them', he says, 'I won't deny it'. So I didn't have to ask because it kind of answered my question. So that's what's really, for me, that's what really powerful today. That I was able to do that [confront him on his abuse]. And the reason why I did that, too, was because I wanted him to rest in peace. Because I know that he didn't have long to live. And the other thing was

that I wasn't going to carry it. It was a big load on me for, heck, over a year I carried it. It was driving me crazy. By doing it, it released me. By doing it I felt really light. And I could see that I took a big load off him, too. Just by bringing it out. I always tell that to people. It's okay to tell your family. My sister and one of my brother's were angry with me for doing that. One of my brother's was with me. He told me, 'you did a good thing', so he stood by me. The other two didn't talk to me for about 4 or 5 months, maybe. But, heck, you know it was nothing. They came back. It was okay for them to be mad. That's okay. That's the first thing that happens when sexual abuse is talked about. There's always anger. They came around because my dad helped me. He talked to them. He said, 'it's not her fault, it was [my responsibility] and I'm glad she brought it out'. There's lots of things that by doing that [confronting] it gave permission for my nephews and nieces to tell [disclose about their own experiences] and not keep it [hidden from people]. So that was my reason, you know. I really feel good about that. My nephews are not scared to talk about that [sexual abuse]. Hopefully that breaks the cycle of abuse in my family. That we talk about it and not hide it anymore. So that's what happened to me and I'm very, very grateful for that. It was tough but, heck, my personal thing that I'm getting out of it, never give up no matter how hard it is.

The CHCH workers became aware of the effects of abuse, through the training, and reflected on their own exposure to abuse and the effects that it has had on their lives. The CHCH staff worked, through their training, to change their own mind, their own identity, their own behaviour, and their own perception of reality. They were committed to addressing their own issues and the issues of their families. Ultimately, they addressed the issues of their community.

C: I was the first one to go for spirituality, I was the first one to quit drinking, and [my husband] followed. Now, I find that it's very important to have spirituality, to have that behaviour. Especially with those kinds of issues – like the violation to your body and taking that little child, that innocent person. I think it is so important to have spirituality in your work, especially in this kind of field. And now, with the [community] fast, I find that it really helps you grow when you are out there by yourself and communicating with the Creator and the spirits. I find, today, that we always need that prayer, that's how I was taught from my parents. Prayer is the strongest – no matter if you are Catholic – for me, I'm Anglican – but I see more in the spirituality [that is] in our culture. It has more meaning. Like why trees blow this way. I seem to watch more of the animals. Watch more of my surroundings. For me, that's why I got into the CHCH because

I didn't want people to carry their stuff with them when they pass on, like the Elders who have passed on. I knew some of them were offenders but have, also, probably been victims. That's the part I feel bad about because our Elders have gone to residential school. That was one of the main things that I was wanting to deal with – the abuse in our community. And also the children because I knew that children were abused and are still being abused. That's why a lot of our children are lost. Because of the [loss of] spirituality. In my work it's not just community citizens, I have to work with my family, my own children, my sister's, my brother, we have all been through some form of abuse.

C: Donald Bird used to come by during ceremonies. Wilton asked him, "Why do you sit behind the bush all the time?". There was that little bush he used to sit behind out there. Donald said "because I don't want people to see me." He still had that fear. He passed away ... two years now. So people still have that thought that it's forbidden and they might get hurt. I was surprised.

The CHCH organization staff often interpreted the meaning of addressing their own personal abuse issues and working with other families on their personal abuse issues, as a way to reframe their understanding of abuse. They saw it as a way to explore alternative and creative ways to approach abuse rather than through a Western punishment approach. The CHCH staff experienced a shift of perspective. They no longer acted out of the anger from their exposure to the abuse and the abusive relationships. Instead, they embraced a public emotional release and accepted “conditional compassion” as a way to end the cycle of abuse. “Conditional compassion” describes Hollow Water community citizens as persons who are aware of an individual’s environment that influences the choices that individual makes. When an individual is provided with a supportive environment, does the individual attempt to change his/her behaviour to atone, compensate, and restore previously damaged relationships? “Conditional compassion” is a rational attempt to provide a person who has offended community values with an opportunity to reconcile and restore relationships. The conditional aspect ensures that the person who has offended community

values is not continually abusing and breaching community trust after such an opportunity is given. This is, I believe, one of the main perceptions of the CHCH organization for breaking the cycle of violence within family and community relationships. This is part of *mino-bimaadaziwin*, living life well, in balance, and respectful to all relations. This “conditional compassion” is part of community justice healing. The CHCH organization staff members and other community agencies developed ways through dialogue, public sharing, reflection, and reframing their own identity to understand the process of the cycle of violence. Once the process of the cycle of violence is understood, the CHCH organization staff and other community resource staff deepen the development of a process that alters the cycle of violence in community relationships and begins to heal individuals, family, and community.

Indigenous Healing and Healing Principles

Hart describes Indigenous helping and healing approaches, as those that, “include values and perceptions which are based upon the worldviews of Aboriginal peoples, and, as such, they guide this Aboriginal approach’s orientation. The components include qualities that support the helping process and characteristics held by the helper. These qualities and characteristics direct the approach to be more appropriate, consistent and effective for helping Aboriginal people” (2002:39-40). According to Hart,

the first foundational concept is of wholeness. In order to understand this concept, it is important to recognize that the medicine wheel has been used to symbolize many relating ideas and/or entities that can be expressed in sets of four and represented by the four cardinal directions – east, south, west and north (Hart 2002:40).

Often expressed by Indigenous Elders and the literature (Ross 2014, Raven and Bjarnadóttir 2013, Borrows 2010, Bopp and Bopp 1997, Bopp et al., 1985, Benton-Benais 1979) are the four aspects of being human – “the emotional, the physical, mental and spiritual – and the four key periods of the life cycle spanning from birth/infancy, to youth, to adulthood and finishing with elderhood/death” (Hart 2002:40).

Continuing to describe the characteristics of helping and healing approaches, Hart outlines the concept of balance in a person’s healing,

balance, the second foundational concept, implies that each part of the whole requires attention in a manner where one part is not focused upon to the detriment of the other parts ... The reality that life is ever-changing requires all beings to readjust in the constant pursuit to regain a sense of balance. While in this pursuit, we may give unequal focus on one part of the medicine wheel. Such imbalance is considered the source of disease or problems ... Balance includes giving attention to what connects each part of the medicine wheel (2002:41-42).

The next foundational concept in Indigenous helping and healing is connection, “the relationships between all the parts” (Hart 2002:42). As Rupert Ross states, “everything the healers explore seems to boil down to one issue: connection and disconnection. It’s as if some state of disconnection (or unhealthy connection leading to a desire to be disconnected) is assumed to be the cause of the problem” (1996:135). Hart states, “in order to be in balance, people need to constantly foster the relationships between entities outside of, as well as within, themselves” (2002:42). Hart concludes that, “it is through the taking of responsibility for their own personal healing and growth that individuals will be able to attain *mino-pimatisiwin* (Cree) – the good life” (2002:44).

Case Example of Awasis Agency Using Senge's Model

As I mentioned in Chapter 3, Awasis Agency of Northern Manitoba in Thompson, Manitoba used Senge's model of learning organization in the 1990s. Awasis used Senge's model to find their own path toward reorganizing and restructuring their own community/organizational relationships. Awasis Agency found that,

when the organization is policy-bound there is no need for conversation, for talking things through, for relating and creating together. What is missing in bureaucratic organizations is people engaging with others on the substantive nature of the work, and creating from it. Hence, in our view, there are three aspects of the working-together process which interact and affect change in the nature of governance within organizations: relationships, learning, and value-based decision making (Bellefeuille et al., 1997:7)

For the Awasis Agency,

effective strategic partnerships require being in relationships that go beyond having common goals and sharing the risks and profits; they require a commitment to each other in the context of working with and for each other. Such relationships are created and recreated out of mutual respect and leave nothing to chance ... difficult relationships take a great deal of energy away from the business at hand, and of course, no relationship means there is no opportunity to work together (Bellefeuille et al., 1997:8)

In going through the process of understanding their organization, the Awasis Agency found, "in these times of constant change and ongoing evolution, governance that incorporates this attitude [of commitment to working with and for each other] reflects a constant recognition of ongoing learning while engaging in the work at hand" (Bellefeuille et al., 1997:8). The Awasis Agency began to realize that, "stability ... is not grounded in what is known at any given time, but rather in an ongoing willingness to learn. Stability is further provided through value-based decision making" (Bellefeuille et al., 1997:9). They found, "value-based decision-making rests not only on what is known, but also takes into

account critical values held as important and deeply embedded within the organization” (Bellefeuille et al., 1997:9).

Through regular intensive dialogue with community citizens within safe environments a community’s values emerge and are recognized as shared among community citizens. By understanding and building upon shared community values the community can learn how to work together rather than creating a divisive approach to any community issue. When a community is not led by shared community values the default is drawing upon policy-driven mandates of the Western colonial structures. However, a learning organization works to create network relationships and activities based on community shared values.

LEARNING A GOOD WAY TO LIVE – MINO-BIMAADIZIWIN

Identity issues of the people who became CHCH workers were influence by their experiences as children. Through sexual abuse, domestic abuse, identity abuse, ways of living abuse, religious abuse, language abuse, and various other types of abuse, their thoughts were formed to think a particular way and live a life of distrust, anger, fear, and anxiety – eventually through the training they learned that they no longer had to live in their old dysfunctional ways of living. When they had the opportunity to learn and discuss with others, the participants in the training could reorganize their lives and recreate their identity, thoughts, and behaviours – through resocialization. They began to learn how to reconstruct their relationships with others, including their family and community relationships.

Language Renewal

Language is intimately tied to how a person perceives and expresses reality and builds the foundation for a person's identity. Restricting a persons' ability to speak their mother language restricts that persons' ability to establish a foundation to express their identity; subsequently their values are altered from the perspective of their traditional language to a language that is imposed upon a people.

A: When we were little kids and we started school, we were not allowed to speak our language in school. That was hard, [for my siblings] that's when it completely [changed]. I guess my mom and dad thought we should just speak in English to our kids so they don't get in trouble in school. I'm glad I was able to keep my language. I believe today that we are very fortunate to have both [languages]. We learned our own language first and we kept it. I wish I would have done that for my children. I don't know. English became our first language. So hopefully the little ones that are in Headstart [pre-school] and [Anishinaabe] Immersion [school program] they will keep our language and our values about the language. English dilutes the [Anishinaabe] values; they are not as [strong].

A: Lloyd Bushie, he was in our [2-year training] class and he used to scare me, I knew he was violent and could get violent in the family towards one another, since [my family] always lived [near] them. I was always scared of him and when we started taking the training – if he started talking in English he would raise his voice but if he talked in his language his voice would remain soft and gentle. But when he spoke English he became a different person. It was strange to think of him that way. In our training we did a lot of sharing circles and personal growth stuff and that's where he used his language in the circles. So that's what I mean by holding the [Anishinaabe values].

Lloyd Bushie had stated in Ni-pi-tai-osh (the publication in celebration of the graduation from the 2-year program for CHCH workers and workers in community agencies) that,

Because I hated a lot of people, I was able to shut off my feelings. I didn't feel anything for anybody. I couldn't trust and I hated being touched because I never knew a gentle touch, I could never let anyone get close to

me, even my own family. In this way nobody could ever hurt me. At an early age, I learned not to trust people or not to show that I was hurt or in pain. I built these walls around me to be sure nobody could ever get inside (Hollow Water First Nation 1991: 9).

Senge points out that language affects how people organize,

one of the reasons for this fragmentation in our [Western] thinking stems from our language. Language shapes perception. What we see depends on what we are prepared to see. Western languages, with their subject-verb-object structure, are biased toward a linear view. If we want to see system wide interrelationships, we need a language of interrelationships, a language made up of circles. Without such a language, our habitual ways of seeing the world produce fragmented views and counterproductive actions – as it has done for decision makers in the war on terrorism. Such a language is important in facing dynamically complex issues and strategic choices, especially when individuals, teams, and organizations need to see beyond events and into the forces that shape change (Senge 1990:73-74).

By focusing on local Anishinaabek language and concepts, the CHCH organization was able to reframe their understanding of the imposing colonial system. Workers were able to reclaim and develop their own understanding of community justice/healing as understood and discussed within the community. Through dialogue with other community citizens that had experienced personal abuse in their own family the community citizens began to reframe and create a renewed understanding of relationships that is compatible with traditional concepts of being Anishinaabek.

Cultural Revival

As the CHCH workers and other community resource workers were going through the 2-year training and attending workshops, they began to make realizations about their past thinking and how that affected their perceptions and their behaviour, how they interacted with others, and how it affected their own personal relationships with others.

A: I remember growing up we always went to Church as a family, my dad, my mom, my siblings, but it was always fear-based. I was afraid of God. That's what the Churches taught. Until I started to really look at my life, and realizing that I was worth something. I could be worth something other than full of fear. Then I realized I don't have to go to Church. Creator loves me. That's the reason I'm here. It was after I took 'Flying On Your Own' training and went through different types of therapies to help myself have a better life, try to be a better parent. Now, I realize that those things that happened to me as a child were lessons, even though they were hard, they were lessons that I could turn around and use as a good thing to live, as a good thing for treating others well. Not as I was treated, but treat them [other people] in a good way. Even the kids, back then, when my older kids were small, I paid a lot of attention to them. Things I did to them – they were teaching me lessons. That's what I tell them, now, with their kids. Watch what they do. Even in their environment, the trees, the plants, you watch the kids and they will teach us something. They are our best teachers. They are closer to Creator, I guess. That's why they have such power, to teach the adults around them.

The perception that children teach adults is common among the community citizens who hold on to traditional teachings. My understanding of this concept is that it is important to reflect on how a child interacts with the world and other people. When a child misbehaves in some way, reflect on the influences of the child. The actions that are exhibited in the child reflect the influences to which the child is exposed. The child's behaviour toward the world and other people need to be examined and brought into balance so that a child's behaviour complies with community values. So, what is meant by "children teach the adults around them" is that children's behaviour reflects the community's behaviour. A community's adults can recognize and learn from the community's children and adjust their own (adult) behaviour. For example, one interview I conducted with Fabian, who is from the succeeding generation and who will take on the responsibilities of furthering the CHCH organization or whatever the CHCH organization becomes, illustrates this point.

***Fabian:** It kind of reminded me as a kid when you would do something wrong you had to own up to it; you took ownership and responsibility. That's kind of what CHCH did. You did wrong to somebody so you own up to your actions. And that's hard because when I was a kid I remember stealing when I got home my parent knew, [they said] "hey where did you get this?" So they caught me. I came clean after lying about it. [My parents] taking me [to where I stole] and having to apologize and give this thing back. I remember crying to them [saying], "I don't want to go there. I'll be grounded. I'll do chores. I'll do anything but I don't want to confront that person". So I remember how I felt doing that and that is kind of the principle behind CHCH. Taking ownership of whatever you did. So I thought, "yeah that works way better than sending them to jail". I saw people go to jail and when they come out a month later they are back in jail. What have they learned? I think people that give it the respect that it deserves, then, it will work. There are people that take advantage and abuse it, and for them it is a get out of jail free card, but the ones that actually use it for what it is meant for, it actually does work. Just thinking about myself, that would help me rather than running away from it.*

Another interview of a CHCH organization worker, illustrates that the communication skills, knowledge, and experiences gained from work enrich ones own personal life and relationships.

***C:** Working in this area helps me talk with my children, especially with my older kids I have that relationship with them too. Now I am able to talk with them. I dealt with my anger in the past, the training has helped me deal with it. There are still struggles talking with my kids but whenever they are ready to talk I'll listen. It's good to have that relationship with your children because you know that it will pass down to your grandchildren.*

This awareness of intergenerational family and community behaviour is what Senge refers to as systems thinking. According to Senge, "systems thinking makes understandable the subtlest aspect of the learning organization – the new way individuals perceive themselves and their world. At the heart of a learning organization is a shift of mind – from seeing ourselves as separate from the world to connected to the world, from seeing problems as caused by someone or something 'out there' to seeing how our own actions create the problems we experience. A learning organization is a place where people are

continually discovering how they create their reality. And how they can change it” (Senge 1990:12-13).

Building Community Support

The community trainings, workshops, and experiences were changing the way that the workers shared information and supported each other. It changed the way that communication practices, relationships with children, families, and community institutions and members.

C: I was able to talk about it and share [publicly], whereas before I shared it kind of secretly with other women. I would talk and share personal things. Ladies would talk about this young man that would come into our house and bother [abuse] her while she slept. That kind of clicked with me and I thought a similar thing happened with me.

Community dialogue and support provided safety for the community resource workers and community citizens to discuss community issues and revealed how the issues emerged. The support provided safety for sexual abuse issues to be discussed among the community citizens.

A: I guess what I feel that made it successful was that there were a lot of people involved. A lot of programs and some Elders were involved; they were able to understand what we were trying to do. Some Elders were not at all interested in hashing up old pain. We had enough support in the community to dig into whatever old negative things that happened in our history, like alcohol. That was the most damaging, I believe. Which led to people victimizing others that were not capable of protecting themselves. I know that it was a really touchy subject when sexual abuse was brought up and some people denied that things like that happened in our community.

A: So, all that support from each other is what made me strong enough to deal with things that happened to me as a child. Knowing that support helped me; encouraged me to continue talking to different children, people in my family. So in that way I think it was successful. And why it was a success was because of all the people all the support that we gave each other. There was a strong team.

E: That was probably the other reason why I was able to do that because I had their support. At that time, there was quite a number of us at the beginning. I knew the support was out there, but I didn't ask them to come with me. I did this [confront my dad] on my own. I did tell them what I did [with my dad]. I needed the support ... It was hard for me when my brother and sister were mad at me. I thought I did something bad. So that's when I needed the support. There was lots of support. They all know [about the abuse in the family].

As community organization solidified through regular dialogue, community support also solidified and provided further opportunities for trust. A learning organization was developing in Hollow Water. Senge states, “real learning gets to the heart of what it means to be human. Through learning we re-create ourselves. Through learning we become able to do something we never were able to do. Through learning we re-perceive the world and our relationship to it. Through learning we extend our capacity to create, to be part of the generative process of life. There is within each of us a deep hunger for this type of learning” (Senge 1990:13-14).

Personal, Family, and Community Education

Education within individuals, their families, and the community were a consistent part of the CHCH organization while the staff were going through the training program. Many opportunities were created to provide a safe environment for community citizens through activities; skills training, personal development, individual and group counseling, ceremonies, sports, and other social activities.

A: There were a lot of gatherings that we did to educate the community on the effects of sexual abuse and the effects of having a healthy community. Everyone's focus was on having a healthy community, a safe community for our children. Rather than before where they were scared, there were parties and it wasn't very safe anyway. It was scary. And that's the thing that I

wanted to change. I wanted to have a safe place for my children to grow up in and not be victimized in any way. That was my main focus.

C: *As the years went on within my own family, I always tested things first with them. I know they've been hurt and they've been abused. I tested stuff with them I tried to help them see the culture, the tradition and how it does help and the past two years we've gone through a lot of stuff personally. That's what helps us, the spiritual, the sweats, the feasts, we constantly feed the ones that passed on. I shared all my stuff with my kids what I've gone through. I tried to make them see this is not OK. And that they teach their children too. So now at this time I have grandchildren, so now I tell my children, "you need to tell them about certain people or about the good touch and the bad touches. You need to tell them their body is their body and nobody can touch them". So those kinds of things I try to install in my children now so that my grandchildren will be safe. But yet there is still, I feel that there is still a lot of abuse out there yet. That's why I tell them about, I remind them, not every day, but I remind them – keep your children safe, make sure they are not hurt and make sure you keep them safe. I've always told my younger kids – you can't be bothering people in that way – that's not your body. You can do anything you want with your body but you can't do that to anyone else. Trying to teach in a good way, and use the spirituality at the same time, y'know, to know who you are as Anishinaabe.*

C: *So, all my kids have their names and times like these past two years with one of my sons. We've used ceremonies for things I think it's starting to connect now. It's starting to, he's less fidgety, it's starting to connect with him. [He's starting to think] I am someone. He was lost, you could tell when your kids or the children in the community are lost. You just look at them and see what's going on for them. I really believe in spirituality. It's my faith it's what I believe. Eventually my mom and dad started to believe in it, too. They are strong [Christians] but eventually my mom and dad came around the ceremonies and [my husbands] mom. So it kind of "hey this is good it's not a bad thing". My dad used to say "it's always been here but we were scared to go to the sweats". Before my dad passed on he did go to the sweat and went to the fast, he told us of the ceremonies. He started to tell us a little bit at a time. My grandmother used to give traditional names when ladies were giving birth. Her and the mom would first see the baby. Until they got the name we weren't allowed to see the baby. So those types of things [my dad] started telling us. It sounds right. That's what he told us. His mom used to give names. That's how they did it. Usually, the baby was named right when it was born. She also kept red willow to paint all of them. Each one her child had one of those sticks a different colour paint. And then she would tie them together and put them in the river. He didn't really know what that was about, but he said she always did that when it was for all her children, and they had big families. It was so nice*

to hear. It would have been nicer if he shared more, but because of his fear [he did not share information]. When he seen me and my siblings getting their names that's when I noticed he started to let go [of his fear] and coming around [to ceremonies]. He used to say "you shouldn't do that. Things will happen to you if you do that". That's what he was told. [It] was good to have their understanding and be able to tell us things [about the past traditional culture]. My mom grew up more with the Catholic [church] and she used to be Catholic, but she's got her name. She knows this is a good way, spiritually. It does help. She's always believed in prayer and always installed that in us. When I married my husband my mother-in-law always told me, "prayer is powerful. Sometimes when you don't have medicines or stuff to use with your kids, prayer is the most powerful thing". I don't say [traditional spirituality] is better, [or] Anglican is better, I think it is balanced, same Creator, same God.

Providing regular safe activities resulted in an increase of opportunities for expression, creativity, and experimentation. In other words, creating structured education activities where individuals, families, and community work together to explore an issue results in growth.

Creating New Counselling Concepts and Practices

The safety of the CHCH organization created an opportunity for creativity to emerge. As well, the participants of the training learned new techniques for building trust, developing dialogue, and create ways to provide encouragement and support. In the following passages the interviewees refer to "culture" as synonymous with traditional Indigenous spirituality.

C: When you start to disclose things about family members you need that person to trust. I couldn't trust too many people in my community. Yet when I went to Alkali Lake I thought, "I'll talk about nothing. Nobody's going to know what happened with me". I was still angry. I still doubted. It was none of their business. But the way [Alkali Lake] was set up it was so trusting, so warm. You just felt you were in such a beautiful place of trust, I ended up sharing lots. Learning how to do, they called them "stretches" – going beyond your comfort zone. I couldn't comfort anybody. I couldn't touch anyone. So that's what I had to do all day long. That part brought out a lot

of good for me because I let go of what happened to me. I let it go to Creator and they gave me a song and I was cradling – I don't know what it's like in heaven but I think that's what heaven feels like. That's why we wanted to bring it [the stretch techniques] back to our community until people started abusing it. The jokes in the sessions were starting to get bad and people started to not trust other people. So that killed [the stretches]. In Alkali lake they didn't talk sexual jokes they were so spiritual.

The CHCH organization experimented with techniques and exercises they were learning on family and community citizens. They also learned that community trust is extremely fragile and could be easily damaged. The CHCH organization staff realized through experience how careful they had to be when counseling clients. For example, right at the beginning of developing community trust in Hollow Water, distrust was sown into trust-building exercises.

C: A lot of the stuff that came out was sexual abuse. People that had been abused, well you don't know how they are feeling. People who [had recently been trained] made jokes about sexuality and kind of went overboard. It hurt a lot of people. I think that's what killed it. Bad joking and starting to form relationships – boyfriend/girlfriend stuff. Because it was such a loving thing but it mixed it up. It was good for about a year then slowly, slowly people didn't come. In that training, on the fifth day your family was invited to come and share your healing. They would come and the hall was just packed. People came. The Circle was huge. A lot of emotion. People were feeling so good about stuff. But that's what killed it. I can't just blame those other people but the bad jokes were getting too bad. So people didn't trust. It was a very good program. They shared within the group, within a small group. Whatever information came out you kept it for yourself. So as workers we knew we were in training and we're dealing with sexual abuse already. So we knew how to sort of help people out in this circles. How to connect with them and how to tell them that they are not alone. But when others came in and they hadn't had any kind of training – just the self-awareness that they took and felt good about themselves and let stuff go – And they started doing the small circles not knowing what to say. People just got scared. Information was taken out that shouldn't have. The workers – we did a lot of the circles – but then self-awareness training started getting bigger. More people were coming because they were hearing about it. So they would come and then we ran out of people that had training. Some of them would have to hold a circle, these people, I guess some of them didn't know you had to keep [information] confidential. So there was a lot of trust broken. That's what kind of killed it

Initially the activities associated with the CHCH organization grew too quickly resulting in confidentiality breaches, specifically with group counseling and awareness activities.

***Kevin:** So it grew really fast and it was hard to keep control.*

***C:** people would take the training and the next month they would be trainers. Even if you didn't have the skills. That was the part that should have been "take more than one training", 'have some counselling [skills] behind you'. But no. Anybody. You take it once and then you can do circles and you can be a facilitator. Not knowing how to [do it]. So that was a good program but ... I wish we could bring it back and look at these things that destroyed it. Because it's a powerful program. The two from Alkali Lake who started it there, they came down for a training. Exercises not from your mind but made you feel from your heart.*

Another exercise instilled the importance of a counsellor knowing how to control the situation when experimenting with a client,

***C:** One exercise we practiced, we put a belt around a client, we supported them. I can't remember what she did in the exercise but it brings out everything. Everything just comes out. We did this with one woman. We had her relaxed and had her go back to a certain age. We had her on the floor and she couldn't sit right because she actually felt the pain she had gone through as she was being raped. So she had to lay down. We got scared because we were just practicing. We had to learn how to talk to her and let her know that she is here that she is an adult and comforted her. That exercise blew us away because we didn't think it would work. We started working with her more and more. She started opening up more. Today it still kind of bothers her because she is still drinking but not as much as she used to. Those kinds of exercises are important. They were more than just dealing with sexual abuse; they were about dancing, hygiene, singing, talking about stuff.*

This will be further discussed in this chapter under the section: The CHCH Organization Management of Confidentiality and Trust.

Some workers had previously been practicing traditional ways. When the dialogue shifted to including tradition together with contemporary methods for understanding community citizens' history and healing, they began to perceive traditions in a new way.

F: I already knew the traditional ways, I knew the sweatlodge, I had already been going to ceremonies. My children were small when I went to ceremonies, I took them to Black River [ceremonies] we were already into that. We were using sage, we were using the pipe, we were using all those things. This wasn't anything new to us. I just didn't think of using the circle like that. We were ready for a lot of things, as a family, so when it was suggested to me to use the circle it made sense. The point is that we used it.

Community citizens shifted their perspective toward taking responsibility for their behaviour and keeping others accountable toward healing. However, people still felt a lack of confidence practicing traditional Indigenous spirituality,

B: I think for me the spiritual part was easy. When I was growing up, I had both things, the Church and the culture. The culture was really hard to understand because we had to do it quick like. It was at night when we would go to these ceremonies and I felt that, I don't know if was a normal thing, but I don't know if it was done like that a long time ago. That was the piece that was confusing. Just these past few years when we started having ceremonies throughout the day. Even when we started having circles we were afraid to have circles, I know I was [afraid]. I didn't feel confident running a circle. I was scared of sitting in a circle. Unless the main players like Berma, Joyce, Marcel, or Valdie, were there I wouldn't feel confident. Having just the workers there I wouldn't feel confident. It wasn't until years ago when I started feeling confident, just a circle with me and the other workers.

There were those who saw how traditional Indigenous spirituality could evolve with new tools to assist themselves and community citizens,

F: I don't know if many families take the opportunity to use the tools that are given. I wanted to help my children out of that hurt and that abuse. Going through AA and Al-Anon – [I found out that] in order to help somebody you need to clear away your own issues. I knew that and I was a victim myself. So if I want to help my children I better understand my abuse and what happened to me. So I went through it – I went through the programs, I took those and I did the exercises to look at me and my abuse. Where was I with it? And even with the couples thing, my husband and I

went for a year when we were confronted with the sexual abuse. He barely got his feet wet in working on himself and we had to deal with ourselves as a couple because he was sober and we had to rehash a lot of our [issues]. So the couple thing – there were a lot of fights between my husband and I as a couple. But knowing and understanding my personal recovery, my personal healing, I knew how to take the tools and use them and work at it. My husband and I fought a lot, argued a lot, because we went through couple [counseling], the exercises, I forced him to do the exercises cause I wanted to [heal]. Some of the exercises had to deal with our sexuality as a couple – we had to look at everything. It benefited us. It was hard. And at the same time I had to go through that 12-week session, personally and we had to look at our kids. So that was hard but the workers were helping us. And I think that's what worked. It helped the people that were willing to work for healing – they [the clients] have to do the work.

Reframing concepts and using psychological, emotional, and spiritual tools to address one's own issues is intensely difficult work. Actively and continually examining and reframing relationships within one's own family is also a monumental task. One way to change personal and social behaviour is spending a lot of time and work identifying the behaviours that led to abuse and work through each relationship to raise abuse issues, talk about the issues, and negotiate a new relationship.

E: I never did anything with the culture before [working with CHCH]. I needed some kind of help because the sexual abuse was heavy and hard to work with. I needed something to help me to carry on. So that's where the culture part came in. That's what helped CHCH quite a bit. You pray for community, you pray for yourself, that things are going to work out. Have faith in creator.

Working with people to build awareness, community trust, and communication was an important aspect of developing community skills but these activities come with responsibilities. When moving people through trust exercises the participants often become vulnerable. It is important to behave ethically, respect, and provide support to participants as they move through vulnerability toward a firmer understanding of their own identity and healing needs.

Recreating an Accountable Work Philosophy

Cultivating spirituality is vitally important to working within the CHCH organization. Any community organization that works with people, animals, plants, or works with the land should, according to Indigenous philosophy, cultivate a respectful and reciprocal relationships among all entities. Spirituality could be any expression that cultivates feelings of safety, peace, and provides opportunities for individual and community support and growth, in ways that are open to individual choice. So that could include any religion or no religion, any spiritual practice that cultivates trusting, healing, and balanced relationships.

C: Spirituality is important in this kind of work because you are dealing with people's lives. I always put myself in that place that I was in when I was sexually abused. I put myself there in how I felt so I understand how they [victims] are feeling.

C: I find it easier for women to open up to [traditional] culture. In the women's group there were a lot of women there that opened up a lot to the culture, and questioned it. Sometimes, I feel [that] what's missing, is the spirituality in a lot of our people. Especially if you've been abused – you don't feel good about yourself. You just get lost in that world of alcohol and drugs because it dulls all that pain. Because that's what I was doing until I was close to 30 [years-old]. Finally, I quit drinking. I couldn't do that to my children anymore, for them to see me drunk and not be able to take care of them, being a mom. At one time one of my children got hurt and I was too hungover to take them in. That's when my dad kind of opened my eyes and told me to do something to quit doing this to your kids. They told me "we're not taking them in – you're taking them" [to the hospital]. So I was in the hospital just hungover – stinking of beer. I think for me that's when it changed. I opened my eyes. I can't do this anymore. I can't hurt my children anymore like that. That's why I find with CHCH it was the women. It will always be the women in situations like that, violence, wanting the best for their children, and it's even more for your grandchildren. You don't want them to hurt. So that's why I believe spirituality needs to be there all the time not just for CHCH, you need to take [spirituality] home. We do that. I smudge my children when they are going through a rough time. You know when you go home and there is stress in the house and something is not

right. That's when we smudge our house and we try to do our best with what we are learning spiritually. But we are still learning.

C: It's really hard for the men. My son is a victim and it's with family and it's really hard because he's not ready to talk about what happened. How do we let the men know that it's okay to talk about it. Over the years I realize how much it affects the male to be abused. He still numbs his pain with drugs and alcohol. When you are open with your family they will open up to you. Circle's work, I know because my own family used them. When you see the people in the circle and they let out the tension with a breath you know there is a release. Smudging first and prayer makes [the circle] strong.

An example of a merging of traditional Indigenous spirituality with a Christian spirituality was shared to me.

C: Father Parodis was always trying to integrate both [Indigenous and Settler spirituality] into the Church. It was really nice because my child when he was baptised, Fr. Parodis ran the ceremony half and half. We used the star blanket and the mocassins, Fr. Parodis used the candle and the let my child use his traditional name plus his English name. So that was good, it was really nice. I even started to go to church when Fr. Parodis was there because he didn't say that [Indigenous spirituality] was bad. He was bringing it in, he put the pews in a circle. But the people didn't like that. That's what I liked about the connection with Sister Margaret and Fr. Parodis because they helped out lots with our community. He's not shunning us or telling us our stuff is bad. He's fasted for how many years. I've always felt a connection with Fr. Parodis. The priests now are "old school", except for one, that really turned me off. I think it really turns people off when you're judging other religions. I never judge other religions. I take what I can from whatever good. Take it and use it. If you think you should follow this way because it's good for you do it. But if something that forced on you or you think you should do. You have to want it. If it's Catholic or Anglican that they want ... that's fine. No, I don't force my clients to think that they have to go to traditional ceremonies. I give them that option it's here if you want it fine. [Traditional spirituality] can help you, it can teach you.

Giving people a choice to become aware of their behaviour and make their own decisions is extremely important to understand. It is the single-most important distinction between settler society and Indigenous society; not only for justice and healing but for all aspects of life. For Hollow Water the CHCH organization takes the perspective that it is important to create a safe environment for people to choose to participate or not within the

CHCH healing process. However, the choice a person makes affects how other people respond to that person. For example, an offender is given the choice to admit his guilt to the offense, participate in personal and family counseling, publicly state what was his offense, and make attempts to restore relationships to others in the community specifically to those he has offended. If the offender chooses not to participate in this process, then the person will go through the Western justice process. At which time the offender's family will be given a choice to participate in counseling and support. The victims and their families will also be given a choice to participate in community justice process of counseling and support. This perspective of choice given to people permeates most of the interviews conducted.

Provide a Space for Choice

Providing information on a number of options to a community citizen and letting that person choose among them, empowers an individual. An individual will reflect on what is the best option for the person to take. That way the individual takes responsibility for his or her own decision and the consequences of the decision.

C: Spirituality is important to me, to my family, to my children. I never force, I always ask my children if they want to participate. I give them that choice. But I explain to them what I see, what I feel may happen. When we force people into the circle it doesn't go good. I think that there's a lot of men in our community that don't have that spirituality anymore and it gets to the women because they kind of don't want to go there either. There's too much violence and fear that people still say that we are demon or cult ... I learned to give people their choice. I talk to my clients about ceremonies but I don't force my clients to go. I don't think it would help in the healing field to force people to do something they don't want to do.

The consequences are an essential part of a choice a person makes. Holding people accountable for their actions and assuming personal responsibility for their actions is

critical for developing any sense of security in the community. However, there are still community citizens that do not want to take on their own personal responsibility for sharing information that they have about abuse towards others in their family. As E illustrates,

E: What I find people want to see sexual abuse dealt with but they don't want to do it. They want you to do it, they say "you guys do it". Someone will tell you "this happened in my family" or "my brother did this but I can't say anything, I don't want to say anything to mess up my family". They come up to you and say "you say that". I tell them, "I can't because you're the one who knows this not me". I tell them that I could go with them and I'll sit with them; but they won't [disclose or confront others]. There is still a lot of [avoiding personal responsibility] in the community.

This means there are still unresolved and unaddressed sexual abuse cases in the community. It indicates that there needs to be more outreach to community citizens and a process to provide a safe environment for community citizens to share information about sexual abuse.

Elders and Learning Traditional Indigenous Spirituality

Some Elders behave in ways that are not the typical "Elder behaviour" and it is important to figure out who to trust. Some Elders behave in ways that are abusive. It is important to recognize these facts because there has been a lot of abuse over the past century and a lot of misunderstandings, as well as intentional misleading behaviour. Due the high interest in learning about Indigenous culture and spiritual practices (from both Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people) there are many people who are turning to Elders who may or may not have a traditional Indigenous understanding. An Elder who shows humility and respect for all relationships, be they human, or non-human is a good candidate for knowing a part of Indigenous Knowledge. It is important to protect oneself and be aware of who to trust and who to walk away from. From my own personal

experience Elders are, obviously, just as human as anyone else and it is good to be cautious around anyone especially when there is a power difference. As my friend the late Garry Raven said to me, “if someone says something to you and you think about it and it seems right then pick it up. If they say something to you that doesn’t fit with what you know then leave it alone”. Elders who misuse their influence have been recognized by the CHCH organization workers. As one interviewee C stated, *“I’ve seen Elders get mad at someone and that turns me off. I knew which ones to trust and which ones to be aware of”*. B also stated that, *“Elders were angry. [They] said that sexual abuse was not here ‘til we started working. They are hiding. Elders are still hiding things in their family.”*

Another interview from B states that she was,

told not to go to certain houses because of sexual abuse. Told by my dad to not go to a certain house. The man was sexually abusing his daughters. I heard stories in the community about who were the abusers in the community. The abuser became a medicine man he had ceremonies and sweats. I knew who to trust and who not to trust.

Community trust is built slowly and is fraught with challenges. Even the role of people who are medicine people could be untreated sexual abusers. An Elder is a person who addresses their own issues and lives a healthy lifestyle. If you do not address your own issues and you continue to abuse and manipulate people you are not an Elder, you are merely an old person.

C: When we get gifts from creator we usually see a medicine man because there is still so much to learn. When we have difficulties we still have Elders that we go see and ask them “what’s this mean” or “What’s this about” even with dreams to ask them and do what you are told to do at ceremony. Especially working with children if they’re in ceremony or they have to do ceremony, as a parent, as a mom, or as a father you have to take on that role and help them out because they are still learning too. When I started learning there were people in my life that were like “you’ll find out one

day". They wouldn't tell me this is what this means. I don't want to do that with people because it turns them off. Whatever we can learn from others, like the medicine men and they tell you "this is what you need to do" and "this is what your dreams are about", "these are your gifts you're given". It's good that way rather than tell my children "oh you'll find out what that means one day". I try to tell them what I know rather than leave them in the dark. That's the only thing with the traditional culture with that experience.

A good practice to understand traditional Indigenous Knowledge is to develop relationships with the people and be close to nature for an extended period of time. By doing so one can reflect and appreciate a full cycle of experience from many perspectives. The knowledge base of Traditional spirituality comes from reflecting on behaviours of the plants, animals, people, elements, and being observant of how the animals, humans, plants, and elements interact.

Maintaining a reciprocal relationship with everything around you will influence how you see the world and how you see yourself in relation to the world.

***B:** Ceremonies start with prayer and offer tobacco. If you take anything from the land offer tobacco.*

Taking anything whether it is knowledge, an animal, a plant, or engaging on a journey requires an acknowledgment of a reciprocal relationship, interacting with the world. This is the relationship with the spiritual that I previously discussed.

***E:** Through my healing process, each time I'm brought back to who I am as an Indian. Brought back to the sweats, the ceremonies, the sacred things that we use, the pipe, tobacco, smudges, everything. I'm brought back to that in my healing. And throughout my healing that has been my life. I have taught my children that is who they are. That we had as Anishinaabe Indians we were given tools to use that deals with all these blocks here. That deals with everything. I tell my children, "when you go into the sweat you're healing four ways". You're healing spiritually, you're healing emotionally, you're healing physically, four ways that they are healing. I always tell them, "all those four ways you're going to feel it in four different parts of your life". There is no separation. So if you are going to sweats you're going*

to be dealing with yourself. But it's up to you what you are going to do. I believe that when it's modeled then it's holistic then it should be holistic. You need people there that are trained in the ceremonies, you need people that are living it, not just talking about it. When people are living the truth, it shows who you are as a person. You can't take the ceremonies the way religion is shown, only practice it on Sundays. You go to church on Sunday, you do all those things on Sunday ... I find that is happening with our ceremonies. It's only practiced during those four days. You have to take it beyond that. You have to take it every day. You have to walk that everyday. You have to be that everyday. I find that I need a lot of sweats. The more I go to sweats, [the more] I can deal with things around me. I think that if they are going to use that approach then use it. Use it and live it. We have to go back to our own way of healing ourselves through ceremonies. Through that circle. And just what that circle means. We have everything we need to heal ourselves we just have to learn to use it. To really use it and live it. Through the years I've gone through and lived, learned, and still applying and learning more ceremonies.

It is precisely internalizing a shift in the mental model; applying this shift to everyday activities and experiences that leads to an understanding of systems thinking (discussed in Chapter 2). Through understanding systems and influences over time a person can perceive how patterns emerge, how structures are formed, how habits become routine, and potentially how people can change the things that seem static and permanent.

Awareness and Efforts to End the Cycle of Abuse

By understanding the cycle of abuse, the CHCH workers were able to perceive a broader understanding of the relationships involved. Rather than take a punitive approach toward abusers, the CHCH organization recognized that an abuser is created from the conditions of the social environment and could have been anyone given similar situations and what was required was a healing approach. However, with this philosophy is a strong accountability and personal responsibility to become aware of personal issues, make efforts to change mindset and behaviours, and to atone for ones behaviours.

B: What made our program so unique was that we gave offenders a chance to see them[selves] as human beings, to change their behaviours. We were willing to work with sexual offenders no matter what they did.

As well, the issue of abuse indicated that a societal change was required to heal. More than blame and punish an individual, the CHCH organization recognized that a family and community environment had to change in order to address the issues of community abuse. The issues of abuse that occurred in the community were addressed through a sentencing circle. The circle reveals the individual, family, and community environmental issues that created an abusive cycle. Once these issues beyond the individual were identified, with an approach to heal the issue, the issue could be discussed with other community citizens to address the root cause of the issue. More often than not the root issue is issues of identity, control, disrespect, and humiliation of people; in short, the root cause of the issues is often colonial mentality imposed upon a people. Hence, the need to eventually address the root causes of an issue in conjunction with more immediate solutions for addressing behaviours that were not consistent with community values and could be monitored and addressed by community citizens.

C: When I sit and talk with elder women, like Berma, a lot of things came back to me as a child and I used to hear my grandpa or my granny talk about how they raised their kids. Trying to protect them. They didn't believe in physically beating their children or even using their hand. My grandfather used to say, "if you are going to use your hand then give them a little tap. It doesn't have to be hard. But don't ever mark". With my first children I was quite physically abusive – I still didn't feel good about myself.

C: With my older kids I did a lot of yelling, trying to teach them things. When I grew up, the willow [was used]. With my other kids I tried not to use the willow. My hand was more painful maybe the willow would be less. Knowing as a mom that I hit my kids, not in a good way, it didn't help. So when I had my last children, I swore to Creator that if he gave me more [children] I would teach them differently. Try to be a better mom. That's what I mean by prayer. Then I had [my son] and I was making promises to them when they

were born. Promising to creator that I would look after them. Ask him to help me throughout my whole life. A lot of spirituality starts with your children and how you look at them. And you start dealing with your own issues and you look at your children like I don't want them to go through that. I don't want to hit my children. There are other ways – like my grandfather always told me – don't hit – talk – first talk. That's the main thing, children will listen when you talk. But when you hit right away, they turn off. There's a lot of things that came back.

C: I'm glad I found that [way of living] because it affects everything I do. I would go thorough everything all the hurt and good again. Our work has made a difference. Sometimes people get so mad at you, that you think they don't like you, but you get a surprise one day. Someone who hasn't talked to you for awhile will come and talk.

The CHCH organization staff as well as many people in the community understand that by engaging in these philosophies and practices the cycle of abuse will be disrupted and eventually will end. Senge points out that, “systems thinking makes understandable the subtlest aspect of the learning organization – the new way individuals perceive themselves and their world. At the heart of a learning organization is a shift of mind – from seeing ourselves as separate from the world to connected to the world, from seeing problems as caused by someone or something ‘out there’ to seeing how our own actions create the problems we experience. A learning organization is a place where people are continually discovering how they create their reality. And how they can change it” (Senge 1990:12).

For the CHCH organization staff, as well as other community institution staff in Hollow Water and the surrounding communities, there is a realization – a shift of mind – where people see interrelationships rather than linear cause-effect chains and processes of change rather than snapshots. In practicing systems thinking people learn to recognize types of structures that recur again and again (Senge 1990:73). As Senge concludes,

In mastering systems thinking, we give up the assumption that there must be an individual, or individual agent, responsible. The feedback perspective suggests that everyone shares responsibility for problems generated by a system. That doesn't necessarily imply that everyone involved can exert equal leverage in changing the system. But it does imply that the search for scapegoats – a particularly alluring pastime in individualistic cultures ... is a blind alley (Senge 1990:78-79).

The CHCH Organization Management of Confidentiality and Trust

Lajeunesse indicates that, “there is a perception among many community citizens and clients that greater care needs to be taken by CHCH workers to safeguard the confidentiality of private information about individual cases” (Lajeunesse 1996:iii). The CHCH organization was enacting the principles of Hollow Water’s healing movement but had not been able to formalize these principles during the 1990s. For example, confidentiality within the group of institutions that made up the Resource Group (later called the Assessment Team) was one of Hollow Water’s healing movement principles yet this was not consistently practiced and in several cases it caused a serious break in communication between the Assessment Team members, the organizing leadership, and the community. To date, these issues are not amicably addressed and create further tension between leadership and workers, between community citizens and institutions, and between institutions. These unresolved issues lead to continually undermining the effectiveness of the CHCH organization system. From my understanding, a decision by the Assessment Team was shared outside the Assessment Team that created a lot tension within the Assessment Team members and tensions between the Assessment team and the community-at-large. The fact that this has not been adequately resolved indicates that the CHCH organization, the community institution organizations, community citizens and the

community leadership have not developed a way to resolve future instances of a breach of confidentiality.

The CHCH organization management and administration system put a lot of pressure on a relatively few staff members. One responsibility of the CHCH Board of Directors was to ensure that the CHCH organization management and administration were completed appropriately. However, only one staff member was paid to administer activities and no staff members were paid to manage the CHCH organization. Each community resource staff that composed the Assessment Team (hereafter referred to as the A-Team) held each other accountable for completing the roles and tasks that were discussed, negotiated and agreed upon during the A-Team meetings (see Clan illustrations from Chapter 2). When the A-Team communication broke down, this accountability also broke down. When accountability broke down the CHCH organization became increasingly isolated and ineffective because the strength and authority of the CHCH organization came from a network of community resources. Without these community resources working together each organization adopted a silo mentality effect – a mentality that organizations were independent of each other and constrained by a lack of information sharing between organizations. Lajeunesse indicates that the Assessment Team acts as a support and information-gathering organization. They keep each other accountable and work with community to keep community engaged. Each of these activities consists of high responsibility. According to Lajeunesse,

the approach is guided by an Assessment Team and a sub-group called the Management Team. The role of the Assessment Team is to provide prevention and intervention; to develop support systems; to provide a group

assessment of clients, family and community in relation to the victimizer; and to liaise with lawyers, Crown Prosecutors, courts and agencies such as the Child Protection Centre in Winnipeg. The Team consists of: NADAP; Child and Family Services, Southeast Tribal Council, Eastman Child and Family Services, volunteers, Family Violence Workers, Welfare Administrator, Nurse in Charge and Community Health Resource Workers. The Staff Sergeant of the local RCMP detachment has a standing invitation to attend Assessment Team meetings. All key actors involved in the response to abuse are included in the membership of the Assessment Team. In summary, the membership of the Team integrates the mandates of the community, the respective Child and Family Services agencies and the criminal justice system.

The Assessment Team views its role as that of restoring balance within the participating communities around the issue of sexual abuse and family violence. The Team strives to do this holistically, by addressing all of the dimensions of abuse (physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual), all of its components (victims, family of victim, victimizer, family of victimizer, and community) and by using all resources available in and to the community. The participating communities of Hollow Water, Seymourville, Manigotogan, and Aghaming have formally acknowledged the program through Council Resolutions (Lajeunesse 1993:2).

However, Lajeunesse does not indicate a detailed aspect of the Management Team other than to state that they are responsible for administrative matters.

The Management Team reports to the Assessment Team and is responsible for administrative matters. CHCH is staffed by an Executive Director, 7 full-time community and family violence workers, an administrative assistant, as well as members of the Assessment Team who volunteer and/or are employed in various program areas (Lajeunesse 1993:2).

It is important to indicate what the details of the administrative roles and practices because management and administration uphold the activities and communication between the Assessment Team, family violence workers, clients, and community. During the beginning of the CHCH organization, as the CHCH staff were also going through their training, the administrative assistant would come to all the meetings and attend many of the trainings. The meetings with community institution organizations were 12 hours to 16 hours long so that people could come to a consensus on decisions. The minutes of these

meetings and their decisions were transcribed and available for the next meetings. A single administrative assistant worked as the liaison between all community institutions and community citizens. Of course, there was burn-out for all the CHCH organizational staff.

Treatment

I interviewed two people who talked about family members who had or had, themselves, attended CHCH's Sentencing Circle process as clients.

F: My daughter was the victim. We were brought in as a family. I can only share what experiences that we have gone through as clients. So, my point of view is from that perspective. I don't understand all their beliefs, their practices, and all that. I can only share from my own personal experiences working with the organization.

Lajeunesse describes the treatment process as,

comprised of three elements: counselling, traditional approaches and community living. All clients of the program benefit from counselling services provided by a psychologist and frequent one-to-one sessions with individual workers. Treatment plans are developed at the onset of treatment and updated as clients progress through the Thirteen Steps. Traditional approaches include sharing circles, sweat lodges and sacred fires. The community plays an important role in supporting the individual and holding the victimizer accountable for his/her behaviour. Courts, participants and the community are kept aware of the progress of clients through contact with probation/parole officers, case conferences, and at the end of the Thirteen Steps through The Special Gathering. The community is further involved through daily living. If a victimizer does not respect the Treatment Plan, the probation officer would be advised and a breach of probation would likely follow (Lajeunesse 1993:16).

The treatment process was beneficial for the clients, it dealt with explicit issues and assisted in offering new ways of communication and connecting healthy relationships as a couple and as a family. As one interviewee states,

F: The things that they [CHCH] did for us was a real help because, as parents, we had to go through training. That was the first thing that they [CHCH] made me do, because I didn't want to deal with sexual abuse, I

thought I dealt enough with sexual abuse in my life, going through AA programming and I was already in a professional field. I wasn't ready to deal with that [sexual abuse issue]. So, after the disclosure the [CHCH] team worked with us right from the onset. My daughter was given a worker, and my husband was given a worker, I was given a worker and that was beneficial. With that one disclosure my other children disclosed as well. My husband and I had to work through trainings in groups. I went through a personal 12-week healing training paired up with a counselor. There were other women brought in, too. My husband and I had to go through couples healing training and that was a 12-week program as well. My children worked with that psychologist, Catherine, she had sessions with the kids and sessions as a family. My husband had [private counseling] sessions and I had [private counseling] sessions and then we had [counseling] sessions as a family.

F: Yes, a lot of intensive support for us. Because Valdie had already started walking with us [working with us] monitoring our progress in our sobriety, he was already naturally responsible for my husband and he continued to work with us. I also had a personal worker for that program. My kids had circles, weekly circles with the [CHCH] group and that was run by the [CHCH] workers. My son had a group with boys run by Jeanette and my brother Lloyd. My daughters were going to circles run by Charlotte and Bernie. So that counseling really worked well for us and working with the psychologist as well. She offered a lot of suggestions. The greatest gift that I took from the psychologist was to use the circle. It made sense. So from all of this we started a circle and it was the greatest healing that happened for me and my kids, using that circle. What I saw happening for my kids was that everyone had a voice, they were given back their voice, they could share whatever, it was safe. It all happened in that circle. We grew from there as a family. Because it taught me, when all of this was happening, I was faced with dealing with a part of my life that I never really dealt with – the sexual abuse part with my father with myself with my family. Now my children and with my husband as well. We had to deal with abuse and everything was tied together. Everything, abuse, even discipline issues or couple issues, everything. There was a lot of hurt at the beginning and a lot of anger and confrontations towards us. But I think what really came out was they had a voice, they were given a voice and they were allowed to use it.

The counseling received by this family was intensive and provided a way to improve connection and communication within the individual, the couple, and family relationships.

Community Education of CHCH Activities

Community education of the CHCH organization's activities provide a community understanding of the purpose, approach, and benefits of the activities provided by the CHCH organization. Lajeunesse indicates that,

many of the seven workers were previously involved as volunteers before the training program. Since the training, CHCH workers have improved skills and disclosures have increased, partially as a result of awareness campaigns and a growing understanding, among community citizens, of what CHCH offers. Other Assessment Team members are not able to provide as much hands-on involvement as the workers due to their other, often full-time, commitments. There are seven workers as the training program was only able to fund the training of these seven workers and five Assessment Team members. Workers believe that more workers would be helpful but are able to function with present numbers" (Lajeunesse 1993:15).

When the CHCH organization began in 1989 there was a lot of support in the community even though there was suspicion and outright anger and blame from other community citizens. This anger and blame is consistent with a victim mentality. The people that are in this state are in a state of hurt and denial. They would often blame others rather than address the issues that are exhibited in the community.

***B:** We had a lot of support from the community. Even though the Elders didn't come around because they were angry, too. They said that 'sexual abuse was not here 'til we started working'. That's because they [the Elders] are offenders in the community they are hiding. They're in denial. Elders are still hiding things in their family.*

***C:** Children disclosed during the first 10 years, it was like a snowball effect. We were accused and called down. We were told, "things like that don't happen around here". The first 10 years were really painful and we were dealing with our own stuff – so it was really difficult. Now that we have our own spirituality, we all believe in smudging and talking to Creator. I find that it's easier now it doesn't bother me so much. It's out there, that's where they are at. You can't change the people who blame. Even when an issue was personal, I still kept professional.*

C: In this line of work you have choices that are very difficult. It's not community citizens that are abusing. It's your own family that is abusing your family. My own son and daughter they still haven't dealt with what was done to them. They are older and I can't tell them to deal with it. I just tell them you need to talk about stuff to someone. I can't force them. My niece went through a lot. She missed a lot of school. She didn't want the kids to know. The man that did this is so angry at her and me.

There is a great need to conduct community outreach to inform community citizens what the CHCH organization actually is and does. However, this requires the CHCH organization to determine for themselves what it is they do and provide a consistent presentation of this to community citizens. If community education and outreach are not done, then CHCH organization will be subject to misinformation from community citizens.

CHALLENGES TO MAINTAINING A LEARNING ORGANIZATION

During my interviews, I asked the participants about their frame of mind/spirit/emotions during the peak of the CHCH organization. One interview indicated that the CHCH organizational peak, where CHCH was extremely organized and running effectively, was at the emergence of the CHCH organization in 1989.

*Kevin: I'm wondering about the time when CHCH was at its peak.
B: You mean when we started?*

Another interview had indicated that since the CHCH organization began, it has been experiencing a number of issues that have undermined its operation. This interview intimated that the CHCH organization was at its organizational peak very near its creation from 1989 to 1993/1994 after which there was a decline.

F: Being one of the first clients of CHCH [when] they were fresh out of training, they were fresh from addressing their own issues, and they were clear with their skills. So I think the first two or three clients had the best of that [CHCH] program.

Community Information and Inclusion

Although Hollow Water had the support in the late 1980s and the early 1990s, it no longer had direct communication with and inclusion of the community that it once had. One community citizen, G, I interviewed indicated that the purpose of CHCH was to inform those accused of a crime what to expect and how to work the system. In this person's words, "*with the knowledge of their expertise on the background of the court system, I mean, they've been in there so long, they know all the rules on what needs to be done and said ... My understanding of CHCH was that it had to be sexual abuse, physical abuse for CHCH to step in. That's what I thought it was for.*" G did not know that the CHCH organization was originally created to work with the various community institutions and with community citizens to assess, plan, implement, and evaluate community-identified issues. G thought that CHCH was a program to go to when you are in trouble with the law. From G's perspective CHCH will work with an offender so that the offender did not have to be incarcerated – in effect a probation program.

After the mid-1990s The CHCH organization was starting to shift into a probation program as there was pressure from the province for CHCH to take on the roles of a probation program. As A points out,

A: Another thing CHCH was holding back the work that we need to do in the community, the government officials, the court process, did not fit right with me, that became all of CHCH. The court process, the probation, the RCMP, it stopped the development of CHCH, I believe. People stopped do things for the community – within the community, just different functions that used to happen, gatherings, those programs really slowed down the work.

The community perception of the CHCH was misunderstood. There simply was not enough community education of the CHCH policies, goals, and methods to address community issues. The community had to be informed of the direction of the CHCH organization and its work with the other community institutions.

H: Conflict resolution for families to be able to all the rest of the family Clans to deal with the emerging crisis. That this is not a bad thing [the disclosures]. It was just hit, hit, hit [crisis after crisis]. Community citizens were reacting saying “this is a cult” and “these people are crazy”. There wasn’t enough awareness with other families or community citizens to say “this is what needs to happen for us to deal with these things”. This [disclosure] is not a bad thing. This is a good thing. It is a part of healing; it a part of the community. There wasn’t enough of an emphasis on that. And have regular meetings with the community to inform them of what is happening. Allowing them to ask questions to keep creating that awareness so that they feel a part of this process. There was a disconnect. If there was a connection made, it kept being dropped. The team turned off from connecting to the community because it was too much. It was really overwhelming. There needed to be community outreach. There was all the disagreements with sharing the information like going out to presentations outside the community.

As the CHCH organization staff were there was less attention toward what was going on in Hollow Water. A points out,

A: people were going out to do presentations in different communities. Somehow it just became the important thing to do. I understand that [it] needed to be done for us to get recognition or support from government agencies to do the work. But I guess somehow our team became fragmented from our focus. The healing that took place in the first few years in our community, you could see it. Things just started to go down again. It wasn’t really a strong team anymore.

Another issue that contributed to loss of community interaction was the perception raised in the interviews that the CHCH workers were abusing prescription drugs, such as Percocet, as well as alcohol within a healing centre environment. As G states,

G: I think in order for a person to help another person they should be drug and alcohol free. And I’ve always said that. Not just drugs, it has to be both. Because that’s a healing centre. Or try to combat it in yourself. I don’t

really know what kind of skills [CHCH staff] has. Drug and alcohol skills, counseling for sexual abuse. If they don't have the skills they should have it. They have to stay away from drugs and alcohol. I know some of them have a drink at home. Closet drinkers. How can you help someone if you are still drinking or drugging. They should have something on prescription drugs. It's just as bad. So, what kinds of diplomas do they really have? Do they have the skills? It's easy to get a certificate. Having the training gives you guidance. Family counseling is a good thing. A code of ethics is good.

This issue indicates that the CHCH organization is clearly not doing enough to inform the community citizens about its history, its policies (and ways to enforce these policies), or its current practices.

G: What kind of help are you getting? Try to put them in dealing with alcohol or drugs. There is so much happening in Hollow Water, right now, that they could really put forth their CHCH skills and not just sewing most of the time. That's what I see, I don't know what they do all day long. I have no clue. I hate to say it but every time I go there that's what they are doing: sewing blankets. Instead of all the time making blankets, they could be telling their clients about attending a meeting. They have so much they can do to help. They are really good at their jobs. They know. If you want to know something that has to be done, or what you should do in regard to, let's say, you are going to court for something, [the CHCH organization] are there. They know their stuff. I think it has to go back to why are they there. Help the community because the community needs help. There is so much of this, popping pills [abuse of prescription drugs] – too much of that.

As an aside, I worked in Pine Falls with the Program for Education of Native Teachers (PENT) in 2017 where several students were from Hollow Water. Only one student out of 7 knew what CHCH organization was. When I explained what it was to the class the students were surprised that the CHCH organizations role was to facilitate community assessment of issues, plan, implement, and evaluate community-initiated efforts to address the issue. The one student who knew was the child of a previous CHCH worker.

Family Interference

One of the main challenges to the CHCH organization operation is the interference of family alliances. Lajeunesse states that the close relationships in Hollow Water provide both a strength and liability for achieving CHCH goals. Key family members can influence the direction of CHCH support or resistance and hence CHCH organizations ability to address community issues. As Lajeunesse states, “the closeness of people and relationships within the community, and of CHCH workers to the community citizens, give the program its greatest strength and its greatest weakness. The strength lies in the power of the process to mobilize the community in recognizing and dealing with the problem; the weakness lies in the constant danger that family-based alliances can become, or be perceived as, the key factor in decisions made and actions taken” (Lajeunesse 1996:iii).

Family Sacrifices

The CHCH organization staff have sacrificed time for family relationship health in order to pursue and address community issues.

B: seems when we are in this field we forget about our family. We seem to put our family on the back burner. When we first started we used to work till three or four in the morning. Running circles and meetings. A lot of us burned out.

C: I found that I'm not going to put my family aside anymore. I'm going to work with my family first. For years I didn't do that. I went right into my clients to their family. So now when people call me and it's not an emergency, I'll say, "I have something planned with my family, right now". Our children and our grandchildren come first. We forgot about them for years. We're trying to help them out and be there for them. We need to start training young people. We need to get Valdie's training [community centred therapy program] going because we are getting older. We're not getting younger. I like my work and I could do it forever but it gets to the point where some points in our program suffers.

The expectations of the CHCH staff to address community issues are clearly an issue. It has come to the point that staff have chosen to step back from their responsibilities to address their own family health. Other community institution staff specifically the succeeding generation has noticed and have taken steps to mitigate CHCH staff burn-out (offering workshops and group skills development) with varying degrees of success.

Funding

Eisenstadt indicates that, “charismatic authority may be said to exist only in the process of originating. It cannot remain stable but becomes either traditionalized or rationalized, or a combination of both” (Eisenstadt 1968:54). The underlying motives for transforming into these forms rather than maintaining the state of charismatic authority are, “(a) the ideal and also the material interests of the followers in the continuation and the continual reactivation of the community, (b) the still stronger ideal and also stronger material interests of the members of the administrative staff, the disciples or other followers of the charismatic leader in continuing their relationship” (Eisenstadt 1968:54).

Eisenstadt states, “for charisma to be transformed into a permanent routine structure, it is necessary that its anti-economic character should be altered. It must be adapted to some form of fiscal organization to provide for the needs of the group and hence to the economic conditions necessary for raising taxes and contributions” (Eisenstadt 1968:60). In one interview, C indicates that the CHCH organization has maintained a consistent yearly funding budget since 1989 when it employed 7 staff to 2012 when it employed 5 staff.

C: CHCH has never gotten extra, never, it's always been \$120,000 from each government [the Federal and Provincial for a total of \$240,000] and that doesn't buy you supplies that you need, but AHF [Aboriginal Healing Foundation] came and we worked together and we could do more. That's what's missing now, for us we are doing all this extra work, court, and there is not time for group time. Group time is really good because then you hear similar stories. We don't have that time now because we're either doing something for probation, or running to court or there's always something going on.

E: the funding part too. There has been a lot of money that's been cut. We can't do as much as we used to. Seems like it's getting worse and worse.

In his 2001 report entitled, *A Cost-Benefit Analysis of Hollow Water's Community Holistic Circle Healing Process*, Couture corroborates C's statement, "CHCH received funding, through contribution agreements, from both the federal and provincial governments, with each contributing \$120,000 per year to the project. The funding is project specific and is not ongoing. In addition, the amount contracted has not increased. The normal inflation in costs has been born by additional contributions from the Hollow Water First Nation, by program efficiencies and by using additional community resources (volunteers) to avoid reducing the program" (Couture 2001:69).

Burnout

The counseling activities that were the primary responsibility of CHCH abuse workers were numerous; their clients were not only the offender and victim but also the respective families. Lajeunesse recognized the potential for CHCH staff burnout,

the four communities' considerable demand for CHCH's services greatly outstrips the program's capacity. Furthermore, CHCH workers are stretched to their limits and nearing burn-out, and this is beginning to affect the quality, consistency and reliability of the service which is being delivered. The services which community citizens (including clients) would most like to see increased are one-on-one counseling; group counseling for various

subgroups: such as women, youth and couples; and, family healing circles (Lajeunesse 1996: iii).

CHCH is able to provide clients with quality assistance in certain areas, such as providing someone to talk to, crisis intervention, and support through the judicial process, but workers report a need for additional skills training, and other types of assistance in order to provide clients with more specialized and in-depth services (Lajeunesse 1996:iii).

H further indicated the inevitable burn-out that emerged from the CHCH organization. Although people were extremely motivated and engaged to the training, the community work, and their own personal and family growth, they were pushed too far and too quickly without a stabilizing strategic management and administrative plan and practice.

H: With the burnout you got the loss of that vision of what we were doing. People started to see this as a job and “I need to keep my job”. The funding was creating a survival mode attitude because “I need to keep my job because my family depends on it”. So, people wouldn’t let go of their position. A component was missing all the way through – and that was the mentorship. I think there wasn’t enough mentorship. There was talk of it but there was never any action. It just was never applied. We were learning through the training. When people started to burn-out we didn’t have a cushion; nothing to fall back on. No young people trained as we were going along. That would have made a difference if it had been integrated into the training; mentoring and interning people in every role. Like shadowing; having a person beside you that you are always mentoring. That would have made a huge difference to where we are today. But there were power struggles going on then. People were holding on to their positions and jobs. When people left the community to get more education that was needed [by the young person], they were ostracized and [the community takes the position] “you left us, you’re not coming back in”. I can’t come back and I can’t work with my own community. I don’t quite get that. It’s kind of a blame/victim mentality.

The succeeding generation had commented on this indicating they were never thought of as the succeeding generation by the originators. As one person from this group indicated in a group discussion, “there was always the intention from the original group that someone would take over, just that whoever took over the CHCH was not you”. From

this I get the perspective that those that were motivated to leave the community or develop their education outside the community were not encouraged to take on the role of leading the development of CHCH. I have often been the witness of how the original group views the current generation of leaders as deficient in taking leadership roles.

Losing the A-Team

There is an extreme perception of conflict between the CHCH organization and other community institutions, particularly with the CFS organization. Both organizations blame each other for the state of community communication and health. Yet both recognize the need to work together to achieve common community goals.

D: we have to learn to work together. When CHCH started they talked about the seven teachings. You think I'll sit down and have a conversation with your buddies at CHCH? I don't think so. I don't trust them. Before we were one big happy family, I thought. We can't teach our kids the teachings because we are filled with hate and jealousy. But right now, that is what we are doing. I don't sit around the table with my grandchildren and talk about so-and-so but that is a common practice in this community. Gossip. I'm not saying I'm perfect, but I try.

C: the challenge is to get back into a justice system. We haven't had a Sentencing Circle for awhile. We were talking to the Provincial Probation officer – it's a part of our approach the Sentencing Circle and Courts we had such good communication. We used to do reports with Lorne and they were good reports because we did the whole life of that person. They were accepted into Courts that's how we got our clients through there. But now there is a breakdown with the Courts and police. Used to have contact with the police all the time about what is going on. We'd plan around a disclosure who would be involved. But now there's none of that. There's no connection with the police. Just a phone call and that's it. The biggest challenge is with CFS. We need to be involved with CFS because children are still being hurt. But because of CFS laws and the mandate has changed [it affects the children and families]. That's the biggest challenge to get back to a working relationship with kids that are being abused. There's kids falling through the cracks. They been abused – so then they are abusing, it's going to be another snowball if they don't start working together. I don't know how we do that. For Southeast CFS the challenge is to work with them.

On a personal basis I can talk to one of the workers at CFS. If I have a client and that client is abused that's the only way I find information from the family. Not from CFS. That's the problem of working in a small community. But you can't deal with it because it is still CFS. We used to have a really good close relationship with CFS but now it's "we'll deal with sexual abuse disclosures". And it's right in Winnipeg they take the disclosures they don't even know the people from our community. The kids don't know them. [The case] gets lost. One client was abused and now he is abusing. He's going to be charged but his offender wasn't charged. Now he's wondering why he is charged while his offender wasn't charged. It's not coming to CHCH anymore. I don't know if it is because we are dealing with so much other stuff, family violence, and break-and-enters, all kinds of stuff we are dealing with in the courts but yet we are not dealing with abuse.

C: Police say there is zero tolerance for domestic violence but a lot of times Police don't come. Sometimes they will tell the woman "maybe you did something, maybe it's your fault". It was so good when we had CFS on board because we discussed everything – who is going to work with the mom who's going to work with the dad, who is going to work with the child. Now it's gone. There's nothing. Now CFS says "we can't give you information" or "we can't talk with you unless this person signs a paper saying it's okay for us to give you information". We need to work together but they say "they have mandate and can't disclose information". So it's like we stepped back. I know when Berma was there we did the disclosures, we talked to the kids, we did all that. They can't be doing it at southeast because kids cases are not even dealt with.

Sharing information between organizations was vital for the development of intervention and treatment plans from the point of view of a multi-sector approach. By being in constant communication the organizations were participating toward a shared vision of individual, family, and community justice/healing. With the loss of community institution communication and planning through the Assessment Team the CHCH organization was severely hindered. As with a shared community intervention and treatment strategy, resource funding could also be shared throughout the community resource institutions. Through sharing information community resources did not have to repeat information that other organizations already had.

B: [CHCH] was really good when we all worked together in the same building that was good. Now we are all separated. Marcel, the NADAP is over there, CFS ... forget about CFS. They don't even want to hear about us. I don't know how many times we invited them to meetings. They wouldn't come. It's back to the old system like it was, Children's Aid, I think it was called. And yet they have all the money and resources just to help us work with families so they [community parents] won't lose their kids. Now they [CFS] just apprehend kids and put them in care.

Working with community resource institutions also requires education stability to all the staff of an organization. As B states,

B: it's really hard working with the Justice system. Just when we think we're getting ahead, there is a step back. They move them around [transfer RCMP employees to other communities] and we have to educate them [the new staff], make them understand, again. They know jails don't work. They're filling them [jails] up more. There is very few of [Justice people] that believe in CHCH [principles and efforts]. Ed Buller [Federal Solicitor General] believed in us.

F indicated that the CHCH organization staff also has to continually learn and grow professionally, as well as periodically evaluate themselves as an organization and learn from the evaluation. F indicates that organizational evaluation is not seriously being considered and systematically implemented into staff day-to-day operations.

F: I know that with CHCH there are a lot of things that has happened over the years that has discredited them. They have to take ownership of what has happened. The only way they can take ownership is if they admit as to what went wrong. They have to look at that in order to fix it. They can go back and say "this is what happened. This went wrong. This is the mistake". If they can't do that then they get stuck. With all healing and it's the same thing with every individual and it's the same thing for me. Just because I came out of this program and my kids came out of the program, did our healing stop? – No. We are going to continue our healing journey until we die. Well it's the same thing with that program too. It has to evolve, it has to go through changes. And it's the same thing with the workers. Just because they take a program they have the required skills – doesn't mean they know everything and that they are finished with their healing. No they're not. I never stopped learning. I had to evaluate myself. See what worked what doesn't; throw out things that don't work. It's the same thing with them. Today I think they really have to look at it if they want it to work.

Losing Management

Management of the CHCH organization was hindered because the Assessment Team no longer worked together to share information, strategize interventions, and plan treatments of the victimizer and the victims. Authority of the larger community relationship was no longer placed within a single organizing body – either the originators of the Healing Movement, or the Board of Directors for the CHCH organization, or the Chief and Council. There simply was not a structure to ensure that the community institutions would work together or address policy issues that threatened the CHCH organizations operations.

D: I am very critical because I know where CHCH came from and it's certainly not there today. It's become very political and no one is handling the show anymore. The circle was always represented and there was always a main person [managing the organization]. But now that's [gone]. It's theirs now, it's not ours anymore [the CHCH shifted from community-owned and directed process to become several people charged with the responsibility of a program]. We have to do something about the services. We have all kinds of people like NADAP, CHCH, we have BFI, BHC, Headstart, daycare. We have all sorts of resources we just need to coordinate and communicate. I'm not saying my staff is functioning real good but I'd like to think so.

E: I don't know what needs to happen. I know within the office here too, there is not that blame anymore. I think we are for ourselves. I'm only doing what I'm supposed to do. Never mind them. As long as I do what I'm supposed to do. I'm sick of confronting people when they're not telling the truth in meetings. I don't do that anymore. That's what makes it tense. I'd like to be able to work in a good environment again but it's not here, right now. We can if it's somebody else. We can have a good solid treatment plan for somebody. But if it's the worker's family ... the politics of the family get involved.

F: I think if they had kept to this [CHCH as a community facilitator] model that it would have worked. I know Valdie had to move on. I think the original ones that started it – they had to monitor it. Valdie was excellent at resolving issues and making people accountable for their actions. Getting people to continue their healing process [the CHCH] would have evolved even further; but it stopped growing. These things weren't followed. But that's my personal opinion because of what happened to my kids. That confidentiality was broken. They would not go back they didn't want

anything to do with the workers because they broke that confidentiality. That was not of my doing. I don't think anyone was there to address that issue with the CHCH. Something happened. The workers didn't address it. I don't know how many others are hurt by that. I can't say. I can only speak to what happened to my children.

As Lajeunesse states in her 1996 evaluation report of Hollow Water's CHCH organization, "although criminal justice and social service workers show very strong support for CHCH, respondents would like to see certain improvements, especially in the degree of communication and networking between their offices and CHCH" (Lajeunesse 1996:iv). Unfortunately, these issues were not addressed by the community leadership.

Several instances where a breach of trust between the CHCH organization staff and community resource institutions/agencies/programs no longer maintained the essential networking confidential relationships. Although these events created serious breaches of confidentiality, every single person I interviewed sees the importance of maintaining a networked relationship and regular high-level communication between the institutional network and community-at-large. Every interview indicated that reparation of the networked relationship between community institutional resources must happen in the future to maintain community healing/justice effectiveness. Despite many adamantly stated views that this must happen – currently, there is minimal effort to strategically and effectively address this issue. Perhaps in an environment with some community citizens having an abusive history that has not yet been fully disclosed and whose victimizers are perhaps highly manipulative, there may be those in the community that benefit and exploit an opportunity to impede community institutions from developing effective communication networking relationships.

The originators and the Board of Directors of the CHCH organization no longer managed/directed/administered the CHCH organizations' development phase after its creation. Currently, there is a need, again, to inform community citizens and community institutional resources about the CHCH organization philosophy, vision, and actions. There is a need, again, to inform and collaborate with community citizens and community resources about reframing concepts used by the CHCH organization that describe the divergence from punishment to healing/justice models. There is a need, again, to continually work to maintain network relationships between community institutions, to continually search for community-partner funding, to continue to learn and develop skills to address non-sexual abuse community issues, and to develop a way to enforce management decisions in a way that is effective because decisions are made with the hopes that they will be followed through but there is no way to enforce agreed upon decisions. The authority that there once was is no longer present. There is no charismatic authority; there is no network of organizations that keep each other to account; there are no community citizens involvement to keep the CHCH organization to account. There is a mix of traditional authority and rational/legal authority but there is no strategic plan to implement decisions to bring the CHCH organization back to when it was at its peak.

H: People [outside the community] were learning about [Hollow Water's activities] but we weren't solid enough, still, to be able to put it out there as a model. We needed more to solidify us as a community. I don't think the timing of that was the greatest.

In her 1993 report, Lajeunesse had commented on the importance of stabilizing the CHCH organization's approach before promoting the CHCH organization activities outside the community. As she states,

Once the approach is stabilized through adequate funding and salaried positions, workers will be able to devote time to such activities as ongoing liaison with the National Parole Board and the Correctional Service of Canada. To date, a lot of time and energy has been devoted to the funding crisis (Lajeunesse 1993:15-16).

Development of effective management skills for the CHCH organization was critical for stabilizing the CHCH organization. H indicates that additional management and administrative conditions and supports would have alleviated the stress experienced by the CHCH staff and contributed to the stabilization and sustainability of the CHCH organization. As H states,

H: The structure of the organization was developed to create equality among all of the members of the team. No one had a lesser role. Everyone was equal in the circle. The role of the administration was to be the glue, the liaison between the external resources and the internal resources. Administration, like everyone else during a crisis, had to be available all the time. There was no sense of timeline. Things just happened when they happened and we address issues as they came up.

H: When people started to burn out, we didn't have a cushion; nothing to fall back on. No young people trained as we were going along. That would have made a difference if it had been integrated into the training; mentoring and interning people in every role.

Currently, there needs to be a group to set policy decisions regarding day-to-day operations, as well as, address conflicts that are raised within the CHCH organization. There needs to be a strategic plan to inform and include community citizens in the knowledge of CHCH activities, and a strategic plan for creating a regular networked dialogue with community institutions.

In the book *Breaking the Rules* (1997), Awasis Agency applied Senge's theories to their own organization to transform it into a learning organization. Awasis is an agency that provides Child and Family Services in Thompson, Manitoba. I will discuss some of Awasis Agency's recommendations to other organizations seeking to become learning organizations in Chapter six but presently I want to discuss one recommendation they have for leadership. The authors state,

Program development should take place in teams that involve front line practitioners, program developers, supervisors, and recipients of the service. Leadership needs to be democratic and participatory rather than controlling and authoritarian. There has to be a clear vision at all levels of the organization and an understanding of the vital role each aspect of the organization plays in each aspect of the organization plays in realizing new ways. Clear and consistent links with the consumers of the service and clear partnerships with communities, funders, and service providers must be forged. Proactive, positive, ongoing learning must be promoted at all levels (individual, organizational, and community). Leadership must be close at hand and connected to the community in order to mobilize community citizens to realize their shared vision. This requires leaders that persist unreasonably, practice with integrity, care for those they lead, and, of course, are constantly learning (Belleguillaume et al. 1997:113).

In other words, programs should be primarily developed by the community citizens from a collaborative approach as a learning organization.

Losing Community

In 1996, Lajeunesse completed an evaluation report on Hollow Water's CHCH organization. In it she indicates, "community awareness of the problem [sexual abuse] and support for dealing with it appear to be healthier than in other, comparable Aboriginal communities, although community citizens interviewed had a variety of concerns that still need to be addressed. For instance, community citizens reported the need for increased

public awareness events about the CHCH process” (Lajeunesse 1996: ii). This is consistent with interviews I did where they indicated there was not enough community education on the CHCH organization before they started to go outside the community and promote the CHCH organization activities. However, “the vast majority of the community (including CHCH clients) are in agreement with the principles behind the current program” (Lajeunesse 1996: ii). The issue seems to be in how strong and crystallized the CHCH organization was in their organizational practices and patterns prior to taking this outside the community. Lajeunesse stated, “for the most part, the community recognizes the seriousness of sexual abuse and family violence but requires and wants more community education and awareness initiatives” (Lajeunesse 1996: iii). However, the “CHCH is not as involved in the community as it was in the early days of its development. A significant proportion of the community have never participated in any CHCH activities and are unclear about the healing process and the purposes of CHCH” (Lajeunesse 1996: iii).

F indicates that after the first few years of intervening and developing treatment plans for victimizers and victims and their families in the Hollow Water communities, the CHCH organization did not complete intervention and treatment for all the families that were suffering from sexual abuse. As F states, once a person in a family discloses other potential victimizers are identified; in other families as well. Just as the CHCH organization was not solidified as an organization, the CHCH organization also did not complete its work within the affected community families.

F: [The CHCH] started off really good – victimizers were being confronted. Victims and victimizers were getting help through that program. One of the families that were addressed to the limit was my family with sexual abuse –

I say my family I mean my siblings. They were addressed. We had to look at it. There were two people in that program that helped us with that. They forced my family to look at it. Starting because of me and my little family it went to my siblings. There were victimizers there that had to be addressed and they were addressed. My kids as they grew becoming adults using that circle and learning what to be careful of and discussing which ones could be potential victimizers. It was no longer a secret with my sibling's families. My brothers were able to talk about it – who were victimizers. It was out in the open. We were exposed and being exposed we had to talk about it and deal with it. The other workers families and there are some family groups in the community that were not addressed. They were not exposed. Not all families were worked on. So what happened? You continue to have victimizers that were not addressed. And when they were never addressed, they started victimizing the younger ones. They just continued and now you have [sexual abuse] continuing. The workers would not address their own families. They would not work with their own families. It was a secret, it's still a secret. And yet they have the skills to work with their family like that. That's where they went wrong. Not all families were addressed. So you're going to continue to have victimizers and it's multiplying again back to where they started from. I see that the workers are burnt out, they're burnt out. They stopped growing. What do you do? You need some fresh meat in there [succession plan]. It's just like a teacher, teachers get burnt out. They need to stand back and reflect. It's the same thing with them. Same thing with everybody.

Lajeunesse identifies several significant issues in her report that were not addressed through a management team. Lajeunesse states that, “victims and family members of both victims and victimizers are less satisfied with CHCH, have received less help through it, and have participated in fewer activities connected to it. At the same time, a majority of them still support the program and would recommend it to others” (Lajeunesse 1996: iv). As well, “victims, in particular, appreciated that CHCH gave them a place to report their victimization and “vent”, but victims require more continuous help to deal with other needs which they experience due to sexual victimization” (Lajeunesse 1996: iv).

In 1996, Lajeunesse was already indicating that the CHCH organization had lost community connection as she states,

in searching for the appropriate methodologies for their clients, the CHCH approach became more “treatment specific” or “task specific” and the community component lost its priority. It is the feeling of many Workers that the community has gone back into denial due to the difficulty of sustaining a focus on sexual abuse without being able to take a rest from it. This tiredness is manifested by not having the continued strength to keep dealing with the issue and individual Workers are now often blamed for causing trouble when there is a disclosure or an abuse issue needs to be addressed (Lajeunesse 1996:49).

This is consistent with the interviews. The CHCH organization used to spend a lot of time working with the community, creating opportunities for community participation, providing opportunities for informing community citizens. Many community organization staff indicate that when the CHCH organization first started it worked very well.

G: I think it worked for a while because they made it work. They used to hold these community circles – healing circles. They used to watch their clients but as long as they got their clients out [of jail] that’s it [healing stopped]. But there is so much to do with their clients they don’t have to get lost. But they are lost as soon as they are out of jail – out of the courts and into CHCH but there is a lot that they could be doing. Isn’t that what CHCH is there for? Once they have a client, that client is possibly attending, whatever things they have to do.

G: I remember going to one of [the circles]. Me and my cousin we put in our two cents. How we felt with these people that came. We had a circle to let us know what was going on and they asked for our opinion on that feedback. But I haven’t seen any of these people [CHCH workers] asking for services for themselves. I have a family member. He’s going to counseling – he goes to see a psychiatrist. His court is over and he still goes to counseling and it seems to be helping. If they would ensure all their clients do that – it’s a way to heal. I believe that it is a good service but they have to get back to their mission statement.

D: I’ve seen it from the beginning and how wonderful it was. And how wonderful it looked from outside but you have to be inside to see exactly how it’s happening. They’re not there to just look after the criminals, they’re there to help these families stay together. Have some kind of support for them.

D: when we have a suicide, or some kind of crisis, everyone comes together. It’s just natural. But for those few days we are all working as one. Then things settle down and it’s back to [distrust, no communication]. You see

that a lot on Black Island [Days], too¹⁹. We can't transfer what we have on Black Island back home.

However, there were community citizens that did not support the CHCH organization and were openly hostile to the CHCH staff activities.

C: we were told that we don't need to argue and yell [to defend ourselves] for our approach at CHCH. Just stay calm, take it and Creator will handle it. If they [community citizens] don't like our approach then that's they're opinion – there is still a lot of that today. People say we go around and talk about everybody. I tell clients that it's a small community and if you share with one person anything what you are going through it's going to be out there, that's just how it is in a small community [and it affects peoples reputations]. We were accused of saying things that weren't true.

During the beginning of the CHCH organization there was a lot of interest from people outside the community encouraging the CHCH staff to talk about the operation of the CHCH organization. Invitations came from Canada and around the world to make presentations about the CHCH organization, interviews were elicited, and articles and books were written about what was happening in the Hollow Water communities. Given the hardships that a CHCH staff or those that work with CHCH organization were continually confronted with a difficult job, is it any wonder why people would spend more attention to those from outside the community. Perhaps in some ways the CHCH organization was victim to its own success at a time when the CHCH organization had to address its own management structure, address community citizen's, and community institution's concerns.

A: People were going out [of the community] to do presentations in different communities. Somehow it just became the important thing to do.

¹⁹ Black Island Days is a yearly event in July organized by the community to camp out on Black Island a 12-mile island off the shores of Hollow Water First Nation, where drug and alcohol use is discouraged. The practice was started during the 1980s when families camp out for a week at a particular place on Black Island and relaxed with each other. Entertainment and competitive events are planned. People pick blueberries, share stories and food with family and friends. It is a relaxing time for everyone who participates.

And I know; I understand that. That needed to be done for us to get recognition or support from government agencies to do the work. But I guess somehow our team became distracted from our focus and the healing that took place in the first few years in our community. You could see it; things just started to go down again. It wasn't really a strong team anymore, I suppose.

REVITALIZATION OF LEARNING ORGANIZATION

Train Future CHCH Workers

Near the end of my interviews, I asked of my interviewees what recommendations they suggest that would address CHCH organization issues. Overwhelmingly was the suggestion to train new people similar to the way that they themselves were trained in the late 1980s.

C: We need to train new people. It would be good if we could train five or ten counsellors. Good energy. Right now, with our reduced staff the work is demanding, more stressful and [the motivation is exhausted. We never have time alone to relax, build trust, and have fun]. We need new blood; we're getting older. It would be good if our young ones could take Valdie's training. We need fresh ideas. I'd like to see the young people in here and see what they can do. There's a lot of good young people out there that have gone through the experiences of life. Life experiences are the best teachings. You can learn from what you have experienced. You can turn your life around.

E: I'd like to see trainings happening for young people. Always preparing the young people for safety, family violence, those kind of workshops, prevention. Abuse is still happening. I mean why else would they turn to drugs and alcohol. The other thing that we lost is working together as a community. CFS is totally, totally lost – I don't blame them because I know it's part of their policies – but at one time we said our community [is the most important]. This is our community were going to have to work hard. Healing is not happening anymore. With CFS, I see them going back to the White system. That's why they're totally isolated. But the school has open up whereas before they were the ones that were [resistant to cultural activities and] didn't let us in. Something opened up and something closed. We have to work together. My hopes and dreams are to have a whole new Chief and Council. None of the old ones. I pray that all women get in there.

F: You need new blood. You need some people that have never stopped healing. That have continued their healing process. You need younger

people in there. Those ones that are there now did an excellent job back then, but remember they were just dealing with alcoholism and sexual abuse. Now there's added things to the sexual abuse. There's prescription drugs, you have gambling, you have all sorts of narcotic drugs, that's added to that. You have the internet. You have these kids and my kids, my grandchildren, they are of that era. They are so used to a quick fix. You feel down, take an upper or have a toke. We have to help them deal with these things. I can't help them. I can't help my second generation because I don't know what they are going through. I can help them with alcoholism but I can't help them with drugs. I can't help them with prescription drugs. But my kids can. Why can't we work with and train people. So, we have to look at that – look at what we have to work with today. Deal with the problems that people have today and help them go back and help them fix what needs fixing. The CHCH are looking at it like, "only I can be a teacher. The young ones can't be teachers". I think they [CHCH staff] take it personal. They get defensive. They deny.

Summary

The CHCH organization can be seen as an expression of a learning model during its early development stage. The formation of the organization, through previous organizational expressions, such as the resource team and A-Team, as well as the training offered to community citizens provided an opportunity for participants to shift their mental models. The mental models subverted Western justice concepts toward a traditional Anishinaabek community healing/justice concept that went beyond shaming and included healing and restoring community relationships. The traditional community healing/justice drew upon Anishinaabek individual, family, and community healing traditions to create an original community structures; namely the Turtle Model organization structure, healing/justice through a 13-step procedure, and the development of a Sentencing Circle. Personal mastery had been attempted in which a shared vision was formed and deepened through dialogue, creating reality as a spiritual experience. The shared vision of the CHCH organization, as well as the other community institutions (A-Team) was consistent to perceiving community issues as part of a cyclic pattern or systems thinking about what

influence individuals in the community and how a community can influence individuals. This “systems thinking” also corresponds to an Indigenous tradition of holistic thinking and healing.

The CHCH organizations efforts to affect large-scale community change were broad and were enacted at the emergence of the organization through a multi-sector approach. Great accomplishments were achieved during this time when community support, shared vision, and networked community actions came together. However, as the daily pressures weighted upon the staff and the organization was moving toward routinization and solidification of policy and practice, the CHCH organization began to weaken. Institutional conflicts in the vision, managerial conflicts, and administrative distractions affected the CHCH organization in many negative ways. Burn-out, the loss of regular A-Team communication and support, the loss of community participation, instances of confidentiality breaches, the lack of a strategic mentorship practice, and the lack of a sustainable funding procedure led to the dissolution of the CHCH organization.

The long-term sustainability of an organization is dependent on the routinization of the charismatic organization. The CHCH organization must transformation its anti-bureaucratic nature to one that strives for security. The CHCH organization sought out legitimization, positions of authority and social prestige, and economic sustainability. The patterns of order and the organization structure of the administrative staff needed to shift to the normal, everyday needs and conditions of carrying on administrative tasks. There are points at which traditions of administrative practice and of judicial decision-making are

essential. These are needed both by the normal administrative staff and by those subject to its authority. It is further necessary that there should be some definite order introduced into the organization of the administrative staff itself. Finally, it is necessary for the administrative staff and all its administrative practices to be adapted to everyday economic conditions (Weber 1947:370-371). In addition, solving the problem of succession is crucial because through it the routinization of charisma is addressed and structure is established (Weber 1947:371). Structure emerges to transform charismatic authority into a sustainable organization. If succession fails then the organizing structure is no longer sustainable, and the structure dies.

CHAPTER SIX

DECLINE OF CHCH AND THE HEALING MOVEMENT (2006+)

This chapter is a summary of the decline of the CHCH organization and the pause of the Hollow Water Healing movement since 2006 up to 2021. I draw upon interviews from a group of people who I refer to as part of the succeeding generation of Hollow Water's healing movement; they are not succeeding the CHCH organization, the CHCH organization has effectively died and no one seems interested in reviving it. By saying the CHCH organization is dead, I mean that the organization has fallen so far away from its original intent of the Wanipigow Resource Group that Valdie Seymour championed in the late 1980s and again so far away from the intent of the original formation of the Community Holistic Circle Healing that Burma Bushie championed in the early 1990s, that the organization has simply become a probation program. The four people who I interview do not work for the Community Holistic Circle Healing (CHCH) organization, however there are connections and relationships that tie them with the organization. These people have been strongly influenced by the core philosophy of the CHCH organization and they are creating their own foundational practices, through the Adam Hardisty Health Clinic to reduce community citizen dependency attitudes, although much slower and quieter than the CHCH organization. Still, it is difficult to measure how effective the health centre is at building the foundation for healthier interactions among community citizens. The chapter is a record of the CHCH organizations decline as well as a record of the retreat, refurbishing, and preparation, in other words, the pause, required for the next iteration of

Hollow Water's healing movement (with or without the CHCH organization); I will discuss the lessons learned from this current state.

Robyn Hall is currently Jordan's Principle Niigaan Abinoojii Case Manager for Hollow Water First Nation Health Programs. She was a Co-Director²⁰ on the CHCH Board of Directors from 2012-2017 (with a year off maternity leave) but she resigned from the position in 2017. Robyn's mother, Margaret Bushie is the Treasurer of CHCH Board of Directors and a former Band financial manager.

Lisa Raven is currently the Executive Director of Returning to Spirit, a non-profit national organization that designs and delivers workshops that move individuals, families, organizations, and whole communities forward through the principles of personal empowerment and community leadership. Her work goes beyond healing, it provides conditions for transformation and mindfulness in all relationships. Her mother, Marilyn Sinclair, is a former counsellor for CHCH (retired 2019) who took the original training in 1989. Lisa's father, Dennis Sinclair, is the Vice-President of the CHCH Board of Directors.

Michelle Bushie is Hollow Water's Health Director and the daughter of Burma Bushie (the de facto CHCH manager until the late 1990s when Burma became the Executive Director for Southeast Child and Family Services). After Burma's work with Southeast Child and Family Services she joined as a Director for the CHCH Board of Directors.

²⁰ The position Co-Director was an administration role where Robyn completed reports for the CHCH Board of Directors from 2012-2017.

Fabian Seymour is Hollow Water's recreation coordinator and the son-in-law of Marcel and Yvonne (Bernie) Hardisty. Marcel is the current President of the CHCH Board of Directors and Yvonne is employed as a counsellor for CHCH and was one of the students in the original CHCH team who received 2-year training for addressing community sexual abuse and domestic violence.

As a point of clarification, the official titles of Board of Directors do not mean much other than they are the people who are part of the Board who make decisions for CHCH organization. The membership of the Board of Directors varies widely; originally there were thirteen Board of Directors and the titles and roles assigned were and are nominal. Currently there are a few Board members who make decisions regarding the direction of CHCH organization, but the decisions are not formalized through recorded meetings or other administrative processes. Decisions that are made are often in conflict with other board members and there is no way to address disagreements that are consistent and provide a final decision for the purpose of the aggrieved parties to accept the decision and progress from the decision. The decisions that are made have no authoritative formal process or enforcement. Current recording of minutes, especially Annual General Meetings and their minutes (often required when writing proposals for any additional funding opportunities) are non-existent. Although the CHCH organization was one of the first iterations of Hollow Water's Healing Movement (through the Wanipigow Resource Group), the CHCH organization has slowly become a shadow of its former vibrant self. At the time of this writing (August 2021) there is only one original staff member who gained

certification from the two-year Community Centred Therapy training in 1989, the CHCH organization has, instead, become largely a probation program, and from reports of those in the community it has largely been overtaken by Hollow Water First Nation Child and Family Services management. The CHCH organization which had at one time worked to facilitate communication between community institutions and community citizens, develop and implement interventions when identifying community issues, identifying resources, planning, and putting into practice community events to publicly raise, confront, and resolve the community-defined issues is no longer actively engaged in community development behaviour and has not been engaged in this behaviour at least since 2006. In 2017/18 I taught Hollow Water First Nation university students who were part of Brandon University's satellite Program for Education of Native Teachers (PENT) in Pine Falls. During my classes I mentioned my research for this thesis. None of the students, except for one student who was the daughter of a previous employee of CHCH organization, had heard of what I was talking about in their community of Hollow Water First Nation. The decline of the CHCH organization is so severe that no one in the community knows what it is, let alone remembers its grand potential. However, it seems as though the principles of Hollow Water's healing movement have shifted to the Adam Hardisty Health Centre. The coordination of cultural events like Black Island Days and the community fasting experience has largely been the responsibility of the three of the four people I interviewed (Michelle, Robyn, and Fabian) and their staff through the Adam Hardisty Health Centre.

Those I interviewed represent future generations who continue the next iteration of Hollow Water's healing movement. They are the children of the CHCH organization

workers and other community institutions, but they are not interested in maintaining the CHCH organization; they are interested in reviving the original intent of the CHCH organization but are not putting the required energy into its revival. Instead, they are focussed on building a foundation for community health. This generation is struggling to create, through Hollow Water's Health Centre, an organizational structure similar to the principles of the CHCH organization that is consistent with the healing movement principles begun in the 1980s. Community assessment, planning, implementation, and evaluation of community solutions to community issues are the foundations for this next iteration of Hollow Water's healing movement. However, this does not have the same dynamic presence of the A-Team and the CHCH organization of the mid-1980s to mid-1990s.

The CHCH organization is dead; it has become assimilated into a provincial probation program and no longer provides effective social change to the community; however, Hollow Water's healing movement continues to ebb and flow; currently it is in a moribund state. These people, who were teenagers during the mid-1980s when the A-Team and the CHCH was in its infancy (and at its most powerful stage), hold on to what they have learned through watching the successes and mistakes of the previous generation. They previously struggled to provide a succession organization to the CHCH organization however it is no longer the vibrant community organization it once was and community citizens have given up on a quest to restore the CHCH organization. The staff of the Adam Hardisty Clinic provide health services to the community but they are doing so not through a dynamic activities that challenges the structure of the State. They are using state resources

to provide health services to community citizens. Returning to ideas from Weber, Hollow Water First Nation's health centre structure is more closely aligned with the rational/legal system of (the colonial State) authority rather than of the charismatic (community-centred) system of authority that propelled community change in the 1980s. Certainly there are elements of the health centre that reflect cultural and community needs but there is not the same drive that came from charismatic individuals, volunteers, and the bulk of community citizens. The health centre staff retain elements of the achieved community independence philosophy that characterized the healing movement and the CHCH organization of the 1980s but the influence of this among community citizens is weakened. Their focus is on community health education, community participation in health programs, and working to alter community citizens mode of dependency thinking toward engaged modes of thought and practice.

Lane, one of the authors for Hollow Water's 2006 critical internal report on the CHCH organization, *What Goes Around Comes Around*, has written about the work required to bring a community through a dependency mode of thinking and practice toward an independent and engaged mode of thinking and practice. This is the struggle that currently exists as expressed by health centre staff. Among community citizens, there is the danger of perceiving the healing process as another service that community citizens shift responsibility of community wellness to those who address community issues. Healing and well-being are not something that can be delivered to a people (service perspective), it is something that requires the active involvement of the whole community (community engagement perspective) (Canada 2002:49). While many of those I

interviewed understand and repeat this concept, they struggle with engaging large-scale community commitment. The danger is that the service perspective can, “reinforce the dependency thinking underlying other community problems” (Canada 2002:49). Once a healing process secures funding, employees, reporting schedules, etc., the process is perceived as part of the service status quo. The challenge is, “learning how to constantly renew and revitalize the core of the healing process”, while building structures which support the healing work (Canada 2002:50). This is difficult since many community systems may themselves be out of balance. As is stated in the book *Mapping the Healing Journey*, “a key element of a healing program’s work is to build and maintain community understanding and involvement in the healing work ... programs that do not pay close attention to this often run into difficulties” (Canada 2002:50). The Adam Hardisty Health Centre continually struggle with engaging the community to understand and practice this perspective.

Other community sectors (i.e., economic, governance, legal jurisdiction systems) need to be developed along the same procedural order as the mid-1980s Hollow Water healing movement, to maintain social, physical, emotional and spiritual health and to develop long-term socio-economic sustainability of the culture. The characteristic philosophy at that time was that the community citizens could make significant changes to their community themselves. Castellano outlines an argument that supports community-driven development of Hollow Water’s healing movement. Marlene Brant-Castellano states that, “Aboriginal people look back to a time when oral traditions and colonial records agree that communities and nations were self-regulating, self-reliant, and in remarkably

good health ... they reclaim the history that for a long period was systematically erased from the story of Canada. And they acquire an analysis of present dysfunction in their midst” (Brant Castellano 1999:95). She expands further, “without a political-historical analysis of the genesis of present distress, Aboriginal people are caught in self-blame ... without an analysis that goes to the root of distressing conditions, non-Aboriginal governments and agencies offer programs and services that deal with symptoms of malaise. Symptomatic treatment in some cases makes the problems worse by reinforcing perceptions of incapacity” (Brant Castellano 1999:96). In the mid-1980s, Hollow Water was extremely effective in recognizing the roots of their community dysfunction as well determining a political-historical analysis of their distress. They saw non-Indigenous agencies and governments as merely addressing the symptoms of community citizen malaise. And she takes the argument further. Referring specifically to Hollow Water’s holistic circle healing, Brant Castellano states, “even the most sensitive, culturally appropriate efforts at healing will be short-lived, patchwork solutions, unless the authority for self-determined choices and the foundations of self-reliant economies are restored to Aboriginal peoples” (Brant Castellano 1999:97).

Hollow Water’s need to develop the authority for self-reliance in the CHCH organization was recognized in 2006. According to the recommendations presented in the *What Comes Around, Goes Around* 2006 report, the CHCH organization,

needs a viable business plan. The plan should be made with the assistance of an expert in a) non-profit operations, and b) social entrepreneurship (the development of lines of business that support social aims and goals). We recommend as a first step, that a review be conducted of existing and possible funding sources to support CHCH vision and mandate (both government and private), and that a draft business plan be developed

showing both what is possible and where the gaps are. This first round review should also look critically at past CHCH efforts to start for-profit ventures, and should offer evaluative comments as to what worked, what didn't and what is needed.

Missing in Hollow Water First Nation is the economic, political, and legal jurisdictional aspects of sustaining Hollow Water's healing movement through Indigenous self-determination. Hollow Water's healing movement was and is an important process in the three foundational spheres required to change the exploitative relationship between Indigenous and Settler peoples in Canada as identified by Brant Castellano. She states, "self-determination is an important element in achieving self-reliance. A greater degree of autonomy in the political realm is illusory without a strong economic base. And both of these elements will contribute to and be nourished by the process of healing" (Brant Castellano 1999:97). Maintaining Hollow Water's healing movement is one of the essential aspects of structural change. The two other spheres for structural change are a politically independent (from the State) authority process that develops community self-reliant governance and a process that develops the authority to create an independently strong economic base away from State authority.

Revisiting the Split Vision

Although developing a self-reliant economic base for the CHCH organization was recognized in 2006, it was recognized as early as 1992 by the Wanipigow Resource Group, themselves. As I indicated in Chapter 4, the original 1989 vision of CHCH organization, was expressed either as Berma has indicated, to address sexual abuse and domestic violence and reconcile family relationships, or as Valdie has indicated to facilitate communication between community citizens and institutions so that the community could

assess, plan, act and evaluate its own community issues and their corresponding solutions. One philosophy focused on healing community citizens while the other focused on community authority to make decisions and implement plans as the community determined appropriate actions. When the CHCH organization formally emerged as an official entity the intervention and prevention of sexual abuse was its primary stated goal (according to various undated internal CHCH organization documents with the exception of two documents entitled “Position on Incarceration” and “The Sentencing Circle” which are dated April 20, and 1993 June 14, 1993 respectively). Joe Couture, et al., in their cost/benefit analysis report (2001) indicates that the primary mandate of the CHCH organization staff was community healing; that is, to address community sexual abuse and family violence (2001: 81). Thérèse Lajeunesse (1993 and 1996) indicates that the coordinator of the CHCH organization in 1993 was, a full-time supervisor for Southeast Child and Family Services and the seven CHCH workers worked with the community to address sexual abuse (1993:2 and 3; 1996:36-37).

A 1992 report by Michael Bopp under the direction of the Wanipigow [aka Hollow Water] Resource Group tabled *Down to the Nitty Gritty: A Final Report on the Wanipigow S.A.F.E. (Self-Awareness For Everyone) Program* indicates that the Wanipigow Resource Group decided to shift focus from community training to staff development. The Wanipigow Resource Group viewed their task “to evaluate what we had learned and to build a foundation for the future” (The Wanipigow Resource Group 1992:13). The report identifies what they had found,

In essence, we have learned that the process of healing and community development needs to be conceptualized and addressed as a single

integrated dynamic. The structure and rules of funding and of bureaucratic services to our communities has tended to treat the process as if the different organic components are independent stand-alone programs ... that self-awareness training would be far more sustainable if it were to be tied to education, economic development or some other developmental context in the community (The Wanipigow Resource Group 1992:13).

The results of this realization had catalyzed a conception that a regional approach was need toward community healing and economic development that combines personal healing with community development, political collaboration and integrated community programming (The Wanipigow Resource Group 1992:13). Rather than focus on single issues such as sexual abuse and domestic violence, the Resource Group seemed to be advocating a broader mandate for the CHCH organization. In 1992, the Resource Group had identified explicitly through the final report that a shift of the Community Holistic Circle Healing organization process was required to broaden in order for the organization to maintain sustainability. As the report states,

We have, until recently, understood this integrated approach as an issue oriented strategy for dealing with sexual abuse or family violence. Reflections on the long-range implications of the S.A.F.E. program have helped us to realize that the Community Holistic Circle Healing Process must now be broadened to deal with the whole circle of life in our community. In particular, the next few years, we believe the following issues must be attended to:

1. The indigenization and transformation of our local education systems;
2. The creation of adequate mechanisms for dealing with violence and conflict in our community and for fostering universal participation in democratizing community life, such that every person has a meaningful say in the building of our future;
3. Youth development – linking personal healing and growth to education, training, and the creation of long-term economic options for the next generation;
4. Cultural foundations – articulating our various (Métis, Ojibwa) cultural foundations in ways that allow us to build our future in the light of those perspectives (The Wanipigow Resource Group 1992:13-14).

This report clearly shows the split between visions of the CHCH organization and the corresponding mandates. The Wanipigow Resource Group and the Community Holistic Circle Healing organization were advocating different goals. Part of this split seems to have come from the attention that Hollow Water was receiving by national and international government departments and academic institutions that were interested in connecting the CHCH organization to addressing sexual abuse and domestic violence. However, the 1992 *Down to the Nitty Gritty* report acknowledges the community's part in this misunderstanding when they state,

Unfortunately, when our program was evaluated by an outside evaluator in June 1991 (see Self-Awareness for Everyone: A Review by Sharon Taylor-Henley, the Faculty of Social Work at the University of Manitoba Child and Family Study Series), the relationship between S.A.F.E. and the overall integrated process of community healing and development was not clearly shown. As a result, some of the important lessons we have learned that will carry us on into the next phases of our work were not shared (The Wanipigow Resource Group 1992:8).

The dynamic relationship emerging between the Wanipigow Resource Group and the CHCH organization about shifting vision, expanding goals, and organizational sustainability was not expressed. A final quotation from the 1992 "Down to the Nitty Gritty" report now seems portentous,

We have learned that it is not enough to set a vision before the people. In the first place, their vision must be rooted in their hearts and minds. It must come from them. In the second, place, the habits of thought, daily action and institutional life now produce a different reality. The question remains, how will we all learn to think, to do, and to interact with each other in ways that lead to the realization of our new vision? How will we escape our present patterns?

Since 1992 the CHCH organization has slowly deteriorated to a point in 2006 where a letter from Marcel Hardisty proposed a retreat to be held to formally address institutional and community disunity and review organizational intentions and progress.

State of Hollow Water and CHCH in 2006

In 2006 the CHCH organization's situation was quite dire; institutional partnerships had collapsed and the community was no longer supporting the CHCH organization. This negatively affected the social health of the Hollow Water community quite substantially. A letter dated June 27, 2006 from Marcel Hardisty, President of CHCH organization to the CHCH Board of Directors, members of CHCH, director of CHCH, and program coordinators of Aboriginal Health Foundation Initiatives proposes, "an organizational retreat to reflect and design a process that supports and promotes a more inclusive, responsive, informative, action-oriented program development plan". The letter indicates various needs for developing plans for generating revenue, operational procedures (including decision-making and financial reporting), and a way to communicate our intentions to the community. Marcel refers to a, "personal and organizational disconnection with each other, other programs, and those we serve". He indicates that this proposed retreat, "provides education, grounding and re-connection to the spirit and intent of the CHCH vision". Marcel goes on to state that, "the disease of disunity has a profound impact on community wellness", possibly alluding to the separation of the CFS organization from the CHCH organization. He alludes to community decline through an, "increase in alcohol, drug abuse, and break and enters, family breakdown, suicide, dependency syndrome, poor health and poverty, programs working in isolation and gambling". Marcel concludes, "in order to effectively deal with this condition, we need to combine personal healing, education, Child and Family Services, cultural revitalization, economic development and political strategies in a more inclusive, responsive manner. We need to engage community

and program participation. We can not afford to be working in isolation, sabotaging or undermining efforts at creating harmonious networking relationships”. This letter indicates that there is community organizational disruption and that the CHCH organization, in 2006, had serious issues with which it was trying to address but also alludes to the culmination of the “*Down to the Nitty Gritty*” report, produced 14 years earlier, that CHCH organizational vision and practice had to be broadened and become sustainable.

Twenty-five individuals who were involved with the CHCH organization at some level attended a retreat on October 11-12, 2006 in Seymourville, Manitoba. Michael and Judie Bopp of Four Worlds Centre for Development Learning facilitated the retreat. The document that resulted from this event confirmed that the state of the Community Holistic Circle Healing was severely weakened. The original acknowledgement of the issues facing CHCH indicates that,

while the CHCH has certainly accomplished an enormous amount in these [20] years (becoming famous for its model of dealing with sexual abuse), right now the Hollow Water community again seems to be rapidly slipping into crisis. Alcohol and drug abuse, family violence, suicide, dislocated youth, an increase in crime, chronic poverty, destructive disunity as well as political and financial crises at the level of Band government are all symptoms of what is happening (Four Worlds Centre for Development Learning 2006:5).

In the report, staff indicate they, “are no longer credible to the community because some of us are using alcohol or drugs. Most people in the community know that what we tell the world about the ‘Hollow Water Model’ is about what we used to do, because we’re not doing it now” (Four Worlds Center for Development Learning 2006:5). The CHCH organization is at an stagnant, so much so that the CHCH organization has essentially ended

years ago, it is not unusual for all organizations (not solely healing organizations) to go through extreme periods of success and failure. According to *Mapping the Healing Journey*, a 2002 report by the Solicitor General of Canada,

The healing process seems to go in cycles. There are periods of great movement and apparent growth and periods of stagnation and retreat. This is true of any learning endeavour, from an individual mastering a new skill to an organization reorienting itself around new principles. It is very important for those leading and supporting healing to understand the learning process (Canada 2002:39).

The focus of community physical and social health has shifted from the CHCH organization to other areas of the community. A significant population of Hollow Water's community citizens (between 75-100 participants) have taken courses from Returning to Spirit that addresses issues that hinder personal empowerment and community leadership. However, these programs address only the social health of the community not the authority of economic development or political authority of self-reliance.

In 2006, Hollow Water was experiencing a high level of individual and family social decline and "sliding downward into very troublesome patterns of dysfunction, fear, mistrust and hurtful behaviours. Right now, the community is becoming increasingly unhealthy" (Four Worlds Centre for Development Learning 2006:2). The Community Holistic Circle Healing organization from 2006 to contemporary times, are not fulfilling a role of a holistic healing circle model with the community or its institutions. The *What Goes Around, Comes Around* report indicates that according to staff interviewed, the CHCH organization has not handled sexual abuse disclosures for almost 5 years (2006:6). Staff analysis of the interviews indicate sexual abuse occurs in the community but the

current state of the CHCH organization with community networked institutions are not effectively addressing this issue within community,

It is not because there is no more sexual abuse. We know there is. People make disclosures only when they feel safe to do so. We have not created that climate of safety and support. Parents and children don't know what to do about abuse. We need to educate them. Years ago, awareness campaigns were an important part of our work (2006:6).

Fundamentally, in 2006 onward, the issue of sexual abuse in the community has not been addressed in Hollow Water as a community or as a holistic multi-sectored institutional approach – which was the official purpose of the CHCH organization. The state of the CHCH organization was reflecting the state of health, safety, and well-being of community citizens of Hollow Water; that is, dysfunctional.

CHCH Isolation

A significant aspect of CHCH organizations decline was due to an institutional separation of the partnership between the CHCH organization and the Child and Family Services organization that had occurred prior to 2006. Furthermore, the partnerships of other community institutions such as the school and the Chief and Council, “have either partially or totally broken down. CHCH has become increasingly isolated from its community partners” (Four Worlds Centre for Development Learning 2006:2). By 2006, community awareness and involvement in the CHCH had drastically decreased. As Four Worlds Centre for Development Learning states, “the foundation of safety and trust that CHCH had once established with the community has gradually slipped away. So, when other communities and programs want to learn about ‘the Hollow Water Model’ they are told about something that *was*, not something *is* now being done” (2006:2; italics in the

original). The CHCH organization has deteriorated on so many levels and to so much a degree that, “the momentum for healing that once existed (with several hundred community citizens actively and visibly supportive of healing) has become dormant” (Four Worlds Centre for Development Learning 2006:2). As well, the CHCH organization had lost its vision with no current effective process of regaining its vision, its internal integrity, and coherence (2006:2). These internal issues are extremely serious. According to Four Worlds internal report,

CHCH team members are no longer utilizing the circle process (which is at the very centre of the CHCH model), even for their own recovery and self-care.

There is a split within the CHCH team (staff and Board) over whether or not individuals using alcohol and drugs can still provide program services in the name of CHCH. In the past this standard was considered non-negotiable because hard won experience in the many communities has shown that unless front line workers “walk the talk” they lose credibility and effectiveness in the eyes of the community (which in fact seems to have happened).

There seems to be confusion and some internal disagreement about whether the real purpose of CHCH is about healing, or whether that purpose also includes community development and Nation building.

While efforts have been made in the past to put CHCH on a more positive development track, nothing much has moved beyond the stage of talking. “we talk about it, but we don’t do anything” was how one staff member described it (Four Worlds Centre for Development Learning 2006:2-3).

Since 2006 there have been attempts to build economic sustainable projects into Hollow Water. A \$1,587,673.00 grant was provided to the CHCH organization in 2009, for the project entitled “Four Directions Healing Lodge”, the description of the project comes from the Aboriginal Healing Foundation’s website:

The Community Holistic Circle Healing project proposes to address healing needs by offering workshops to Band membership and service providers on intervention in relation to sexual abuse; workshops to students in grades

nursery to eight and to high school staff; provide assessment, supports and safe homes to victims of sexual abuse; provide a treatment plan to victims (assessment, individual weekly counselling, circles for victims with Community Holistic Circle Healing (CHCH) staff, cultural and traditional treatment methods, victims support groups and ceremonies, teaching lodge and sweats); provide a treatment plan to victimizers (as for victims but with anger management workshops, child-within workshops, human sexuality groups and case conferencing); provide support to victims and victimizers as they go through the court system; group therapy (women's/ men's/ girl's/ boy's/ powwow/ drum); family circles for victims and family and victimizers and family; a community fast, Black Island days family retreat (on-the-land activities with workshops on addictions/ abuses); four directions seasonal ceremonies at camps located in each of the four directions; Sacred Fire ceremonies; skill development in the community to enable community citizens to deal with sexual abuse, family violence and criminal offences; and staff development and wellness.

This project was oriented toward healing and not economic sustainability. There were attempts to create a business plan for the CHCH organization to make it economic sustainable, to start a company around dogsledding; offering dogsled tours and working with dogs as a way to heal, to work with Returning to Spirit as a business venture under the title of Society for the Protection of Anishinaabe or SPA. However, these efforts were not sustainable. With regard to Returning to Spirit a pilot project was organized with Hollow Water First Nation and 75 to 100 community citizens went through the program. This project resulted in training several Hollow Water community citizens as workshop facilitator and Lisa Raven is the executive director for Returning to Spirit. There was miscommunication between board members who thought that the CHCH organization would gain a percentage of the profits from their investment in the Returning to Spirit program and those that thought that the project was offered to community citizens only to participate in the workshops and some would possibly become facilitators of the workshops. Over the years there remains animosity on this issue. Regardless, none of the efforts to create a more sustainable CHCH organization have materialized. Perhaps Hollow

Water First Nation community citizens need to develop a movement and process similar to the Wanipigow Resource Group that excites and engages community citizens on various spheres of activity; community authority on economic development, governance, legal jurisdiction, as well as, health and culture. However, such a movement will be difficult given the history of the CHCH organizations decline.

CHCH Decline

The *What Goes Around Comes Around* report identified seven key issues that contributed to the breakdown of the CHCH organization:

1. Basic partnerships have broken down

The Community Holistic Circle Healing organization was originally built on a foundation of partnering with many of the community's institutions to identify and address community issues with community-defined solutions. The strongest relationship was with Chid and Family Services. There were nine employees of CHCH organization in 2001. The coordinator of Hollow Water's CFS was also the manager of CHCH (Couture 2001:81). However, the 2006 report indicates that the community is experiencing, "a distancing toward CHCH on the part of community leaders, an outright split between CHCH and CFS, and a lack of a common understanding of the goals between CHCH and the school" (2006:6). Four of the nine employees left the CHCH organization to work for CFS full-time including the manager of the CHCH organization. According to the report, everyone that I interviewed, and from the general perspective of community citizens that I have talked with over the years, in order for the CHCH organization to effectively address its

mission and, “strategies for community healing and development, it needs to work closely with the Chief and Council, Child and Family Services (CFS), the school, and other programs and agencies that serve the community” (2006:6). The CHCH organization was not working with these organizations in 2006 and currently is not working with these organizations in 2020. The CHCH organization has never recovered from the significant exodus of its staff to the CFS staff.

2. No community in “community healing and development”

In 2006, the CHCH organization was, “attempting to delivering programs *to* the community in order to address a presumed set of needs and challenges” (2006:6 italics in the original). However, the community had no longer consider the CHCH organization a credible organization. The report states, “it is a fundamental truth in community work that community healing and development are processes that must be drive by the community. No professional team can deliver ‘wellness’ or ‘development’ to the community” (2006:6). Since the CHCH has lost credibility prior to 2006 there have been various attempts to revive the CHCH organization but have had minimal success and certainly has not restructured the CHCH organization in any meaningful way. The current state of the CHCH organization, based on community interaction, decision-making, and goal-setting, is that it has ceased being a viable organization.

The CHCH organization also seems to have suffered from its own success in the early 1990s. As the success of the CHCH organization became known to those outside of Hollow Water (i.e., government institutions, academic institutions, other communities –

national and international) the CHCH employees were interviewed or participated in conferences outside the community. Consequently, less time was put into developing community communication and support.

3. Community leadership not really engaged

The authors state that, “the Chief and Council are not directly engaged in leading, or at least visibly supporting community healing and development processes” (2006:7). This is particularly damaging for the vitality of the CHCH organization, not only for the political leadership but also for the institutional leadership. A government publication *Mapping the Healing Journey* (Canada 2002) illustrates the importance of leadership providing motivation and sustaining direction for the community. The report states,

The participation and support of political leaders is a critical piece of the healing journey for communities. When it is missing, the healing process seems to limp along or lose momentum. The control over several important prerequisites to community healing resides within the governance system and leadership patterns of the community.

- a. Leaders seem to have the power (perhaps granted to them by a passive population) to stop healing processes if those processes appear likely to pose a threat (such as shedding light on past or present abuse or corruption).
- b. Leaders are carefully [observed by the community] and they set the tone of approval and encouragement or disapproval and discouragement for healing. Those who are in the early stages of their healing journey are especially vulnerable to influence by leaders.
- c. Leaders have the capacity to manage the community’s program resources (money, people, energy) well or poorly. The result can be a coordinated and sustainable effort or the dissipation of valuable resources and opportunities.
- d. There is a fundamental need to plan for healing and development over the long term. Unless leadership leads in insisting that this comprehensive planning work take place, it is unlikely to happen (2002:41).

Since the mid-1990s the same political establishment (with occasional changes in some Council positions and one two-year period where Hollow Water elected another Chief) has been in place in Hollow Water and there has not been an effort to rejuvenate the

same social engagement as was experienced by the community in the 1980s. Since the early 2000s, long-term development planning for the CHCH organization has not been enacted.

4. The absence of decision-making

Four Worlds Centre for Development Learning indicate that the CHCH organization had laid out their, “own development (in the early days)” (2006:7), probably referring to the *Down to the Nitty Gritty* (1992) report. The CHCH had committed to a path that was based on Anishinaabek values, knowledge and ways of doing things and, “the circle emerged as a primary tool both for therapeutic work, and for decision-making within CHCH” (2006:7). Decision-making and program management was primarily arrived at through consensus. However, despite the CHCH organization employing, “a Director with many years of social service, and with roots in CHCH’s earlier days ... important decisions that are required to move the organization out of its current state of confusion and semi-paralysis are not being made” (2006:7). The CHCH organization holds discussions about an issue, “but no action is taken; or discussions are held but many key players are not invited to participate. Then, if decisions are reached, they are not carried out” (2006:7). Again, since the early 2000s the organizational management has dissipated and there are no clear processes and mechanisms to make decisions or enacting them (2006:7). The organization simply became ineffectual of implementing anything but the very basic action of monitoring and implementing a probation program. Clearly quite different from the initial goals of developing a sustainable self-determining Anishinaabek nation that was outlined in *Down to the Nitty Gritty* report of 1992.

5. Walking the talk

The authors indicate that there is a specific difference of opinion among the people who are involved with the CHCH organization regarding whether people who are using alcohol and drugs should be allowed to work for CHCH. According to the report, “CHCH now has several workers who are using. There are strong feelings on both sides of this issue within CHCH, and these feelings are resulting in disunity, *which may be causing more problems for CHCH’s effectiveness than those who are using*” (Four Worlds Centre for Development Learning 2006:7 italics in the original). The authors point out, there is general consensus across Aboriginal Canada that users cannot facilitate healing-related work because they lack credibility and often contribute to breaking down trust between the program and the community (2006:7). However, the authors also point out that the feelings of disunity which emerge as an issue within the CHCH organization may be more damaging for the effectiveness of the CHCH organization. Internal unity is critical for organizational effectiveness.

6. Some old thinking, some old results

The authors point out that most of the CHCH team are well-trained and deeply experienced in healing related areas but do not have a practical understanding of what community development is, how to promote it, or why it is inseparable from healing (2006:8). These issues are very challenging because they get to core issue of family and community systems and patterns. People involved with the CHCH organization can say the words, “healing of individuals and families are connected with healing the political and

administrative systems and the development of positive social and economic patterns of life” but understanding how to facilitate and promote community transformation requires a lot of learning and practice (2006:8). Four Worlds Centre for Development Learning indicate, “current habits of thinking and behaviour is producing current results. To get different results, CHCH in particular and the community in general needs a learning plan that tells us what the learning needs are and provides a roadway for how those needs will be addressed” (2006:8). The authors have indicated that at the time of the report most of the leadership is still coming from people over 50 years old who are no longer in the best of health and have lived through years of struggle. The authors suggest that there is an urgent need to train a new generation of healing and community development leaders. As well, there is a need for systemic attention to organize and promote learning to advance healing and community development (2006:8).

The original Wanipigow Resources Group had innovatively created what Senge would call “a learning organization” in which the community citizens and institutions learned to communicate information collectively and began to recognize community issues that were affecting community health and well-being. Through discussions the Resource Group realized that they needed to develop additional community skills to address, plan, and intervene on issues that negatively affected community citizens. The two-year training program was developed out of this “learning organization” interest in building community capacity; which developed into the CHCH organization. In communication outside of the succeeding generation interviews, there is consensus that the Health Centre has been developing, over the past decade, a foundation of employee responsibility and skills sets

similar to the recommendations set by the *Nitty Gitty* report. Fabian indicated that he is starting to see the results of this foundation set by the Health Centre in his own staff. I believe that the Health Centre has made significant efforts toward training a next generation of healing and community development leaders. This emerging iteration of Hollow Water's healing movement will need the support of the community, the community institutions, and political leadership.

7. Stable funding base

The CHCH organization has struggled with a stable funding base and has worked and, “struggled to establish for-profit enterprises that would generate earned income which could ensure a reasonable degree of security and financial stability for the program” (2006:8). Joe Couture et al., indicates that CHCH organization, “received funding, through contribution agreements, from both the federal and provincial governments, with each contributing \$120,000 per year to the project. The funding is project specific and is not ongoing. In addition, the amount contracted has not increased. The normal inflation in costs has been born by additional contributions from the Hollow Water First Nation, by program efficiencies and by using additional community resources (volunteers) to avoid reducing the program” (2001:69). Valdie had indicated that originally, the Wanipigow Resource Group worked with the various community institutions and resources to apply for project funding and share funding resources on projects that overlapped mandates. Illustrating further reasons why a functioning network of community institutions is so important; shared funds, shared staff resources, shared support, shared knowledge about complex issues that involve family members, and a focus of energy from multiple agencies and

institutions to strategize a multi-sectored approach to addressing community issues. When the network falls apart all the benefits that come with the network fall apart.

In talking with various community citizens, including the succeeding generation, there are additional issues raised, further expanding on issues that were alluded to in the 2006 report, that contribute to the decline of the CHCH organization. One that may be significant is the unresolved abuse issues within community families. These abuse issues were raised in the 1980s through disclosures to the CHCH organization and through sentencing circles. When people come forward and have made public what has happened in their families community citizens understand the history. They also know who has not come forward to express what has happened in their family. This continues to affect leaders within institutions that were a part of the institutional partnership network and political leadership. The abuse issue is unstated yet everyone knows about and this silence affects community citizens ability to take responsibility of issues that affect them directly. This is often referred to victim mentality or dependency thinking.

CHCH – Institutional Issues

Part of the succeeding generation's unique perspective is the contribution that they can offer to the community as a valuable critical assessment of Hollow Water's healing movement. In my own experiences of working with Indigenous peoples in Manitoba communities there is a reticence to open critical exploration of relationships, organizations, events, programs, etc. There is a view that open critical expression must be hostile and confrontational rather than a constructive examination of an issue. There seems to be so

much weariness toward gossip and destructive viewpoints that there is often little appreciation of positive and functional critical thinking. The word critical often evokes suspicion that critical is associated with abuse rather than disciplined thinking that is clear, rational, open-minded and informed by evidence. However, each person that I interviewed for this chapter has gone through Returning To Spirit²¹ training to learn how to communicate emotional hurts to those that inflicted the pain. They understand critical expression and how to communicate it effectively. Lisa draws upon her training as a Returning to Spirit facilitator as she comments on the CHCH organizations structure,

Lisa: well there is a distinction between criticism and being able to tell the truth about where are we, where have we been, and where are we going. There has to be a certain level of honesty about telling the truth and learning from the past. So what happened in the past? OK, so did we get boxed into this concept “restorative justice” when maybe that wasn’t what we were originally [set] up to [do]. So as soon as you put a label on something then you start to explain it then it quickly becomes a concept. The concept is not what it really is, but your interpretation of it. I think in every organization you have to keep checking [your original purpose]. It’s like a pilot, when pilots fly, they know when they’re off course so they get back on course. But I think if there’s not that mindfulness of when are we off course to get back on course it could quickly go off into totally different direction. So there is a gatekeeper role that is important and that is what I see in the founding members. That’s where I see them as being able to contribute in that sort of gate keeping role. Checking [CHCH’s direction] and keeping it on course. Saying, “well, is this the intention [of the CHCH organization]”? There has to be space for that. There was no one really gate keeping or watching to see when we were off course.

²¹ Returning to Spirit training is a two-week workshop, a series of formal seminar workshops, as well as, training program to train trainers. The workshop is intended to reconcile First Nations people and the Church in the wake of the divisions caused by Indian Residential Schools. It was a collaboration of Chief Roy Fabian, the Chief for Kátl’odeeche First Nation, Bishop Denis Croteau of the Diocese of Yellowknife, Sister Ann Thomson ssa and Marc Pizandawac, an Algonquin man facilitating healing workshops among Indigenous peoples in the Northwest Territories.

Lisa's views on a "gatekeeper" role for the founding members is to keep an organization's focus on actions and decisions toward the intent of the organization. She also indicates that people are not really honest in seeing the decline of the CHCH organization. In their recommendations, Bellefeuille et al. (1997) describe the practice of engaging in continual evaluation of an organization's beliefs, values, and assumptions as critical to keeping the organization on course with its purpose. As they state,

Develop a critical awareness regarding the values, beliefs, and assumptions that guide both personal and organizational behaviour. Understanding the values and beliefs that act as foundations for both personal and organizational behaviour provides a shift into personal and organizational goals, priorities, and approaches to service. Many innovative programs have failed because of inherent conflicts in the values and beliefs of those involved. Developing strategies that promote a critical awareness of underlying beliefs, values, and assumptions allows us to evaluate regularly whether what we are doing in practice fits with our overall vision (Bellefeuille et al., 1997:111).

Bellefeuille et al. (1997) are suggesting a community-wide continual process of critical awareness of underlying values provides the community with what Lisa alludes to; a checking-in process to determine if an organization is on track to implementing efforts to accomplish what it wants.

Wilson indicates that decolonization requires auto-criticism, self-reflection and rejection of victim mentality. Decolonization incorporates, "a belief that situations can be transformed, a belief and trust in our own peoples' values and abilities, and a willingness to make change. It is about transforming negative reactionary energy into the more positive, rebuilding energy needed in our communities" (Wilson 2004:71). Hollow Water's own auto-criticism, self-reflection, and rejection of victim mentality is expressed in these interviews. Hence, Hollow Water's efforts to decolonize and recreate a positive vision and

commitment to action as a contribution to continuing Hollow Water's healing movement from the 1980s and 1990s.

Lisa's comments have indicated the importance of all community citizens being honest about where Hollow Water has been in terms of its healing movement, the CHCH organization, and all community citizen and institution relations. The CHCH organization has had a glorious past but it is no longer effectively fulfilling community goals because the community no longer sees the CHCH organization as a credible functioning entity. The original organizers could play a part but there needs to be a new emergence of Hollow Water's healing movement. The new emergence has a lot of historical experience from which to draw upon, the written material, the experience of those who worked in CHCH and the networked institutions, the original intent and early functioning of the Wanipigow Resource Group and the CHCH organization to create the foundation of a new iteration of Hollow Waters healing movement. That is, to facilitate a network of community institutions as they identify community issues and plan community-defined responses to address the issues. This is the responsibility of community citizens who represent the succeeding generation of Hollow Water's healing movement.

Consistent with the writings of Marlene Brant-Castellano (1999) and Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie (2005), revitalizing a sustainable healing movement in Hollow Water requires establishing a community economic authority process, a movement in establishing community political authority process, and a movement in establishing community legal jurisdiction process. These movements perhaps, can only be developed

by leadership that supports community economic, political, and legal jurisdiction movements in addition to socio-cultural healing. As Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie indicated earlier, “ignoring the socio-economic conditions in the majority of communities in favour of culture enables us to turn a blind eye to the costs of colonialism to First Nations” (2005:231). The community achievements toward culturally appropriate justice and healing, “is a pretty safe route for the system and the larger Canadian society. It does not require us to shift our priorities and resources to social justice considerations; all we have to do is know and understand Aboriginal peoples and cultures. This is arguably a much less expensive and, for the majority of Canadians, less disruptive approach. Politically, it is also easier and less disruptive than challenging Aboriginal politicians and leaders to promote social justice in communities” (Dickson-Gilmore and La Prairie 2005:231-232). Hollow Water’s accomplishments to develop a modified justice system that still operated under the authority of the State legal order did not alter Indigenous-Settler power relationships significantly. If the CHCH organization had operated beyond the restorative justice component to include a much larger social justice component (as it initially was planned by Valdie Seymour), it would provide a challenge to State authority in the economic, political, and legal jurisdiction. This effort to challenge State authority, with a healthy and united community that determined its own issues and solutions would provide meaningful employment for Indigenous people within their territory, establish a renewed challenge to the political order, and provide an Indigenous legal order separate from the State. This would move authority and control over socio-economic activities and political-legal jurisdictions from outside federal and provincial institutions to community agency. Rather than depending upon the outside to determine what is best for community

the community would develop its own ways of determining what is best for community; a simple yet excruciatingly difficult concept to understand, accept, internalize and institutionalize by those supporting the current power dynamics who benefit from the current status quo.

The succeeding generation is aware of the conflicts between community institutions that have occurred during the life of the A-Team, as they are aware of the necessity of working together for the benefit of the community. However, since the institutions are no longer addressing their own abuse issues and the CHCH organization no longer practices their own healing processes within their own families, the CHCH organization no longer functions according to its original intent of Community Holistic Circle Healing. Michelle indicates that there needs to be someone in the role of day-to-day coordinator for the CHCH organization; one that builds a supportive work atmosphere. Michelle states,

Michelle: CHCH had regular A-Team meetings that don't exist now. Everybody works in silos again. All the privacy acts that come into play within [the institutions of] health and within child welfare, wherever, but at the same time your goal is to provide optimal services for your community. I know when I meet with my staff, I am good at delegating and I have a good idea of everybody's education, everybody's skills, what they're good at and I just work on that. It won't be a chore; it won't be something that they have to do. It's something that they have the passion for. Our programs are about intervention and prevention to support communities. Same with training opportunities – I try to do as much as I can out here [in Hollow Water] so that everyone can be part of it rather than sending two of my staff out. I want to create a bigger support system so that everybody's on the same page and they've got the same training because that's what worked for CHCH before. So it's ideas like that; consistency, regular meetings, and case conferencing. We've got a good working relationship with our regional health authority. We can tap into more resources that way. We never had [a networked relationship] 30 years ago [in the early 1980s]. It's about relationship building too. But I know much of our [Health Centre] staff has really good working relationships with a lot of people in the

community and other organizations, there just needs to be something conclusive where everybody's together or cohesive. I still see a lot of the things that they've [CHCH] done back then and can still be implemented it's just needs to be coordinated. There needs to be someone to coordinate all that stuff. When I was working as the human resources coordinator 4 years ago that's what we started to do. We were starting to have regular staff meetings with all the programs but that position is no longer there. It's hard to include people when they are running out of steam. There are other programs, too, that are just [not contributing moral support]. So I don't know how to get past that.

Michelle illustrates the connection of facilitating a well-networked community institutional organization, the health of relations between institutions, and how these affect the delivery of community health services. The interview reveals that this generation understands intimately the principles expressed by Senge's understanding of a learning organization; i.e., the need for personal mastery, mental models, team learning, a shared vision, and systemic thinking. By providing choice to workers where they are working because they have a passion for what they do (personal mastery), the hindrance of burnout which affects mental models, facilitate team learning and shared vision through inclusion of training programs within the community, and systemic thinking through a coordinated approach to issues. Again, with the focus on developing health authority is just one sphere of self-determination; what is needed is a focus on the other spheres of economic, political and legal authority.

CHCH – Community Relationship Issues

The interviews also indicated a lack of community engagement in the process of improving community communication and well-being. Lisa suggests that community issues have not been resolved. As well, she indicates that the networks (created in the late 1980s and early 1990s) have dissolved and suggests that they are required to be re-

established in order for the next iteration of Hollow Water's healing movement to emerge as an effective community-based healing movement. Currently, the CHCH organization is isolated from community resource institutions and generally from the community itself.

Lisa: There's not a whole lot of inclusion or engagement with the community, as there once was. Things have happened over the years that have not been resolved, or things have not been cleaned up. This is a really great opportunity to start cleaning up some of the things that have happened along the way. And to start re-establishing what this program stands for within the organization and within the community. Actively engaging the community in some way. I see a real isolation, in all the networks, and that's really sad. But there are tools in this community to get past all that. It takes someone who will lead it, who is going to see it, and speak open and honestly about it because I think that's missing. There is really no space to openly engage people because the first thing to come up is the past. I think already there are incredible resources here in the community to be able to move forward. I see this as a community development project just waiting to happen. I travel across the country and this community's issues are not unique. Every community goes through their own stuff and has their own things that need to be handled. If we can get back to that level of ownership, and responsibility both personally and professionally then that would start to move things. It needs to be led initially to get everyone aligned to the same purpose. That requires someone to stick their neck out and start asking the questions that may need to be asked. Where are we? What are we doing? Where do we want to go and how are we going to get there?

Lisa's interview indicates her conviction that the efforts of this generation, to continually build the foundation of open dialogue and trust, will result in community citizens willingness to participate in community healing initiatives consistent with Hollow Water's healing movement. This is hopeful. Lisa refers to community issues unresolved which alludes to personal abuse issues that remain in the community. Necessary is providing an environment in which a process of establishing authority of community justice and legal jurisdiction can be developed to address personal abuse issues that remain in the community. The professional issues that she mentions may allude to the partnership

that had previously existed between institutions that is affected by the personal issues. The community since 2006 is not effective because there is no process or political will to address the abuse that is and has been an issue within families. This inability to work through family abuse and violence as a community using a process of community governance/legal authority has reduced the effectiveness of the institutional network that once existed and has broken the actual institutional network. The leaders who represent institutions no longer meet as a way to address community issues.

Lisa: A lot of the foundation [created by CHCH] is really important to hang onto. But things evolve and people evolve. It's the law of entropy. If things stay the same, they are eventually going to go down. If there is no energy being created – to have it unfolding and growing and developing – then it starts to go down. That's where I see we are right now and I include myself in this. I have always seen this [the CHCH organization] as the heart of the community or at least that's where it was once was. Originally, it wasn't hierarchical; it was the community citizens who were at the heart of the organization because that was who CHCH serves. The conversations need to be about revitalizing or recreating something new as opposed to trying to recreate the past. Somewhere there has to be a connection between what happens in this building [the CHCH building] and what happens out there [in the community].

The interviews consistently refer to the networked organizational structure of the CHCH organization as positive; as a hub of social change. However, the interviews also consistently indicate that the new iteration of Hollow Waters requires a broader focus than domestic violence and sexual abuse, a community inclusion process, and a consistent organization management and decision-making process that includes economic sustainability, governance structures, and legal jurisdictions. This is an evolution of what was learned from 40 years experience and, yet, is consistent with the principles of the original Resource Group's healing movement.

Bellefeuille et al. (1997) recommend that an organization develop a relationship with community to provide a rich understanding of systemic issues affecting a case. As the authors state,

Develop a systemic contextual orientation toward practice. It is necessary to develop policies that accurately reflect the needs and realities of consumers and service providers. A case specific approach to practice alone will do little to address the systemic issues that come to bear on child protection cases. Therefore, bold initiatives in policy development are required and such policies must address the underlying deterrents for health and well-being. For example, health reform cannot come through treatment but may be realized through education (Bellefeuille et al., 1997:112).

This suggestion is consistent with a learning organization model that are applied to domestic violence and sexual abuse but also reflects community-defined issues and broadens an organizations purpose to address other issues experienced by community citizens, such as housing, economic development, etc. This broadening of an organizations purpose is essential for creating sustainability and interdependent support between institutions and community spheres of engagement (economic, governance, legal systems, and health). Traditionally, this communication and support toward these spheres of engagement have been through clan practices.

Healing Movement Ethical Code

All four interviewees recognize the monumental community efforts that brought about Hollow Water's healing movement and the CHCH organization. The interviews talk about the benefits of the healing movement as well as the social infrastructure created and developed over the life of the CHCH organization. While appreciating the great contributions of such a radical transformation of community individuals, families, and

institutions during the 1980s and 1990s, the succeeding generation have also been witness to the challenges that have contributed to the CHCH organizations' decline and have developed perspectives about regenerating an engaged community in a collaborative relationship with a dynamic healing/justice organization.

Robyn: *Well, I think the creation of [the CHCH was the peak of the organization] because at this time a whole community wanted to become responsible for the healing. It wasn't somebody "out there" coming to save us. It was, "we have the knowledge within our own community to do it" and we have the skills. So that was the initial birth of new life [for the community]. It was a challenge to keep that kind of enthusiasm and that kind of spark, especially when you are in a field such as sexual abuse, physical abuse, and any kind of violence or any of the negative aspects of community. It's like the initial part of, "ok we know what we want to do. We know how we are going to be responsible for the healing. We know how we are going to have it all laid out" but it is also opening up a can of worms. In the late 80s all of the secrecy [of sexual abuse] became open but at the same time people began to see how much more there was underneath. In the years that followed it became more about handling all the other stuff too. I think, to a certain extent, it was overwhelming but at the same time it was exciting because now we had this knowledge of how we could move forward as a community. Where people get stuck is that they don't have the how-to steps to get there and I think the CHCH process brought us [to this point].*

Robyn indicates that the community in the late 1980s and early 1990s was functioning exceptionally well, however, the community started to be overwhelmed by the amount of work and responsibility that was needed. Although there were extremely dedicated people that put more than their fair share into building a healthy community, the community simply needed more people engaged in full-time participation of the work beyond the sexual abuse work. The CHCH organization and the collaborative relationships with A-Team members worked very well, for the first part of the 1990s, to address individual, family, and community issues. However, by the late 1990s the CHCH organization, with the deterioration of relationships with community resources institutions

and the loss of community citizen communication, was no longer vibrant and achieving its goals. Community engagement needed to be bolstered by political support from leaders, a reordering of economic support beyond reliance on government grants, and community process of enforcing community legal jurisdictions. Community citizens, though, had the history, knowledge, and experience to transform the community through a healing approach. The community needs a critical mass of people to regenerate the transformative energy of an organization like the CHCH organization but in spheres of economics, governance, and legal jurisdictions. However, the lessons learned need to be included in any new iteration of Hollow Water's community healing movement.

Hollow Water's healing movement emerged through many obstacles to establish a networked assessment and support team (A-Team) to address community issues. The originators and the CHCH organization lay the foundation for developing a communicative community relationship. Their children observed and learned from the efforts of the previous generation who had created something with much less community structure available. The expectation was that the next generation could build much more from what the previous generation had. However, a consistent management routine and structure was still required to be realized by the originators, the CHCH organization staff, other community organizations, and the community in general. Michelle Bushie's role as the Hollow Water's Health Director reinforces her relationship with the CHCH organization; but it is one organization of many organizations in Hollow Water that are organized to prevent unhealthy community issues and behaviours from emerging,

Michelle: now we have a lot of prevention programs. I try to stay involved as much as possible with CHCH staff because they are limited in what they have. [Our programs] are more community driven so I get that input from [the CHCH organization] before I implement something here [the Health Centre]. [This makes sure that we] have a good relationship between the staff over [at the CHCH organization] and our staff here. But at the same time some of our staff here have directly worked with CHCH so it's just continuing on that road but even that is still not enough. Our population has doubled, there are a lot of social issues to deal with. If people don't understand how residential schools have impacted us they don't get why they are addicted to whatever it is. I use the school and I encourage the staff to use the school to teach our kids so that they understand [about the social root causes of community issues] whether it's addiction, health concerns or what have you.

Michelle points out that working with the CHCH is an added perspective but since the CHCH organization has been separated from other community institutions, the Healing Centre has partially taken on the role that CHCH once had, with respect to getting institutions to collaborate, and works with the other institutions to facilitate healing projects. This approach to working with community resources to recognize and address the root causes of social issues that cause a social decline are part of the original Hollow Water healing movement.

Relationship conflict issues among community citizens, according to Lisa, must be raised, affirmed, and addressed. Part of addressing relationship issues is development of community trust. It requires an agreed upon ethical code that creates a safe community environment for trust to emerge among community citizens. A way to establish community authority over governance and legal decisions.

Lisa: Funding plays a big part of this, too. In the organization that I work for, we are a non-profit charity so money is a big thing. For us we are always checking [our original purpose]. Money was offered to us from Suncor – which would have been so nice but we do a lot of our work in

[British Columbia] and there is no way we could possibly take that money because the people that we serve in that area, their lands are being devastated and they are in opposition of Suncor. We can rationalize it and create reasons for accepting the money. But when it all comes down to it and we're consulting the whole group – it's not a fit. It's not a partnership or an issue that is in line with our direction. We just don't want to take money that way. If you don't ever ask the question and don't include people in the decision then it's not a community thing. It's more of a hierarchical thing again. Then you are directing people. Every decision that's going to affect the organization is about having people involved and not to make the decision in isolation. That's the partnership. That's the trust. Maybe those things weren't paid attention to as much as it needed to be, with CHCH. And when things happened [with the CHCH organization] they were swept under the rug. When arguments happened it wasn't handled, yet everyone knew it, everyone felt it. Not handling the small things really affects the bigger [organization]. Imagine that there were agreements [under which] everybody worked; like everybody agrees to be on time. Say another one is – everyone agrees to solve conflicts quickly and be responsible. It's like a code of ethics but it's not. It's a code of relationship. It's about, "this is how we need to be in relationship with each other" because any other way is not going to work as effectively; and you can see it. You can see the withholding. And withholding is a huge one.

Again, Lisa illustrates that there were issues with the CHCH organization that were not managed, resolved or even raised. Decision-making, according to Lisa, needs a code of relationship with community citizens. A relationship between people that recognizes ethical conflicts that can emerge that can disrupt effectiveness of an organization or trust in a community (Lisa uses the example of whether or not to accept funds from an organization that was in conflict with the community). At this point in the interview Lisa introduces the word "withholding" which refers to a passive-aggressive non-participation of open engagement toward healing. Withholding refers to holding on to resentment and refraining from communicating one's feelings to others.

Lisa: *In the organization I'm working with right now, once you are part of it, withholding is not an option. You give up the right to withhold. We also give up the right to be offended. Because if at the bottom line of what I'm sharing with you is true, it comes from my commitment to contributing to*

you; all I want is to contribute to you and support you to move forward, then you would have no cause to be offended by that [comment]. Even something as simple as calling people to be responsible for being late. For me being late is a big, big issue. So even today where I am within the RTS [Returning To Spirit] organization if I'm on a call and I'm 3 minutes late, everyone calls me on it. I apologize and I clean it up. But that's what I expect from them and that's what they expect from me. There has to be a different level of relationship that is created between partners. Where I hold you to that and you hold me to that. And when we break our agreements we complete it and we move on. But there's a support and a commitment in that, as well, that is generated from within. That was the initial partnership that was originally intended from way back to the creation story. There is a level of being with each other that we've forgotten how to do and that's 'the disconnect'. And if you can repair that, the rest will unfold.

Lisa indicates that often, community citizens do not raise issues, take responsibility for behaviours, or address issues that are regularly occurring in the community. This abdication of responsibility of personal behaviours has had a considerable detrimental effect on trust and it relates to the issue of “walking your talk” that was raised in the *What Goes Around Comes Around* report. According to Lisa, often community citizens take on a victim mentality in which they blame others for negative experiences in their lives. They would rather hold on to something that they are angry about rather than raising the issue with the other person who may have hurt them. This leads to resentment and gossip rather than addressing what one is holding on to. In reference to the state of Hollow Water First Nation at the time of the interviews (2011) Lisa states,

***Lisa:** yes, there's room open for what we want to create. Right now [there are a lot of unresolved issues] and I see that as a place of opportunity to really clean up [resolve] that stuff. I think that needs to happen before anything else. Otherwise, it's trying to empower someone on top of whole bunch of disempowerment. So, all that stuff is underneath all the resentment, all the stuff that's being withheld, all the hurts, and all the anger. And you're trying to come along and trying to “recreate ourselves” on top of all that? Well, it doesn't work, so well. The stuff underneath will always come up. There are programs out there that handle just that. I know because I lead one of them. So, I think Returning to Spirit has a huge part play. Initially, getting people on the same page and start telling the truth*

about what's there for them. There are tools there for completing [issues] for themselves and taking responsibility. Because that's what's missing. People being able to take responsibility for what's going on in their own minds and their own lives. So, I can really see us playing a big role in it. I don't see Returning to Spirit leading it [the new emergence of Hollow Water's healing movement]. I see us being a part of it, I think that's our part to play initially. But like anything you can't do it alone, right?

Lisa alludes to the communication skills facilitated by Returning to Spirit which can provide an initial way of learning how to communicate hurts between community citizens and this is a good place to initially develop a sense of safety and trust in community. However, she understands the limitations of the Returning to Spirit program and indicates more skills need to be developed for the community to re-emerge as a healthy community working toward a common vision. Bellefeuille et al. (1997) concur with Lisa's view that community citizens need to examine their own perceptions (mental models) and align with a more holistic, collaborative, and accept self-responsibility, as they state,

mental models that emphasize reductionism, competition, and dominance are more likely to establish structures that are simplistic and fragmented. Mental models that emphasize holism, partnership, and self-responsibility are more likely to establish structures that are decentralized, integrated, and intersectoral in nature. Taking it a step further, organizational structures that have a fragmented, departmentalized, and centralized orientation are more likely to implement programs which are organizationally-based, specialized, and expert driven. Conversely, organizational structures that have a holistic, partnership, self-responsibility perspective will more likely implement programs that are community-based, multi-sectoral, and consumer driven in nature (Bellefeuille et al., 1997:32-33).

As I indicated earlier in chapter 4, a key part of Hollow Water's healing movement is to create a safe place for people to communicate and disclose information about abuses experienced in the community. The interviewees have the skills and are building a foundation to create safe spaces to discuss and address individual, family, and community

issues within the community. However, this has not yet translated to the CHCH organization and the A-Team.

CHCH Staff Burnout

According to Couture, “staff responsibilities included: group and individual healing and treatment work, case conferencing, one-on-one counseling, home therapy visits, justice system requirements, public relations and travel” (2001:82). Couture goes on to describe the caseload of the CHCH workers as very heavy with a ratio of 1 staff member to 23 people composed of victimizers, victims, and their respective family members compared to federal prisons the ratio is one staff member to 1.8 offenders (2001:82).

Staff responsibilities for the year of 2000 included:

- 143 client circles with after-circle debriefing; staff sharing circles Monday morning as required.
- 481 individual sessions (one to four hours in duration) inclusive of counseling, anger management, inner child therapy, sweatlodge and traditional ceremonies.
- 195 case conferences with other agencies and organizations (i.e. RCMP, legal aid, lawyers, school personnel, treatment centers, Child and Family Services, probation and parole, HWFN Chief and Council, psychologists, NADAP and the school nurse).
- 173 home visits.
- each worker facilitates one treatment group per week throughout the year. Seven groups are held weekly.

- Requests for information and presentations.
- As well as, organizing other events such as Sentencing Circles every two years, participation in Black Island Days, community fast, sacred fires, etc.

Consequently, there has been a concern for burnout of the CHCH staff. According to the interviews the CHCH staff has burned out and there is no plan to reduce occupational stress or replace CHCH staff, even in a temporary capacity. The board of directors are part-time and, like other CHCH organization issues, there is a lack of leadership and enforcement of decisions. Michelle indicates such when she states,

***Michelle:** I know [CHCH] have Robyn and Marcel as co-directors but they are also employees here [at the health centre]. They are not devoting their full-time to over there [CHCH], too. There is no lead to give them direction and nobody wants to step up to say we need to do this. That just adds to the burnout because they don't have any direction. I feel for them because I think CHCH is an awesome program and I think it could be self-sustaining.*

It is unsurprising the CHCH has suffered from burnout. Over the years the amount of work and the erosion of support have resulted in a retreat of staff efforts and contributed to the demise of the CHCH organization. The lack of community sharing of CHCH organization activities had a negative effect on community support for the CHCH organization. This lack of support contributed to CHCH staff burnout as Lisa suggests,

***Lisa:** I was a client here you know when I was 12... 13 I think I was one of the first clients here [CHCH]. And I remember they put me through all sorts of stuff. You know trying to help me. Up until I was 18. Then I took all these other courses, too, the counselling courses and I really saw myself as being here [as a CHCH counsellor] one day. I was inspired by the [CHCH] workers. I wanted to work and contribute to this amazing cause. And then something happened and that changed. I don't know what it was that changed but something did. Even today I hardly feel welcome. Something's altered. That's sad. I don't know what it is but I think people started to get really tired. I think people started feeling they weren't being supported. Everybody gave up in their own little way. It quickly became a cloud that*

hangs over a building. But it's not permanent and that's what I hold onto. It's not permanent! It can be altered. Very quickly!

Lisa indicates that she was inspired by the CHCH organization but at some point she (and possibly other community citizens) recognized that the CHCH organization was no longer enacting its original intent and purpose. It had lost credibility in the community because it was no longer working with community institutions, practicing its own healing model process with community families, or raising issues that needed to be resolved.

Healing Movement Mentorship

There is a definite need for developing a mentorship program for the CHCH organization, which was indicated by the CHCH organization staff, other community institutions as well as the succeeding generation. However, this seems to be absent from the original training as H stated in Chapter five, “A component was missing all the way through – and that was the mentorship. I think there wasn’t enough mentorship. There was talk of it but there was never any action. It just was never applied. We were learning through the training. When people started to burn-out, we didn’t have a cushion; nothing to fall back on. No young people trained as we were going along”. Robyn further supports the idea that the focus was not on the succession planning for the CHCH organization,

***Robyn:** I don't think the focus was on passing down the knowledge of what the original creation [of the CHCH organization] was. I think it was expanding on the programs that were already in place that we could offer. That's where the focus was. For CHCH and the organization of it, the training and the passing on of the training [to other generations] hasn't been focused on. As much as the government says this is what needs to happen, our funding hasn't materialized. We have been applying for grants to do exactly [train for succession] but we have yet to receive funding. Right now CHCH is funded Federally and Provincially and that is an issue in itself because it is all government funding. Part of my position is to look for outside grants and funding that we can bring in above and beyond what we*

bring in at the present time. At the present time we don't get funding for our directors roles. We've taken it on as part of our other positions so that the program can keep running effectively. It's definitely one of the challenges. At the same time people need to eat and have a place to live.

Regardless, a mentorship is happening within the Health Centre that is beneficial to community citizens. Although, Health Centre mentorship is not quite the role of the CHCH organization there is overlap and Michelle's efforts to construct mentorship roles will benefit Hollow Water's healing movement. An important aspect is developing a history of Hollow Water's healing movement and the CHCH organization.

Michelle: *we need to make [the CHCH organization history] real [for the next generations]. That's partly why we are making a genealogy study because we want to find out our clan system from there, too. But we need to document family charts and we have students working with us on that too. So we're trying to get those students as engaged as possible because when I was a teen I wish that was there for me. Residential School has been here and our kids need to know why. I know it's something that they'll be talking to the school about because it is social studies.*

Many of the interviews recommended that a new role be cast for the CHCH staff because the community would definitely benefit from the wealth of experience that these people have. As well a new mentorship role could create new energy for the CHCH staff. As Michelle states,

Michelle: *We need to say to the CHCH staff, "you've been doing this for so long; I think what you guys need to do is [record] what you've done over the past couple of years for someone who's going to replace you. [The community] has evolved. There are different charges that you deal with but it's good for [your clients] to know CHCH history and the specific families [you worked with] and what part you want to assist in [the new CHCH organization]? Obviously, you guys like to be involved in the community fast and I think you guys would be awesome in helping with that. Because you've been working in this [area] for so long, maybe you could work in some of the health programs and look at [community health] from a different lens. Because I see that you guys are struggling and I see that you need a different outlook on something else and maybe it will give you a different zest or something". So that's part of the goal, too. Trying to get them involved in some of our other projects. They could bring their clients too because it's not for specific people; it's for all the community. Like the genealogy study that's a huge task in itself and we need a lot of people because right now we have a lot of Elders doing the historical part prior to the 60s until now.*

But now we are going into the archives because there's a lot of things that we would like to have in the interpretive center that is specific to our community.

Historical analysis is important to understand the social structure of a particular society. History provides the background for all social interaction to exist. The patterns that individuals exhibit in society are based on the historicity of a society. Most people interact with each other without much thought or attention to specific reasons why they interact in such a way. Berger and Luckmann call this aspect of human behaviour, “the social stock of knowledge” (1966). This social stock of knowledge has its own logic that is manifested through social interaction. Within analysis of an institution, “it is impossible to understand an institution adequately without an understanding of the historical process in which it was produced. Institutions also, by the very fact of their existence, control human conduct by setting up predefined patterns of conduct, which channel it in one direction as against many other directions that would theoretically be possible” (Berger and Luckmann 1966:54-55).

The succeeding generation indicated in the interviews that they are struggling with community engagement and teaching future generations. They are aware of the importance of their specific history and are working toward expressing their own contribution to Hollow Water's healing movement as it is transmitted from one generation to the next.

***Fabian:** So, everybody is moving and CHCH people are getting older and they've been telling us probably for ten years that, “eventually your going to have to do this or learn about it” and I've been like, “yeah, whatever, it's not for me”. But I'm now learning more about our culture and everything and I'm realizing I have to learn those things because who is going to teach my kids those values? Those games? Or our history? Or*

anything? Like learning about our history is a big thing. Before I just took it for granted like, “why do I have to learn about the past? It doesn’t affect me”. But now I think, “yeah it does [affect me]”. Everything that happened before, kind of snowballed into the way that I was brought up, the way that my parents were brought up, my grandparents. Now I’m like, “yeah you have to know what went on back then”. You have to teach your kids what went on back then so they know where they came from; because it give you an identity. I’m just soaking up everything. I used to read crap but now I read stuff that has meaning behind it.

The interviews indicate a strong view that the community must take on personal responsibility and engagement in the daily interaction and decision-making that determine the direction and life experience of the community. According to the interviews, the institutional networking relationship needs to change, the community must take responsibility for their actions, and the community must be engaged in healthy communication, learning, and decision-making. The interviews suggest that the succeeding generation is building a foundation for these changes in providing a focus on individual skill development, developing community relationships, as well as, working against community dependency and facilitating community responsibility.

Transformational Leadership

How does transmission of organizational values from one person to another? How do people share a set of values? According to Brown and Treviño, “the ‘process’ by which leaders successfully convey values to followers remains ambiguous and the values-based leadership literature has done little to help us understand the values transmission process. Researchers are just beginning to focus on how this process works – how leaders and followers come to share a set of values” (Brown and Treviño 2003:156). Although Brown and Treviño use the terms “leaders” and “followers”, these terms often have a connotation

that corresponds to Western perceptions of power relations. Hollow Water community citizens and specifically those that I interviewed may approach such terms with disdain. As Robyn states later in this section, *“it isn’t in our nature to have someone who is dominant and someone who is beneath, but that’s the way the systems are set up in our communities. You look at the Indian Act – this is the higher person and this is the lower person. People who are responsible and people who are dependent”* (Robyn Hall personal communication). However, I believe that Brown and Treviño do not intend to raise these connotations, specifically with their description of “transformative leaders”. The basic premise of transformational leadership is that everyone can lead; it is, at its heart, a participatory process of creative collaboration and transformation for mutual benefit (Montuori and Donnelly 2017:1). Transformational leaders increase the follower’s sense of identity to a project and to the collective identity of the organization; raise interest in a project by modeling behaviour for followers; challenge followers to accept greater ownership for their work; and understand followers skill capacities, providing an opportunity for the leader to align followers with tasks that enhance their performance. As Brown and Treviño state,

transformational leaders are thought to understand and satisfy their followers’ lower-level existence needs, allowing them to focus on their followers’ higher-level growth needs. They are also thought to move followers to higher stages of moral development, by directing their attention to important principles and end values such as justice and equality. Burns suggested that transformational leadership could be measured by the degree to which followers and leaders share these common end values (although we know of no published empirical research that has documented this). Developing shared values in concert with followers was an important element of transformational leadership for Burns, because transformational leaders were not manipulative. He assumed that followers were capable of choosing among leaders and agendas and would follow those leaders whose values were most deserving of their support. Thus, Burns’ approach suggests a kind of mutual influence process whereby transformational

leaders are sensitive to and satisfy the needs and values of their subordinates while inspiring them to focus on higher-level needs and moral values (Brown and Treviño 2003:158).

Brown and Treviño detail the behaviours characteristic of transformational leadership that illustrate a philosophy of community empowerment,

transformational leaders influence followers through four types of transformational behaviours – individualized consideration, intellectual stimulation, idealized influence, and inspirational motivation. Individualized consideration means that transformational leaders look beyond their own needs and care about the needs of individual followers. Transformational leaders are mentors and coaches to their direct reports helping them to develop. Intellectual stimulation suggests that transformational leaders encourage followers to challenge the status quo and question critical ideas and assumptions. Followers are not so blinded by their attraction to the leader or compliant with his or her directives that they are afraid to speak out when necessary. Transformational leaders are charismatic, having idealized influence on followers who see the leader and his or her mission as embodying values that are morally good and worthy of emulation. Finally, transformational leaders use inspirational motivation, offering exciting value-laden visions of the future that encourage followers to join them in their pursuit. Transformational leaders earn their followers’ trust through these core behaviours (Brown and Treviño 2003:159).

In the interviews, I perceive these representatives as practicing transformative leadership; they experience meaningful commitment to their work, they build a foundation of trust and support through daily interactions with people, they challenge the status quo and encourage others to be critical of ideas and assumptions, and they lead collaborative actions so people focus on higher moral values. The following sections focus on the succeeding generations perceptions of collective identity consolidated around facilitating community, institutional, and youth engagement.

Robyn: *[Dependent people] are afraid of letting go of dependency because it is the not knowing. They have no idea of what that [empowerment] is going to look like. They think, “all I know is dependency. If I let go of that what is going to happen?” It is a fear. But at the same time it is exciting and I think at the beginning of CHCH that is what it was. Looking at how*

Valdie had [organized] that with, “I have no idea what this is going to look like but I’m going to do it” [attitude]. That was the whole idea of CHCH when it first began; “we are not going to go with the dominant or dependent part, we are going to be responsible and step into new ground”.

Robyn describes the challenges she sees in working with community citizens who hold tightly to a learned dependency and the fear it represents. The goal is to encourage and assist community citizens to embrace the responsibility, embrace the fear and do it anyway.

Robyn: *Always give responsibility back – that’s a major one. Not taking [on the] responsibility for your clients but always giving them options because people always need to know that they have a choice. Always give them that choice of responsibility. A lot of times people get mixed up in what it means to take care of people. Taking care of people does not mean taking on their responsibilities. Taking care of people is giving people the choice of being responsible and assisting them in doing that. So I think that in the training it’s training counselors to coach people to be responsible and what that looks like. And sometimes what it looks like, what they need to hear is total honesty. Telling people, “ok this is what it looks like when you are dependent and this is what it will look like when you are responsible”. A lot of times people are oblivious to their own actions and what it looks like to other people. That is why I say tell the truth about what you see. It’s like when you are doing something totally crazy and you think people don’t see it because they don’t tell you. But as soon as someone else sees it and they are able to tell you [that you are doing something totally crazy] from a different perspective then it’s a big disruption [to your ego/psyche]. I think that’s a big part of the training that needs to happen. With the counseling, at what level can you disrupt the dependency?*

When it comes to encouraging community citizens to take responsibility for their actions the client’s initial reaction is shifting responsibility to the counsellor. Robyn explains the move toward encouraging community responsibility and an often seen avoidance response to community issues.

Robyn: *Take the probationary part. Say if a client did not fulfill their conditions – out in the community it is no longer [seen as that clients] responsibility – it [becomes], “how come the CHCH worker didn’t [fulfill the requirements of a clients conditions]”. [Community] people are shifting responsibility. The responsibilities of the CHCH workers [is] to give*

responsibility back to the community. At the same time I can see how it can become overwhelming because the dependency [in the community] is very strong. It is a mindset that the minute you [give responsibility back to the community] people will [respond with avoiding responsibility] if it is not continually coached.

There are multiple areas that work together that affect whether empowerment does or does not emerge. One area is community responsibility and accountability. If community citizens are fearful of accepting responsibility of their actions and keeping others accountable for their actions then they tacitly accept an unjust society, whether or not they privately (or publicly) criticize, oppose, and protest. According to the interviews, community citizens must act toward accepting responsibility and keeping others accountable in order to create community empowerment.

According to Friere, “the oppressed, having internalized the image of the oppressor and adopted his guidelines, are fearful of freedom. Freedom would require them to eject this image and replace it with autonomy and responsibility. Freedom is acquired by conquest, not by gift. It must be pursued constantly and responsibly” (Friere 1970:47). Hollow Water has made great gains toward a community-driven transformation of community institutions, community citizens, and influencing Western justice philosophy. However, there is work to do to communicate to the community, to engage community in healing/justice, re-establish the networked relationships among community institutions, and overcome the pedagogy of the oppressed.

Institutional Engagement

Finding a way to resolve resistance, non-cooperation, and conflict is especially important for a functioning multi-sectored approach to community issues. Since the early 2000s the community institutional resources have been sporadically working together. This is a troubling development for the legitimacy of the CHCH organization, especially if the view of the CHCH organization is to facilitate communication, planning, and actions between all community institutions and the community-at-large.

Perhaps part of the issue stems from the life of an organization. In order for a movement to start there needs to be a charismatic individual or group to motivate the larger group toward a vision. As the group realizes aspects of themselves and their community they begin to transform their lives toward a new understanding. However, as the movement impacts institutional structures a new philosophical structure is needed to shift from initiating change to managing sustainability. Perhaps this is what happened with Hollow Water's healing movement as it influenced institutional change. Hollow Water's healing movement needed a new focus on managing the sustainability of the organizational healing and justice structure, as well as the authority for economic sustainability, governance, and legal jurisdiction.

Michelle: the breakdown between CHCH and CFS has greatly impacted the silos' programs and services [community institutions have become isolated again]. I worked with my cousin who works for CFS and we see a lot of gaps with people in the community. That's what I mean when I say, "you have restorative justice, you have the CFS, you have the Health Centre, you need to figure out – with all the resources [that] we have at the table – what we can do for our own programming here that meets all those [community] needs"? Not only for our kids, youth and families but everybody that wants to be a part of that. Including Elders and even

workers. But getting back to that whole system of a creating a unified program [a shared vision through a team], CFS is a big player because their clientele is our people that are struggling; families, children, youth – and we've made a commitment to [help] them. We can't leave it solely on CHCH [responsibility]. Our [Health Centre] programs have to be involved. CFS, they've evolved as well and there's other things we can tap into to make [reconstruction of the A-Team] happen. So that was our original commitment. We have more people we can bring to the table but I figure if we did not have the experience of working with CHCH or even that knowledge we wouldn't be [where] we are today.

Bellefeuille et al. (1997) suggest that organizational operations and structures, such as power structures and responsibilities need to be shared, much like what the CHCH organization accomplished with the A-team and networking with community resources in the early 1990s. The authors indicate that,

in order for policy and practice to be integrated, organizational operations and structures also need to change. Child and family service organizations need fewer levels of bureaucracy and require that leadership, power, and responsibility for addressing service needs be shared. Program development should take place in teams that involve front line practitioners, program developers, supervisors, and recipients of the service. Leadership needs to be democratic and participatory rather than controlling and authoritarian. There has to be a clear vision at all levels of the organization and an understanding of the vital role each aspect of the organization plays in each aspect of the organization plays in realizing new ways. Clear and consistent links with the consumers of the service and clear partnerships with communities, funders, and service providers must be forged. Proactive, positive, ongoing learning must be promoted at all levels (individual, organizational, and community). Leadership must be close at hand and connected to the community in order to mobilize community citizens to realize their shared vision. This requires leaders that persist unreasonably, practice with integrity, care for those they lead, and, of course, are constantly learning (Bellefeuille et al., 1997:113).

Hollow Water's healing movement and the CHCH organization has certainly influenced how institutions relate to each other in addressing community issues holistically from a multi-sectored approach. The experience of having the CHCH organization as a part of the community history that worked exceptionally well to address key issues in the

community has amplified the loss of the multi-sectored approach of community institutions. Currently, many of the actions to healing community also have a continuing aspect of building a foundation to reconstruct the positive aspects of the CHCH organization. Namely, creating paths of self-care practices and support for people who work to assess and address community issues, creating a safe space for people to share, creating trusting environment in which people work, establishing supportive relationships between community institutions, and recreating communication between community institutions and the community-at-large.

Funding Challenges

Sustainability includes financial sustainability to ensure that the CHCH organization is funded to ensure proper application of programming to community justice and healing. There is definitely frustration with relying on government funding and the subsequent reports and justifications to these funding sources. An important consideration is to have a full-time position available to search and apply for funding to address community-defined issues as they are identified through multiple funding sources. Perhaps this will also include a fee-for-service aspect of the next iteration of the organization to make it sustainable.

Robyn explains how all the available community programs affect community justice; whether it is probation, intervention, prevention or aftercare is not understood by the various systems that fund the CHCH organizations community activities. Building

clients' social environment toward a healthy balance requires multiple approaches from multiple community organizations.

Robyn: *Well, going back to what I said about dependency. The program is funded Federally and Provincially through the Justice program. It's almost like dependency has been created again because these programs [Federal and Provincial governments] are funding us. These are the ones that we need to make happy but that should not limit us. We did just have this conversation with our funders and they were asking what holistic health is and how justice played a factor in that. For the Federal government it was a little easier, surprisingly, to explain that. But the Provincial government, they could not wrap their head around it. How health played a factor in justice, how education played a factor in justice, how housing played a factor in justice, how anything, how social services, how all of that stuff [impacted community justice]. Take for instance health services, our justice clients or probationary clients are accessing mental health, public health, parenting training – but probationary services is not paying for any of that. All of these other programs are paying out but they are all servicing the same client. That is a piece of the pie of holistic health. And then you have education and justice people saying, “we are not funding any of that”. As a community we say, “we are not cutting people off because you guys don't want to fund it. We are still going to provide it to them”. The great benefit that you have, as a service, is that those services are available to your clients no matter if the governments are going to fund them or not.*

Robyn explains that the funding as it currently exists is too dependent on Federal and Provincial contribution agreements creates a kind of institutional dependency in that the funded organization works to meet the specific goals of the funding organization. However, if an organization works toward the goals of the community, the holistic healing needs of a client are met but the funding organization does not recognize the importance of the community healing concepts. For example, if a client is in need of a house to have a consistent place to sleep, funding to get client housing would be funded be under a program of justice.

Evolution of the Healing Movement

The interviewees perceive a resurgence of Indigenous identity among Indigenous peoples, as well as an environment to communicate and work with Settler society and its institutions. An emphasis was placed on being clear about one's own identity and being able to clearly express this identity to others. The next generation is aware of the skills and principles that need to be developed to create a foundation for the next iteration of Hollow Water's healing movement. I asked the interviewees if they thought the CHCH organization or Hollow Water's healing movement would emerge in another form.

Robyn: I think so. I do. I'll use myself as an example. For my education, it was in criminal justice and corrections. I went out to learn about the outside systems. Not so much so that I could work for the outside systems, but so that I could work with the outside system. I think there is a lot more of that [perspective], where our identity is getting to be a lot stronger and it is not being overtaken by the dominant society but learning to work with them. I think that's the new generation coming up and doing that. It is taking the strengths from the older generation and learning how to do that. I realized very young that I don't think the same way as the mainstream society. My concepts, my values are totally different. At first I saw it as a scary thing. I was different but I've come to embrace it because I came back to my community and I can see it in other people too. So I know that it is not just me, it's the way that our people think. It's collectively. It's moving forward together rather than individually.

Battiste and Henderson bolster Robyn's view when they indicate that, "fundamental to Indigenous knowledge is the awareness that beyond the immediate sensible world of perception, memory, imagination, and feelings lies another world from which knowledge, ability, or medicine is derived and on which Indigenous peoples depend to survive and flourish. The complementary modes of knowing and caring about the sensory and the spiritual realms inform the essence of Indigenous knowledge. This way of knowing has been continually transmitted in the oral tradition from the spirits to the elders

and from the elders to the youth through spiritual teachings” (Battiste and Henderson 2000:49).

Robyn: *People have a concept of what CHCH was like at its prime. In today's era, we have come a long way in offering programs and working with governments and being responsible. But when people are immersed in one area for a long time they get overwhelmed and the law of entropy starts to happen where [the CHCH organization] does feel like it is [declining]. People don't see the benefits of it because often, things seem the same to them. Today, we are adapting from what happened in the late 1980s. Before it was all about alcoholism and sexual abuse but now we have harsher drugs coming in we have gang relations coming in. Each generation also has its own challenges. [The older generation] have the attitude, "our generation was always better". Everybody has that notion. Same with CHCH, as the employees are of an older generation reflecting back saying, "if only you had what we had when we were kids". In a sense CHCH is adapting but I think people are expecting it to adapt at a faster pace.*

Michelle talks about working toward instilling community responsibility among community citizens. The community health resources have been developing, are vibrant, and established. There are ecological resources, community ceremonial activities, and counseling support that are accessible and used within the community. Asked if the CHCH organization will remain in its current form, she replied,

Michelle: *I think if we go that route [a new iteration of Hollow Water's healing movement], it wouldn't be the original way it was, but it would be better because [the CHCH organization] would be one part of it. That's what I think of a community-driven initiative, everyone coming together. A lot of our people, way back, weren't as educated. People had to leave [Hollow Water], due to housing shortages people couldn't move back. Now our population is close to 1000, a lot of our educated people are coming back and they want to work and help our people.*

Although Michelle recognizes that the CHCH organization that emerged from the Wanipigow Resource Group is now isolated, the CHCH staff have gone, or are burned out, and the organization is no longer effective. She indicates that a new generation has been educated and willing to return to the community to build the community. Robyn talks about

the skills, perspective, and experience that is emerging and becoming established among succeeding generations. She describes a process similar to Senge's "learning organization"; an organization working to adapt and grow.

***Robyn:** There has to be a handing over or a letting go of certain things too, with the next generation coming up. But at the same time it does take a special skill set, too. So it's always keeping our eyes open as to what that is going to look like. Because a lot of our [CHCH] employees are getting to the age where they are nearing retirement but we don't have any kind of system set up to bring in new employees or new recruits of any kind. We don't have anything set up for that. We have never had to do it before, either. CHCH was created exactly like that; there was nothing like it before. For me it has been almost a, "stepping into it". I wasn't recruited, per se. I had the interest and I had the educational background. We can't have someone from the outside coming in and taking over. It wouldn't work. You need to understand the community at a certain dynamic, you need to understand the community history. It would be interesting if each one of the counselors took on a mentorship role to see what that would look like. The way that I think, [working with CHCH] just seemed natural for me. For our generation, it's a common thing where a lot of our identity is now is starting to be solidified in us. I understand that there is a lot out there that needs to be done. But as to where we were in the early 1970s and early 1980s I think we are [currently] leaps and bounds ahead of that. There is a new way of thinking and we need to acknowledge that. We need to incorporate that thinking and that is the most important aspect of growing an organization. Otherwise, if everything stays the same and doesn't adapt in any way, then it will be the downfall of the organization. The positions or the hats that I wear in the community, I don't label them as my job, they are part of my life. It's not only important to me but to my family, my kids, it's how I contribute.*

Robyn's comments that the positions in which she works in the community are not her job, they are a part of her life is significant. These comments indicate a strong personal commitment to Hollow Water's healing movement; something that is important for the development of the learning organization. Bellefeuille et al. (1997) recommend developing various strategies to increase personal self-reflection and clarification of personal meaning as an employee of a learning organization. Personal mastery is already exhibited by the

succeeding generation as can be inferred from the interviews. Bellefeuille et al. recommend that the learning organization,

develop strategies that increase personal mastery levels in staff. Personal mastery differs from both skill-based training and personal development. Personal mastery involves a process of self-reflection with the aim of clarifying what is important. It enhances an individual's ability to negotiate meanings and purposes instead of passively accepting the social realities defined by others and has the potential for profoundly changing the way individuals make sense of their experiences. Individuals with a high degree of personal mastery are more committed, more innovative, have a deeper and broader sense of responsibility in their work, learn faster, and are life-long learners (Bellefeuille et al., 1997:113-114).

Battiste and Henderson discuss the differences between Indigenous view of knowledge and Western views of knowledge. Indigenous knowledge is an appreciatively warm spiritual relationship that is cultivated through community collaboration; Western knowledge is cold, objective, secular, and detached often cultivated through the efforts of individuals. As they state, "the process of cognitive transmission reveals another important aspect of Indigenous knowledge: its transmission is intimate and oral; it is not distant or literate. Indigenous peoples view their languages as forms of spiritual identity. In them are the lessons and knowledge that are the cognitive-spiritual power of a certain group of people in a specific place, passed on through the elders for their survival. Any attempt to change Indigenous language is an attempt to modify or destroy Indigenous knowledge and the people to whom this knowledge belongs" (Battiste and Henderson 2000:49-50).

Creating an Empowered Environment

The succeeding generation is building the foundation for healthy systems and healthy relationships to emerge within the community; this takes a significant amount of time to build community trust and support. Again, it is a multi-sectored approach that

works to promote individual, family, institutional, and community accountability and responsibility. It is essential to build this foundation since community trust has been disrupted between people, families, institutions, and community as a whole with the decline of the CHCH organization and the loss of regular A-team meetings. The Health Centre seems to be an ideal place for trust to emerge in the community because of the high number of employees that are available and the high number of programs that operate through the Health Centre. The Health Centre employees are also dynamic in terms of their engagement of continual learning, the staff work well together, and are cognizant of current ethical practices in health.

Hollow Water's Health Center is actively preparing employees to accept new responsibilities, to be actively engaged with community citizens, as well as, with each other in developing new community initiatives. As Bellefeuille et al. (1997) recommend,

research and development activities are to occur within the context of team learning. Team learning shifts the focus from individual staff members to the team as a whole. It entails moving from a system of centralized decision making to one that encourages initiative and innovation from teams that are willing to assume more responsibility. Team learning promotes creative synergy which results in co-creation of change and requires trust and being in relationship with others (Bellefeuille et al., 1997:114).

Yukl and Lepsinger concur with Michelle's comments on Hollow Water's Health Centre's commitment to building trust, communication, and working together within the community. When trust, communication, and vision are shared among all members of an organization an ideological foundation is built. Yukl and Lepsinger indicate that,

a primary responsibility of leadership at the top is to help members come together in support of a shared purpose or mission for the organization. A primary responsibility for the leadership at middle and lower levels is to build support for the core ideology by ensuring that it is clear and by

explicitly using it to guide decisions and actions. When decisions are made, the ideals and values should be emphasized more than the policies, rules, and procedures that supposedly reflect them. In other words, the ‘spirit of the law’ should be emphasized more than the ‘letter of the law’ when the two are not consistent. Otherwise, rules and procedures are too easily twisted to support actions or objectives that are not consistent with ideals and values (Yukl and Lepsinger 2004:219)

Hollow Water’s Health Centre is characteristically a learning organization. It is creating favourable conditions for the emergence of a next iteration of Hollow Water’s healing movement. As I indicated in Chapter 2, learning organizations understand, “primary responsibility for leadership is not limited to top management or the human resources department. It is a key responsibility of leaders at all levels and in all subunits to help create favourable conditions for leadership development. These leaders must support developmental programs and enhance leadership development with relevant direct behaviours such as coaching, mentoring, supporting, recognizing, and empowering” (Yukl and Lepsinger 2004:221).

The creation and continual maintenance of an empowered work environment provides recurrent opportunities for a learning organization and a community to thrive. As Bellefeuille et al. (1997) recommend,

create a work environment and organizational structure that promote continuous learning, self-responsibility, proactive creative development, power sharing, and visionary thinking. This involves structural, operational, and leadership changes. In particular, interpersonal and team environments must be developed so that creative interactions around issues can provide opportunities for leadership to emerge and change to happen” (Bellefeuille et al., 1997:114).

And further recommend,

empower communities to take ownership and responsibility for supporting the development of healthy children and families. Child and family service

organizations need to create the context that allows, indeed demands, communities to address child and family matters. At times this will mean 'getting out of the way' and trusting in the outcome of a guided community planning process. At other times this will mean 'deliberately interacting' with the community to help them take on their responsibilities" (Bellefeuille et al., 1997:114-115).

Those interviewed have considered the shift of power relations that is emerging. They are aware that they are going to be responsible to keep the culture alive and understand that it is they that have to pay attention and learn about what is being shown to them through the older generation. As Fabian points out, the experiential learning is important to really understand the practical aspects of the culture. Experiential learning provides opportunities for community participation and engagement that often result in stronger connections and relationships with community citizens, revitalization of one's identity, and a deeper understanding of the past.

***Fabian:** I don't think there is a way of teaching that stuff where you can actually sit down and teach the way it's been taught; lectures and stuff. You can't learn the stuff that way. It's got to be hands-on. You have to experience everything and that's how you learn that. If you are not involved then [you're missing something]. So that's where I am, I know that I have to learn that stuff but I've always taken a back seat to it, sitting back watching. Now, I got to be more involved.*

Daily community interactions and values expressed by leaders impact the development of an organizational environment in which people work. As Yukl and Lepsinger state, "leaders can influence the organization culture over time by the values they espouse and by their actions, including what they pay attention to, what they recognize and reward, and how they react to problems and mistakes. To create a culture in which innovation and learning are genuinely respected and rewarded, leaders at all levels need to demonstrate in their own behaviour an openness to new ideas, a willingness to take risks, and a total commitment to continuous learning" (Yukl and Lepsinger 2004:97).

***Fabian:** I want to live here I want to make the community better. We have everything we need here. If I want anything let's bring it here is the way I'm thinking now. Why do we have to go out to get it. There is enough of us here we could do it ourselves here. I think I fell into the right area. It's all finding contacts, networks, my whole job is meeting people. How can you help me? How can I help you? It just worked out. I'm always writing proposals to find money. That's what I'm doing now.*

Summary

The next generation of Hollow Water's healing movement seem to be building the foundations of a learning organization despite the moribund state of Hollow Water's healing movement and the reduction of the CHCH organization's responsibility to victimizers, victim's, associated family, and community. The Adam Hardisty Clinic is drawing on Hollow Water's healing movement past by achieving foundational results desired by the community citizens through planning and action manifest in current programming. From the lessons they have learned throughout their lives, through the dramatic shift from Hollow Water's healing movement in the community during the mid-1980s, the development of a shared network of community institutions, again during mid-1980s, to the establishment of the Community Holistic Circle Healing during the 1990s, and the rejuvenation of ceremonial life during the late 1990s, the succeeding generations have developed an understanding of themselves in relationship to others.

The succeeding generation are appreciative of the CHCH organization and have instilled a unique perspective of the CHCH organizations foundational philosophy. They are realizing how others look at them with the expectation of accepting responsibility for Hollow Water's healing movement succession. They have personally experienced the shift from a chaotic society to a healthy society that protects their children. They are comfortable

discussing community sexual abuse and are aware that others must also feel safe to discuss these issues. The Adam Hardisty Clinic delivers several programs that engage clients in discussions about preventative measures for sexual abuse, addressing and counselling clients who are or have experienced domestic violence. They are much more organized than the CHCH organization and have a multiple sourced funding base. They work closely with the CHCH organization and offer health services beyond the mandate of the CHCH organization. They also have an understanding of the necessity of community and institutional support for an organization that accepts the role of identifying community issues, planning, actively pursuing community growth, and evaluation of these activities.

Due to their life experience of being children when Hollow Water healing movement made significant changes in the community and teenagers when the CHCH organization was officially established the succeeding generation are aware of dynamic social change that can emerge around a single community issue; specifically child sexual abuse. They are comfortable talking about these abuse issues because it affected them personally. Their assessment of the CHCH organization is insightful and critically balanced with their appreciation of what the CHCH organization was able to accomplish with the community. The succeeding generation accept the vital benefits of auto-criticism to addressing issues within the CHCH organization as well as the issues that are also present, yet unresolved, in the community. They recognize CHCH staff burnout, its causes, and have attempted to mitigate burnout over the years. The interviews indicate that CHCH organization relationship with community is the foundation of communication and trust and need to be rebuilt. This relationship also affects how the community engages other

aspects of community life. If there is no trust and no consistent healthy actions are put into the daily activities of community citizens, the community will default to a dependency mentality. The dependency mentality results in blame and irresponsibility when dealing with community institutions. Community citizens will place responsibility on organizations like the CHCH organization for addressing community issues without accepting personal responsibility for community citizens own role in community action, support, and solidarity. The breakdown and decline of the vibrant institutional network has had a tremendous impact on the effectiveness of the CHCH organization but also has had a detrimental effect on the community resources that made up the A-team, such as CFS and Chief and Council. This breakdown of the institutional network has hindered community assessment, planning, intervention, and evaluation of community issues because many community resources reverted back to the silo mentality that existed prior to the development of Hollow Water's healing movement.

Although there was talk of setting up a mentorship program during the early stages of the formation of the CHCH organization there was not a formal commitment to creating such a program; which by the way, may have mitigated any burnout issues that were experienced by the CHCH organization employees. However, it seems as though the Health Centre is in the position and has been mentoring employees for several years to address social issues that may overlap with the CHCH organization. There is the suggestion that the CHCH organization employees would be extremely useful if their roles were recast as a source of knowledge for the history of Hollow Water's healing movement, the CHCH

organization, specific families, and providing significant information for the mentorship of new employees and provide ways for community engagement.

Seeing the burnout of the CHCH organization employees and seeing the community citizens give up personal responsibility of involvement in the health and well-being of community citizens to the CHCH organization, the succeeding generation fiercely guards their own self-care and encourage community citizens to accept responsibility for their part in community engagement. Although they are not fluent in the language, the succeeding generation recognizes the value of keeping Anishinaabemowin actively spoken in the community and continually facilitate opportunities to learn Anishinaabemowin.

The succeeding generation exhibits transformative leadership characteristics that are consistent with traditional Indigenous principles. Those interviewed have indicated their commitment to the community; whether it be through the continuation of identity through ceremonial practices, setting up a tee pee, writing up proposals, or running weekly basketball games. The succeeding generation is, like the originators and the CHCH organization employees, dedicated to individual, family, and community healing and facilitating community well-being. They are active in eradicating the victim/dependency mindset within the community and building a foundation for self-determination. They recognize the undue burden placed upon the CHCH organization by community citizens and other community resources and are critical of those in the community that do not recognize the importance of sharing responsibility and providing support to create and maintain community efforts to address community issues.

Everyone interviewed in this project, including the originators, CHCH employees, succeeding generation, and community resources, recognize that the community resource institutions are required to work together in order for Hollow Water to effectively address community-defined issues using a multi-sectored approach. The succeeding generation has learned this from the experience they saw of community institutions working together during the height of Hollow Water's healing movement and the weekly regular A-team meetings with the CHCH organization. The Healing Centre is continuing this sharing of information and networking with various community organizations regardless of whether or not there are unresolved issues between community institutions. The succeeding generation has adopted aspects of the CHCH organization to create an empowered and supportive environment for establishing and maintaining community and institutional relationships.

Sustainable funding is always an issue for a community organization to adequately address community issues in Justice and Health. The overlap of community programming is difficult to explain to Federal and Provincial representatives who do not perceive a systems-thinking approach about the benefits of community collaboration as a way to address community issues.

Indigenous peoples are currently experiencing a resurgence of identity pride within Canadian society. This is pride in identity is only going to grow stronger and more determined since June 2021 the discovery of 215 possible unmarked gravesites at

Kamloops residential school; today that number exceeds 6,000 possible gravesites at various residential school sites across Canada. Previous generations of Indigenous peoples were dealing with overt expressions of assimilation imposed by the Canadian state and were often violated or humiliated when Indigenous identity was expressed. The current generation is moving through extremely negative stereotypes and racism from non-Indigenous peoples. They are cognizant of the remnants of colonial history that are expressed today and are challenging them by confronting stereotypes, prejudices, and racism. They also challenge them by working with the various institutions that had historically held onto these negative systemic views of Indigenous peoples. Through the daily interaction and education of institutional organizations they bridge Indigenous and Western perspectives of reality, relationships, and purpose. They do this while providing support and critical awareness of community responsibility and accountability.

Hollow Water has been working toward maintaining its healing movement principles. The various organizations that developed out of the healing movement has led to innovative work in the area of sexual abuse and domestic violence. However, there have been highs and lows of the effectiveness of the CHCH organization and the guiding aspects of the Wanipigow Resource Group and the Board of Directors for CHCH within the milieu of the various Western institutions that have been imposed upon the community. Looking back to the importance of Senge's contribution to understanding how organizations and systems function as a response to community issues and concerns. Senge suggests an organization needs to be dynamic so that it can evolve as the society and issues evolves. This can be accomplished by working as a learning organization – with the five elements

that compose a learning organization. Berger and Luckmann illustrate the processes of constructing reality from habituation to an institution that lives on past the lives of those that created a reality. For Hollow Water the CHCH was not able to maintain its force as an institution however, the healing movement was able to evolve so that the principles that made up the CHCH organization continue to exist in the form of the Adam Hardisty Health Centre however severely subdued form. Weber's description of the interplay between authority of either traditional, rational/legal, or charismatic also provides a map here for institutional structure. Authority can be stabilized through traditional approaches or rational/legal approaches up until the point that these approaches to authority become ineffective to address the needs of a society. At this point charismatic authority emerges to change the reality of the society and a new order is created. However, the charismatic approach to authority is inherently unstable until it too is subsumed into the bureaucracy of either traditional or rational/legal approaches to authority. It seems that a dynamic culture is always moving through these processes toward stability and instability to meet the needs of the people in society.

Within Hollow Water and perhaps other Indigenous cultures there is an added dimension of working within a colonial power system of authority – with all its formations of institutions and a competing Anishinaabek system of reality that is emerging through its axiology of understanding community issues and concepts to address the needs of the community people and engaging community energy toward Anishinaabek solutions to bring balance to a community collectively. Hollow Water has illustrated that the community sees people who are out of balance need direction that can only be offered not

imposed to heal people collectively in ways that facilitate good relationships between people and provides people with a purpose in life. This is in stark contrast with a Western axiology that is based primarily on facilitating individualistic consumer needs and imposing punishment as a response upon distinct individuals to provide justice. However, this does little to encourage peace or offer people a purpose in life. The power relationships differ in each axiology such that Western approach encourages the individual to be isolated from society as a way to dissuade the individual from acting inappropriately. But the systemic aspects that gave rise to the inappropriate behaviour are rarely acknowledged let alone addressed. Anishinaabek approach encourages the individual to examine and develop his/her own personal relationships with others while simultaneously encouraging the collective community to examine and develop their relationships with everyone else to become aware of the collective systemic conditions that give rise to inappropriate behaviour.

Epilogue

Current socio-political milieux in Canada and the contribution of this work can be put into context to illustrate this time period as a point of genuine reconciliation, healing, and empowerment of Indigenous peoples. However, it must also be stated that there are so many attempts to rely on past practices that provide false promises, false reconciliation, false healing, and false empowerment that only provide superficial modifications to the way the system operates without providing real structural change to the relationships between the many cultures that live on Turtle Island.

In 2020 I began a teaching contract with Brandon University and I became aware of the development of the Indigenous law movement (which is distinct from Aboriginal law) across Turtle Island. In the summer of 2021, I began a teaching contract with University College of the North (but due to the COVID-19 pandemic I taught on-line). Since 2020, I taught Aboriginal law, Treaties and Treaty-making, Indigenous Perspectives of Law, and Self-Determination/Government. While working through the final edits of this dissertation, it occurred to me that my research could contribute to the development of Anishinaabek law and Indigenous legal orders by providing a historical record of Hollow Water First Nation healing movement and its contribution to Anishinaabek legal orders through community deliberation and practice.

Indigenous Law is distinct from Aboriginal Law. Aboriginal law is based on Indigenous/Settler peoples' relationship from the perspective of the Canadian State and the subsequent colonial legal system, i.e., the Canadian Constitution, the Supreme Court of

Canada, federal and provincial jurisdiction relationship, the RCMP, and the corporate interests that benefit from Canada's current legal orders. Indigenous laws are legal orders rooted in Indigenous societies themselves. For example, Indigenous law, "may include relationships to the land, the spirit world, creation stories, customs, processes of deliberation and persuasion, codes of conduct, rules, teachings and axioms for living and governing" (Estella White (Charleson) – Hee Naih Cha Chist, 2016).

By taking a holistic approach to describe Anishinaabek axiology and process of praxis this research can contribute to the development of Anishinaabek legal orders. The systemic approach outlined by the Wanipigow Resource Group clearly indicate that the value of community dialogue and participation is essential to define community issues and community solutions to these issues. People must be able to communicate ideas with respect and within a safe environment. They must feel free to contribute their ideas and work together to design and plan actions to address these issues and evaluate them. This is community empowerment and the fulfillment of humanity.

APPENDIX A

Hollow Water First Nation Council Resolution



P.O. BOX 2561, WANIPIGOW, MANITOBA R0E 2E0

TELEPHONE: (204) 363-7278 / 363-7215 / 363-7302 / 363-7336
FAX: (204) 363-7418

August 18, 2008

Whereas,

Hollow Water First Nation and Community Holistic Circle Healing Inc. (CHCH) is widely known as a community that has developed its own process of community healing and justice (often referred to as restorative justice) that addresses community needs and works to restore or build healthy relationships in Hollow Water that have become dysfunctional as a result of colonization.

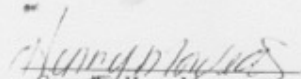
Therefore,

Hollow Water First Nation Chief and Council support Kevin Spice, PhD student with Trent University to conduct research with community members which will result in the completion of a research project entitled "Re-visioning Community Holistic Circle Healing". The following research questions will be investigated through community-based interviews: "how did the Community Holistic Circle Healing (CHCH) emerge as an attempt toward community healing and self-determination?", "how is CHCH reinventing itself in an attempt to maintain community healing and self-determination?" and "how is CHCH transmitting processes of healing and self-determination to future generations?"

Signed,


Chief Larry Barker


Councilor Geoff Bushie


Councilor Henry Moneas


Councilor Derek Bushie


Councilor Furlon Barker

APPENDIX B

Consent Forms and Interview Questions

Permission Form to Engage in Research for the Project Titled Keeping Circle

Researcher: Kevin Spice
Supervisor: Don McCaskill

CPIIC

This research is intended to determine how Community Holistic Circle Healing (CHCH) maintain efforts to facilitate community communication and build Anishinaabek practices. Your participation in this project is very important. As the current employees are planning for retirement there is a wealth of extremely valuable information held by the original activists, board members, employees that work for the healing organization, employees that work in other organizations but also work with the healing organization, volunteers and community members. This research is intended to collect this valuable information and to help plan the training of future employees and the future of the Anishinaabek community-based healing organization. The interview will be for one hour and I will ask questions about your perceptions of the healing/justice organization and what values you think are important to transmit to new employees. This research will help the healing/justice organization to maintain its original principles and directions as knowledge is transmitted to new employees. This research will also be used to for partial completion of my PhD dissertation. The research may also be used for a future publication.

I am requesting that your organization, which works with Community Holistic Circle Healing (CHCH), allow a representative (an employee) to be interviewed by me (Kevin Spice) for the purpose of the stated research. Participation in the research is completely voluntary and a representative of your organization **must also** consent to participation in the research. If your representative chooses to not participate I want to stress that there will be no negative repercussions for not participating in this research. Names and identifying information that are provided may or may not be used in the final report but your organization will have an opportunity to review the interview and consent to the inclusion, modification and deletion of such information in the final report. Your representative can also choose to have some or all of his or her statements to be anonymous. I will provide your representative and your organization with a printed copy of the interview after I write the information gained from the interview into the computer. Research may include audio recordings, written interview results and note taking.

Data will be stored and encrypted electronically on computer and flash memory drives as well as stored on an internet storage site. A written paper copy of all research data will be stored in a locked box every day.

I will keep the data for five years after the final research project is completed but I will return to your organization all recordings and written material of the interviews I have done with your representative(s).

Name _____ (please print) Organization _____

I fully understand the requirements of this consent form and I permit a representative to engage in the interview process with Kevin Spice.

Person being interviewed signature _____ Date _____.

Researcher signature _____ Date _____.

**Permission Form to Publish Transcribed Interview in Project Titled
Keeping Circle**

Researcher: Kevin Spice
Supervisor: Don McCaskill

CTP-I

This research is intended to determine how Community Holistic Circle Healing (CHCH) maintain efforts to facilitate community communication and build Anishinaabek practices. Your participation in this project is very important. As the current employees are planning for retirement there is a wealth of extremely valuable information held by the original activists, board members, employees that work for the healing organization, employees that work in other organizations but also work with the healing organization, volunteers and community members. This research is intended to collect this valuable information and to help plan the training of future employees and the future of the Anishinaabek community-based healing organization. The interview will be for one hour and I will ask questions about your perceptions of the healing/justice organization and what values you think are important to transmit to new employees. This research will help the healing/justice organization to maintain its original principles and directions as knowledge is transmitted to new employees. This research will also be used for partial completion of my PhD dissertation. The research that you provide may also be used for a future publication.

The information that you have shared with Kevin Spice is transcribed and a copy is presented to you for your permission to use for his research. Names and identifying information that you have provided may be used in his dissertation but you will have an opportunity to review the interview and consent to the inclusion of such information in the dissertation. You can also choose to have some or all of your statements to be anonymous.

I have been provided with a written copy of the interview - _____ and Organization _____
(provide initials)

- I do not want my interview to be included in any research documentation
- I want my interview to be included in the community report but not in the research dissertation
- I want my interview to be included in the research dissertation but not in the community report

I want to modify information to the text of the interview in collaboration with Mr. Spice - _____

I accept the final version of the interview (___ # of versions) for inclusion in the research - _____

Data will be stored and encrypted electronically on computer and flash memory drives as well as stored on an internet storage site. A written paper copy of all research data will be stored in a locked box every day. A draft of the research will be made available to you for final approval of your contribution to the research project. This draft is intended to determine if you want to modify, delete, or add any information to your interview.

I will keep the data for five years after the final research project is completed but I will return to you and your employee all recordings of the interviews I have done with you.

Do you want to be represented anonymously in the written copy of this interview? Yes No

Name _____ Organization _____

We, the undersigned, fully understand the requirements of this permission form and agree to the review process of the draft research with Kevin Spice.

Person being interviewed signature _____ Date _____.

Organization signature _____ Date _____.

Researcher signature _____ Date _____.

Interview Questions

Phase 1 – Original Activists Interviews

The first phase of the research is to gain an understanding of the original intent and the guiding principles of the organization from the original activists' point of view. The first research phase will provide a foundation for understanding the values of the organization and will provide a comparative understanding of the organizations effectiveness in achieving the original goals. Semi-structured individual interviews will be used to get the original activists' perceptions of the principles and goals of the creation and development of the healing organization. Semi-structured group interviews will be used to gain information that often becomes more animated when interviewees are in dialogue with each other. Memories are often triggered and stories flow easily in a group dialogue setting. An activist will have the option of choosing a method of recording (audio recording or note-taking).

Questions:

1. What traditional beliefs guided you during the creation of CHCH?
2. What traditional knowledge guided you during the creation of CHCH?
3. What traditional practices guided you during the creation of CHCH?
4. What knowledge of your community guided you during the creation of CHCH?
5. What knowledge of other community's guided you during the creation of CHCH?
6. What knowledge of the settler society guided you during the creation of CHCH?
7. What actions were required by the activist group during the creation of CHCH?
8. What actions were required by community members during the creation of CHCH?
9. What actions were required by people outside the community during the creation of CHCH?

Traditional beliefs – sacred laws, principles of individual behaviour that make up such things as a good life, etc.

Traditional knowledge – Stories that describe and support a good life, descriptions of actions to model a good life, etc.

Traditional practices – ceremonies or actions in which you have participated, that support good life through retelling or acting out traditional beliefs and traditional knowledge

Phase 2 – Healing Organization Employees Interviews

This phase will include group and individual interviews of the healing organization's employees. Group interviews will provide an opportunity to go over results from the previous round of the survey and provide an opportunity to discuss issues in-depth. Rothwell suggests that behavioural event interviewing can clarify values. Rothwell suggests that individuals be “asked to describe the most difficult ethical situation they have ever faced in their jobs and describe what they were thinking, feeling, and doing at each step as they faced that situation” (Rothwell 2005:90). Although this may get at some in-depth issues facing an organization, a negative approach is inappropriate and will lead to a very negative spiral conversation. In contrast I will use an appreciative inquiry approach and positively discuss successful applications of CHCH practices.

Employee interview questions:

1. Thinking of an experience when CHCH at its peak, describe your spiritual state that lead to success.
2. Thinking of an experience when CHCH at its peak, what were you thinking that lead to success?
3. Thinking of an experience when CHCH at its peak, what were you feeling that lead to success?
4. Thinking of an experience when CHCH at its peak, what were you doing that lead to success?
5. What are the challenges now confronting CHCH?
6. What are the challenges that think CHCH will confront in the future?

Questions for People Who Work with Healing Organization Employees:

1. Thinking about when CHCH is at its best, what are the successes of working with CHCH employees?
2. Thinking about when CHCH is at its best, what are the challenges about working with CHCH employees?
3. Thinking about when CHCH is at its best, what do you recommend CHCH include when training their employees?

Questions for Clients Working with Healing Organization Employees:

1. What did CHCH do with you that you feel was most effective at addressing the offending behaviour?
2. What are the challenges that CHCH face?
3. What do you recommend CHCH include when training their employees?

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